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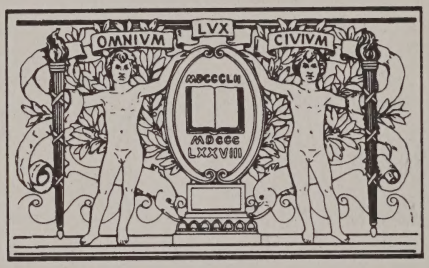

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VOL. CV.

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JULY, 1867.

ART. I. — 1. *Chapters on Language.* By the REV. FREDERIC W. FARRAR, M. A. London: Longmans, Green, & Co. 1865. 12mo.

2. *On the Origin of Language.* By HENSLEIGH WEDGWOOD. London: N. Trübner & Co. 1866. 12mo.

3. *An Essay on the Origin and Formation of the Romance Languages.* By the RT. HON. SIR GEORGE CORNEWALL LEWIS. Second Edition. London: Parker, Son, and Brown. 1862. 12mo.

4. *Sull' Origine della Lingua Italiana. Dissertazione di* CESARE CANTÙ. Napoli. 1865. 8vo.

5. *Saggio sui Dialetti Gallo-Italici.* Di B. BIONDELLI. Milano. 1853. 8vo.

6. *Scelta di Curiosità Letterarie inedite o rare dal Secolo XIII. al XIX.* Bologna. 1861–1866. 18mo. 76 numbers.

7. *Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria.* Genova. 1858–1866. 4 vols. Royal 8vo.

8. *Documenti Inediti riguardanti le due Crociate di San Ludovico IX., Re di Francia.* Raccolti ed illustrati da LUIGI TOMMASO BELGRANO. Genova. 1859–1865. 8vo.

9. *Codice Diplomatico del Regno di Carlo I. e II. d' Angiò.* Raccolti ed annotati per GIUSEPPE DEL GIUDICE. Vol. I. Napoli. 1863. Folio.

10. *Pergamene, Codici e Fogli Cartacei di Arboréa.* Raccolti ed illustrati da PIETRO MARTINI. Cagliari. 1863–1866. Folio. 8 numbers.

11. *Collezione di Opere inedite o rare dei primi tre Secoli della Lingua, pubblicata per cura della Reale Commissione pe' Testi di Lingua nelle Provincie dell' Emilia.* Torino. 1861, 1862. 2 vols. 12mo.
12. *Collezione di Opere inedite o rare dei primi tre Secoli della Lingua, pubblicata per cura della Reale Commissione pe' Testi di Lingua nella Provincie dell' Emilia.* (Municipal Codes, Romances of Chivalry, Chronicles, &c.) Bologna. 1862–1866. Vols. I. to XII. 8vo.

To common apprehension the art of speaking seems to flow so naturally, or rather spontaneously, from the faculty of speech, that a large proportion, perhaps even a majority, of those who practise it are not conscious that it is an art at all. With them, even the special movements of the lips and tongue and epiglottis, of the larynx, the lungs, the thorax, of the thousand muscles, in short, concerned in the formation and modulation of articulate sounds, are as involuntary as the process of respiration, which is effected by a part of the same organs; speech is thinking aloud, and, like purely intellectual cogitation, devoid of consciously directed material action. Man must have passed out of the subjective stage of existence, acquired a certain amount of contemplative culture, of power of introspective observation, — he must have learned to project himself outwards as an object, and to make himself his own "proper study," — before he is able to consider the character of language as an organic mechanism, and to inquire at what point in its processes instinct yields to invention and nature is merged in art.

And this is one of the many cases where the child is wiser than the man; for in the imitation of vocal sounds the infant evidently makes a voluntary effort of comparison and repetition, and deliberately experiments on the mode of producing articulations. But the sound once acquired, the process by which it was mastered is forgotten, and the adult cannot comprehend speech as an art until he has repeated the experiments of his infancy upon the utterance of vocal elements and syllables, and brought a self-intelligent will to bear upon the various movements of the organs employed in pronouncing them. This study requires an effort of attention and of volition analogous

to that by which we learn to control the action of the involuntary muscles; for every involuntary muscle may become voluntary, or rather be made obedient to conscious will, — every voluntary muscle may come again to act, as all muscles primarily do, spontaneously, at least so far as we can detect any effort of the will to direct them. Many persons move freely the ears, the scalp, and other usually fixed portions of the body. There are well-attested instances of the power of accelerating or retarding the beating of the pulse at pleasure; while, on the other hand, a rope-dancer, in his familiar feats, is as little conscious of the action of the will in his limbs as in his balancing-pole.

Persons who have never systematically studied the mechanism of their own speech doubtless often acquire the pronunciation of a foreign tongue with very little reflective, conscious effort; but an educated man who tries to imitate the sounds of a language unknown to him, soon perceives that his ear must undergo a good deal of training before he can even truly hear those sounds, and that to produce them he must employ organs, or at least muscles, which are either not brought into play at all, or act in a different way, in the pronunciation of his native dialect.

The structure and movements of the various organs of articulation have been very carefully studied by physiologists and phonologists, and, by the aid of ingenious contrivances, made visible and capable of graphic representation. Philologists have detected laws of development and succession in articulation, so that from a given form of a word in a given age we can say with confidence what it must have been at an earlier, what it must become at a later period.

These observations, of course, apply exclusively to the material processes of speech. The sensuous mechanism, the natural history of audible language, is much better understood than its intellectual philosophy; and the obscure question of the relation of vocal sounds to the objects, images, emotions, and thoughts expressed by them, or, in other words, of the origin of language, is as unsettled as it was in the days of Aristotle. Many new facts bearing on this point have indeed been discovered, and they all, or nearly all, tend in the same direction; that is, to the imitative and the interjectional or ejaculative

theories, which seem to be necessarily complementary to each other. Farrar and Wedgwood, the ablest advocates of these theories who have written in English, perhaps the ablest who have discussed the subject at all, have made numerous converts; but their arguments are rejected as inconclusive by many of the most eminent linguists of our time, who, however, have as yet by no means refuted them, or suggested any more probable theory.

Among existing knowledges, the theory and laws of articulate speech, as systematized by Max Müller and other philologists in the form called — too ambitiously perhaps — the science of language, has been the last to undergo the process of exposition in untechnical phraseology, or what, in these days of levelling up, is known as popularization, but which, at that recent period when in Europe there was no people, but only kings, lords, priests, and varletry, was half contemptuously styled vulgarization. The lateness of the attempt to bring down to ordinary comprehension, and to make accessible to ordinary facilities of attainment, some acquaintance with the general facts — or laws, if that term be insisted on — which constitute the body of this science, is in a great degree due to the circumstance just alluded to, — that it is, perhaps, the knowledge the conscious application of whose principles is most remote from the uses and demands of ordinary life, and which leaves the faintest traces on the popular touchstone of "utility."

We say the *conscious* application of principle; for through all this mysterious life of ours we are acting in obedience to rules of whose form, conditions, and limitations, nay, of whose very existence, we are ignorant. Every man speaks, and he may pronounce well, without any acquaintance with the muscular structure and peculiar functions of the individual organs of articulation, or with the theoretical analysis of vocal sounds; he may strictly conform to the idiom of his native tongue without knowing wherein that idiom corresponds to, and wherein it differs from, the philological system of other more or less closely related languages, without even being aware that words are susceptible of division into grammatical classes; he may use a compound word in exact accordance with the primary

senses of its remote radicals, without having heard that the term ever existed in any simpler or different form. Linguistic science is to the practical use of any given speech what the theory of statics is to walking. There were good pedestrians before it was observed that, when the body is advanced in the act of walking, the line of direction is thrown without the base, and hence every forward movement is the beginning of a fall, the whole process a series of incipient falls, each arrested by a step which serves, not to aid the progress, but only to extend the base of the ambulant machine, and thus avert the catastrophe.

But the science of statics has very palpable practical uses. Architects in all ages have doubtless often "builded better than they knew," but experience shows that they would have builded better still if they had known more of the scientific principles of stable construction; whereas it has not been observed that persons who occupy themselves with recondite grammatical theory and comparative philology write or speak more forcibly, more eloquently, or even more accurately than their neighbors, who are content with a knowledge of the positive facts which make up the inflexional, syntactical, and lexical system of their native speech.

But it is due to our intelligent nature and to the spirit of philosophical inquiry to say, that science is not, and never has been, cultivated chiefly for the sake of its material or practical ends; for though knowledge is power, it is far more emphatically pleasure. Minerva is worshipped rather for her beauty than for her strength. When a brilliant, imaginative theorist or a skilful experimenter has excited attention by a luminous exposition of newly suggested laws, or even of comprehensive facts based on yet unsuspected law, he is at once surrounded by eager disciples, who are attracted by that disinterested curiosity which is a natural impulse in every enlightened mind. The discoverer of a principle does not ordinarily invent a machine for its practical application. Even the inventor of the machine does not often reap the pecuniary reward; and the versatile Watt is almost the only recorded instance where the philosopher, the inventor, and the capitalist have been united in the same person.

Strictly speaking, the highest science must ever be the possession of the few, because few are gifted with a natural aptitude for the comprehension of philosophic principle, or even for the generalization of widely and variously applicable fact; few enjoy the leisure, the opportunity, and the capacity for the persevering and continuous study which is required for the full mastery of any systematized body of unfamiliar truths. Slow, circumstantial, and laborious processes are still the only paths to the remotest limit accessible at a given period in any science. Scholars thus trained are apt to look with unjust disdain upon the attainments of those who have followed shorter avenues, — royal roads to the same apparent results, — because they hold that exact method and precise knowledge of minor detail, if not more valuable than the results themselves, are yet essential to a full comprehension of them. This is doubtless, in general, true, but it by no means follows that imperfect knowledge is worthless; and the distinction in *kind*, supposed to exist between the science of the philosopher and the empiricism of the layman, is, in most cases, purely imaginary. Scientific men are perpetually confounding what they, above all others, ought clearly to distinguish, — law and fact; and a majority of the propositions enunciated as laws in books of natural and even moral philosophy are barely generalizations of facts of observation, whose rationale is as completely unknown to the Newton as to the most ignorant peasant. The man of science knows more, but it is a mistake to suppose that, in regard to the mass of his attainments, he has an acquaintance with principles which enables him to know better than other men. His superiority consists, first, in a more orderly, or, if you please, philosophical arrangement; and secondly, in a greater accumulation of observed facts. In material science, nothing is a law which is not demonstrably a necessary result of the constitution of matter and the notions of time and space. The number of such laws yet discovered and precisely formulated is extremely small, while that of general, and, so far as we know, even universal facts, is very great.

The science of language, so far as it is yet constituted, consists almost wholly of facts more or less general in their application, but not referable to any ascertained necessary law; and

thus far our knowledge of it belongs rather to the domain of natural than to that of intellectual philosophy. The extension of the boundaries of this science has been greatly facilitated by foreign conquest, by commercial and missionary enterprise, by scientific travel; but the most important contributions to our progress in it have come from a nation which has, until lately, least participated in these operations. It is to the philosophizing spirit of Germany that we directly or indirectly owe nearly all the advance we have made in recent times in the theoretical knowledge of speech; and there are few European peoples who are not more indebted to German than to native scholarship for a better acquaintance with the special history and grammatical structure of their vernacular tongue. German philologists do not generally affect ease of method even to the extent of lightening the mere mechanical difficulties of acquiring foreign languages. In their grammars and linguistic treatises, little regard is paid to distinctness of typography, or to such a division of matter into chapter, section, and paragraph, such a conspicuous arrangement of important words as to catch the eye and facilitate the search for a particular passage or subject; while indexes, and even full tables of contents, are very commonly dispensed with altogether.

Although, therefore, much has been done in Germany for the accumulation and organization of linguistic knowledge, and for its diffusion among professed scholars, the philosophy of language, as expounded in the literature of that country, has not been made either so accessible or so attractive in form as most other sciences.

It is, nevertheless, to a German scholar writing in English that we are indebted for by far the ablest and most successful attempts yet made for the popularization of the principles of linguistic science.

Modern philosophers do not assent to the doctrine of Socrates, that nothing can be known; but they agree with him in holding, that, for the purpose of mental discipline, the search for knowledge is worth more than knowledge itself. Hence, they do not estimate didactic works simply by the amount of scientific fact, or even principle, which they reveal, but also by

the strength and vivacity of the stimulus they administer to the intellect, the impulse they give to the voluntary exercise of the mental powers. Considered from this point of view, the writings of Max Müller, and especially his "Lectures on the Science of Language," mark an epoch in the history of linguistic literature. With the exception of Lyell's "Principles of Geology," we are acquainted with no scientific work which has at once excited the interest of so numerous a class of intelligent readers,— none which, by stimulating enlightened curiosity, and by clear exposition of the objects and value of a particular study, has contributed so largely to advance the progress of the science whose cultivation it advocates. The two works resemble each other in the genial way in which they clothe with flesh the dry bones of scientific system, in a skilful use of every fact bearing upon those theories that modern research has discovered, and in a breadth of illustration which lays under contribution all collateral knowledges, and attracts the sympathy of every man of liberal culture by appealing to his speciality as, if not a formal ally, at least a kindred discipline. A scientific teacher, who has trained pupils in both continents, has often remarked, that if, in an audience of a hundred, he had secured two or three earnest hearers, the aim of his course was accomplished. Not every reader of Lyell's classic volume becomes a geologist, not every listener to Müller's learned and eloquent lectures becomes a linguist, but each of these philosophers has founded, or rather richly endowed, an English "school of the prophets," which will long rank among the most conspicuous foci of science.

In England, in France, and in all the Northern Continental nations, the study of comparative grammar has led to a more assiduous cultivation of domestic philology. The etymology, the inflexional system, and the syntax of the languages of those countries have received much elucidation, both from sources considered, not long since, unrelated to all of them, and from the detection of latent affinities between them, which often vividly illustrate obscure points in their significance and history. Without inquiring how far the revived spirit of nationality — which is one of the most characteristic features of the associate life of our times — is the cause or the conse-

quence of the advancement of linguistic and philological knowledge, it is certain that patriotism and philology have reciprocally promoted each other. For investigation into ancient domestic history, which always accompanies the awakening of a new consciousness of national life, an acquaintance with the often half-forgotten dialects in which the local annals are embodied is indispensable. The best materials for the study of these older forms of speech are to be found in ancient laws, contracts, letters, family memorials, and historic ballads, the study of which rarely fails to rekindle patriotic enthusiasm.

But man is not a ruminating animal. Nations cannot live wholly on the past. The original modern authorship which the pursuit of mediæval literature has prompted in Northern and Central Europe often borrows its themes from ancient national story, — its illustrations, and in part even its diction, from reminiscences of ancestral life, — and is more or less inspired by a breath of resuscitated animation; but it is nevertheless fresh, vivacious, and progressive in spirit.

It is only in an inferior degree that corresponding results have yet manifested themselves in the imaginative, the historical, or the philological literature of Southern Europe. The lips of no modern Italian bard have been touched by that coal from the altar which kindled the prophetic fire in Whittier's heart when he chanted his noblest lay, "The Reformer." The "backward-looking son" of the Latin family has not yet sufficiently learned that the "waster is the builder too." Ghostly conservatisms haunt his imagination; and even after his eyes are opened to the hopes of the inevitable future, he still pays a languid worship at the shrine of "Pazienza." The movement with which those races are heaving even now, in these days of change, bears more the aspect of a contagious excitement, than of the spontaneous development of a new organic life. In Italy, especially, the influence of France — we are not speaking of the political relations between the two countries, nor of the special character of that influence, for *any* controlling foreign ascendency must always be fatal to the originality and intellectual growth of a people — is smothering what might else become a new and higher form of Latin nationality. Italy has yet scarcely reflected back a single wave

of the impulse it has received in so many directions from without, and has contributed little or nothing to accelerate the action of the ferment which is leavening the whole earth. There is nothing which can fairly be called a modern school of Italian literature, and but one Italian creative spirit — Manzoni — has acquired a European celebrity in the present century. But Manzoni is not of this age; he belongs rather to the period in which he has laid the scene of his admirable romance. Nicolini, superior to Manzoni in enlightened patriotism and political wisdom, though much inferior in genius, is less remarkable for poetic inspiration and originality of thought than for a clearness of vision which enabled him to see, and a moral courage which emboldened him to utter, truths that few Italian poets have felt, or dared to speak, for centuries. Giusti, the Tuscan satirist and lyrist, emphatically the prophet, the *vates sacer*, of modern Italy, is, with the exception of Manzoni, and perhaps Leopardi, the only Italian writer of this century whose works are pervaded with that ambrosial flavor of immortality which gives assurance of perpetual life. Leopardi was an eminent philologist; and both Manzoni and Giusti, though not apparently men of much linguistic learning, were most critical students of their own tongue. Giusti's dialect, in fact, is so strictly national, or, to speak more accurately, provincial, that even Italian strangers, Lombards, Venetians, and Piedmontese, find in him many dark sayings hard to be understood, and his familiar letters are published with explanatory notes, for the benefit of *non-Toscani*.

In the general cultivation of the science of language, the Italians have been behind most other European nations. They have had, and still have, men distinguished by linguistic attainment, eminent Egyptologists, as well as Semitic and Sanscrit scholars; but since the creation of the modern school of philology, they have contributed comparatively little to the furtherance of this branch of knowledge. The old Italic languages, as well as the early history of Rome, have been more thoroughly studied and more ably elucidated by foreign than by native scholars; and the modern Italian and other Romance dialects have by no means received from those who speak them the attention which they merit, both by their intrinsic interest and by their relative importance in the history of speech.

Indeed, we think that the linguistic character of the mediæval Romance dialects has been generally somewhat mistaken, and their value as sources of linguistic instruction, though pointed out by Max Müller, has been popularly much underrated. It is too commonly assumed that they were speeches exclusively in a state of analysis, resolution, and decay. The fact that the *Bildungstrieb*, the *nisus formativus*, and even the synthetic tendency were in them, as in some of the Gothic tongues, always at work, has certainly not been wholly overlooked; but the importance of this fact, as suggesting illustrations of the processes by which inflexions were built up in the early stages of speech, has scarcely been fully recognized, except by the great linguist to whom we have just referred.

To an Italian there is apparently no riddle to solve in the affinity between the Latin and his mother tongue, and the very obviousness of a general relation between them is calculated rather to damp than to pique curiosity as to the precise character of that relation. The natural impulse of a classical scholar — and all Italians who are educated at all know Latin — is to regard all the modern Romance dialects alike as the degenerate progeny of a noble speech, and therefore as possessing no history worthy of attention. To this day Italy has no better grammar of her native speech than the old-world *Regole* of Corticelli, published two hundred years ago; no parallel grammar of Latin and Italian; no etymologicon comparable to that of Diez, or even Ménage. The same observations apply, substantially, to the other Romance nations, not, however, including the French, which has too large an infusion of Gothic and Celtic elements to be considered as belonging essentially to the Latin race. The Spanish and Portuguese languages are, very probably, even more closely allied to classical Latin than is the Italian; but the contributions of Hispanic scholars to our knowledge of the relations between the old speech and the new, and to the special biography of their native dialects, are almost insignificant.

But, notwithstanding the general disinclination of these races to the pursuit of linguistic science, and particularly to really thorough and philosophical research into the primary history of the Romance languages, Italian philologists of for-

mer centuries have collected much material for the elucidation of the subject, and we are now at the opening of an era which promises the creation of a new and truly national school of Italian art, literature, and philosophy, as well as of civil and ecclesiastical polity. While Italy was "but a geographical expression," the Tuscan dialect was the common — that is, *public*, not *familiar* — language of the provinces. It is now the national tongue. It promises to become the universal popular speech. It is fast ridding itself of cumbrous forms and involutions, and adapting its movements to the new uses and exigencies of modern political and social life. A large and liberal patriotism is supplanting the old municipalism, and that which is common to all is assuming a higher place in the affections of the Italian citizen than that which is the possession of but a few. Native philology will absorb a larger share of attention, and there will be a natural impulse to connect, by historical research, the breathing speech of the hour with the living tongue, not the dead literature, of ancient Rome.

The Italians have long been stigmatized — and by none more severely than by their own writers — as a characterless race. And yet few European nations have produced within the last half-century more men of iron will and exhaustless energy. None can boast nobler examples of lofty patriotism, self-sacrificing devotion, and the humbler virtues, than Italy. The quality of physical bravery has been largely developed in recent years, not only in men in conspicuous and responsible positions, but in the masses. Moral courage is usually evolved later in the formation of a great national type, and this essential constituent of every virtue, hitherto a comparatively rare trait among the Italians, is beginning to take the place of the hesitancy, doubt, and indecision formerly characteristic of the people. All the grand characters of modern Italy — Europe has no more truly heroic names than Ricasoli and Garibaldi — have been tempered in the fires of that broad national patriotism which the hope of national unity has made possible, and the new government has no special policy which is not dictated and improved purely by the patriotic idea. Cantù sighs over the "war which the Reformation waged against Latin," and pays a noble, though unconscious tribute

to the spirit of that great movement, by identifying its cause with that of the enlivening element of modern political progress, and sneering at the narrow patriotism which "translated the Bible into the vernacular tongues with the purpose of substituting the idea of nationality for the grand catholic unity of the Middle Ages," — a unity which apotheosized pontiffs and princes, but did nothing to inculcate Christian brotherhood, nothing to promote international and domestic peace, nothing to diffuse popular intelligence or to promote the practice of the social virtues. Before his ink is fairly dry, the Italian government declares its adhesion to the "idea of nationality" by the most radical course of policy, — independence of Rome, absolute divorce of Church and State, and the suppression of the monasteries, which are at once sinks of ignorance and vice, and strongholds of a hostile power within the boundaries of the state.

While doting Rome is fumbling over the old Jesuit "Relations" to find new "Japanese martyrs" to canonize, new idols for popular superstition to worship, Italy is raising monuments to the "Martiri della Libertà Italiana," and giving honorable sepulture to the bones of the brothers Bandiera, whom the British Postmaster-General, Sir James Graham, betrayed to the Neapolitan executioner. Literary associations and private publishers are printing hitherto inedited manuscripts, or reproducing rare early editions. The government is doing something to encourage historical and literary research, and aiding in the publication of the results, and a great number of volumes of more or less valuable philological material have already been issued from the press. Most of them, it is true, date from too late a period to throw much light on the primitive history of the modern Peninsular speech. Some of the more ostentatious of these publications are but monuments of pompous inanity; and the editors of some are aping the silly exclusiveness of English and French bibliomaniac clubbists, in limiting the impressions to a very small number of copies, and thus giving the factitious value of rarity to much that has no intrinsic worth. Others, of less pretension, — and we take pleasure in particularizing among them the *Documenti Inediti riguardanti le due Crociate di San Ludovico IX.*, now publishing at Genoa

in a modest octavo, — are of much philological as well as historical interest. The *Collezioni di Opere inedite o rare*, edited by the Commissione pe' Testi di Lingua, forms an auspicious commencement of what promises to compose a very valuable repository. A new series of the *Archivio Storico* has been commenced at Florence, and there is evidently a progress in the right direction. Biondelli, in the course of his studies on the Italian local dialects, has revealed many interesting facts, pointed out suggestive analogies, and furnished a very considerable amount of useful data for further scientific elaboration. The political and ecclesiastical archives of the Middle Ages in the kingdom of Italy being now open to free research, we may soon expect new and valuable accessions to our historical and philological knowledge of those eras. The records of Papal Rome still remain closed to profane eyes. "Priestcraft never owns its juggles," and therefore the secrets of the *Curia Romana* will never be voluntarily confessed by its members. But Rome cannot long resist the pressure from without, and light will soon penetrate to the foulest corners and darkest recesses of the pontifical palace. Some, at least, of Giusti's visions in *Prete Pero* will be realized. APPIGIONASI will be written on the walls of the Vatican; and then whatever priestly jealousy shall have spared of the documentary matter accumulated in its vaults will become available both for the warning and the instruction of men. Even the plundering and sale of manuscripts from the conventual libraries, which is now going on in Italy, will serve to bring to light some valuable historical and literary facts, and to rescue from annihilation memorials which the monks would have destroyed if they had not been allowed, by the indulgence of the government, an opportunity of stealing them.

In instituting a parallel between the classical Latin and the modern Romance dialects, we possess an advantage which does not exist for similar comparison between older and more recent forms of the Gothic tongues. We have the Latin, not indeed in a very primitive, not even in its earliest written form, but we know it as it was in its most advanced stage of grammatical development, in its highest literary culture, in all its catholic variety of application. The wealth and multifari-

ousness of extant classical literature has preserved to us, in all probability, a very large proportion of its authorized vocabulary, exemplifications of all its grammatical forms, and of most of its phraseological combinations. In other words, we have the lexical, inflexional, syntactical, and rhetorical systems complete. Hence we may claim to be acquainted with Latin in its utmost capacity, its widest versatility of expression. Besides this, the language has continued, through all the fluctuations of Italian history down to the present day, if not a vernacular, yet what may be called, without a great departure from propriety of speech, a living tongue, and thus we have the means of studying its whole power of accommodation to new ideas, new facts, new uses, and, in fine, the entire range of the analogies and the discrepancies between it and the modern dialects of the Latin races.

On the other hand, our oldest memorials of a Gothic speech, except a few isolated words, chiefly proper names, date from the fourth century after Christ. These consist of a large part of the New, and insignificant fragments of the Old Testament, a part of a commentary on the Gospel of John, and a few mere scraps of calendars and private contracts, in the Mœso-Gothic language, — a dialect of the Low German family, which has utterly perished, leaving no progeny, no later phase; for, in the opinion of the ablest German philologists, none of the many modern Teutonic dialects can claim to be descended from the Mœso-Gothic; hence it is an isolated philological organism, having collateral relatives indeed, but, so far as we know, neither progenitors nor posterity. After Ulfilas, four centuries elapsed before a Continental Germanic tongue became the vehicle of a literature. From the ninth century, we have important remains, and thenceforward a nearly continuous succession of literary memorials, in various dialects, until the sixteenth century. At this period, the High-German, in substantially its present form, supplanted all the rest, and became the exclusive cultivated tongue of the Germanic nations, unless we include in this appellation the Netherlanders, who write and speak a language nearly allied to the Platt-Deutsch or Low-German dialects. The Anglo-Saxon, which was transported to England with the conquerors in the fifth century, appears to have had

a literature at an earlier period than any of the sister dialects except the Mœso-Gothic, and it is probable that "Beowulf" existed, at least orally, before the Anglo-Saxon invasion. But we do not know this poem in its primitive recension; and, philologically speaking, we cannot assign to it an earlier date than that of the only manuscript which appears to belong to the eighth century.*

With the exception of this Christian *rifacimento* of a heathen poem or saga, which has doubtless undergone as great grammatical as literary modifications, all the oldest Germanic literature we are acquainted with consists of versions or paraphrases of Scripture. There is good reason to believe that, partly from the want of existing examples of composition in the native speech, partly from inexperience in translation, and partly from a desire to secure a strict conformity to the sacred text, the construction and syntax of these monuments were, in a considerable degree, fashioned after those of the Greek and Latin originals. These writings, reverenced as the earliest literary monuments of the speech, and at the same time as the voice of an infallible revelation, became authoritative models to later authors, and consequently a foreign type was impressed upon Germanic philology in the very cradle of its literature. Hence, as literary mediums, the Teutonic dialects are not self-developed, and there is in many cases room for doubt whether a given construction is indigenous or borrowed from an extraneous source. Besides this, the extant remains of this ancient literature are not sufficiently extensive, or various enough in subject, to have employed more than a small proportion of the vocabulary or of the syntactical and rhetorical combinations of any of the Teutonic languages. Our knowledge of these dialects is therefore necessarily very imperfect, and we are far less acquainted with the primitive sources of our own every-day vernacular, or even with the native character of the Germanic dialects a thousand years ago, than we are with the minutiæ of

* The traces of Christianity in Beowulf are probably "improvements" of the original by copyists and editors. It has been argued, from the coincidence of a few names of places, that Beowulf was composed in England. Is it not equally probable that names taken from the localities referred to in the poem were bestowed upon English sites by the Anglo-Saxon immigrants?

the philology of alien Rome ten centuries earlier. The Germanic tongues, then, want what the Romance possess, — a central representative, a great common, authoritative, copious, ancient, and unchangeable standard of comparison and typical example.

Nor is this all. We do not know in what stage of their history the Mœso-Gothic or other Germanic dialects were reduced to writing and became mediums of literary effort. We are unable even to say whether they had attained to the ultimatum of grammatical improvement which the genius of the Gothic family of speech admitted, or whether they had reached that point and again receded from it; in short, whether they were in process of construction or of resolution. Unwritten tongues are much less stable in their forms than the dialects of literature. So far as we know them, they tend to composition, agglutination, multiplication, and discrimination of inflexions, especially in the verbs. But to this there must be a limit; and when grammatical refinement has been carried as far as it can go, it is natural that the rigorous observance of its rules should be relaxed, and a reactionary, analytic tendency should manifest itself. As soon as a speech which has lived only in the mouths of a people becomes a written language and possesses a literature, its grammatical progress, its power of self-evolution, is greatly checked, if not completely paralyzed. The formation of a new inflexion in a written dialect, though certainly not impossible, is rare; and letters are equally effectual in retarding the decay of an established grammatical system. In either case, the vocabulary may still increase by importation from abroad, and even by organic derivation and composition; but with respect to the characteristic forms of speech, the legislation of Cadmus is almost as inflexible as the laws of the Medes and Persians. The accidence and syntax, once recorded in visible symbols, are substantially unchangeable. Whether it is an evil to a language simply as a literary medium to become thus petrified before or some time after it arrives at its highest possible point of grammatical constructiveness, is a question on which opinions may differ; but as a philological study, the more perfected its mechanism, the more instructive it is. Thus the formal apparatus of the Greek language, which

was arrested in its movement by the introduction of the alphabet when it had either not reached or already passed its structural meridian, is much less valuable as a linguistic discipline than that of the Latin, — *teres atque rotunda*, — whose literature commences with the culmination of its grammar.

We have observed that most of the recently published monuments of mediæval Italian literature date from too recent an era to be of much value in illustrating the early history of the modern Italian dialects. The series of documents now in course of publication under the title of *Pergamene, Codici e Fogli Cartacei di Arboréa*, is an exception to this remark; and if the genuineness of the writings embraced in the collection be established, it forms an important contribution to our materials for investigating the true relation between classical Latin and at least one modern Romance dialect. The *Carte di Arboréa* consist of eight manuscripts, one of which is described as a palimpsest, on parchment, and fifteen on paper, besides twelve letters and other smaller writings of a more or less fragmentary character, also on paper. They are classed by the editor as Latin, Sardinian, Italian, and Catalan; and with the exception of a poem of sixteen verses stated to be of the time of Diocletian, their dates range from the seventh to the fifteenth century. Some of them are in prose, some in verse, and they relate almost exclusively to the history of the island of Sardinia. Although it is twenty years since the attention of Italian *literati* was called to these manuscripts, they do not appear to have been subjected to critical examination by any scholar known to the world as competent to pronounce an authoritative opinion on their authenticity, nor indeed have they excited much interest anywhere out of Sardinia. The external evidence in support of their genuineness is very unsatisfactory, or rather it may be said there is next to no evidence at all on the subject. They have been produced piecemeal, from time to time since the year 1845, by an ex-monk residing at Cagliari, and sold to different persons, who have presented them to the library of the University of that city. The vendor stated that one of them was discovered among the papers of his family, and that the remainder came from Oristano in the province of Arboréa; but he gave no information respecting the source from

which they were received. Those who believe the manuscripts to be spurious ascribe the authorship of them to the reverend gentleman himself, — a theory certainly creditable to his learning and ingenuity. Those who accept them as authentic more charitably suppose that he came into possession of them by means of that "odd and secret" Lacedæmonian accomplishment which the judicious Scriblerus was careful to teach his son; in short, that, instead of forging the manuscripts, he only stole them, — the latter offence being esteemed a venial peccadillo in comparison with the former, which has become doubly disreputable since the unfortunate experiments of the learned Vella. Mediæval scholars are divided in regard to the weight of the *diplomatic* or paleographical evidence. This is a question not within our competence; but if we may be permitted to speak on so delicate a point of criticism as this, we should say that we do not discover any such discrepancy between the chirography of several of these manuscripts as to convince us that it is impossible they should be the work of one pen. On the contrary, we seem to discover a suspicious resemblance between the handwriting of monuments professedly executed in different centuries. Sardinian archæologists, who ought to be the best judges on this point, find the internal evidence, both historical and philological, strong in favor of the genuineness of the documents. Previously announced topographical and historical theories have, as is alleged, received striking confirmation from them; and, on the other hand, many new facts revealed by them have been established by recent researches in archives and other repositories of mediæval lore which could not have been accessible to the supposed counterfeiter. Coincidences of both these classes are said to be too numerous to admit of any probable explanation, except the simple theory that the papers are *bonâ fide* works of the ages and the authorship to which they lay claim. The only one of these documents respecting which the present writer would venture to speak with any confidence, upon a cursory examination, is a letter in the Catalan dialect, bearing date at Sassari on the 28th of February, 1497, enclosing copies of ancient inscriptions existing at Sassari, with drawings of Egyptian antiquities, and a summary of the contents of various Greek and Latin poems inscribed upon the

walls of a large subterranean tomb at Torres. The tone of this letter is altogether so modern that it is difficult to believe that it belongs to the fifteenth century; and there occur in it grammatical constructions which may possibly be characteristic of a local dialect, but which we have not met with elsewhere in a pretty extensive study of Catalan prose literature. Upon the whole, we do not think that the genuineness of the *Carte di Arboréa*, though an article of faith with all patriotic Sardinians, is yet sufficiently made out to entitle them to rank as philological authorities.

Besides these various collections of material for illustrating the history of the native language and literature, the awakening interest of Italian scholars in domestic philology has produced some original works in that department which deserve more than a passing remark. We shall devote the remainder of this article to a notice of one of them, and of the theories it discusses.

In 1864, the Accademia Pontoniana of Naples propounded the following queries as a theme for a prize essay: "What credit are we to allow to the proposition, that Italian is only a corruption of Latin? The essential difference between the two languages. Admitting that Italian is a kind of degenerate Latin, how was the transformation brought about? In fine, what shall we say of the opinion which maintains that Italian was spoken at Rome even while Latin was still a living tongue? All which questions, being first examined, fix the true sources of the Italian language; say whether it is the exclusive patrimony of a single province of the Peninsula; and how far the other provinces, especially those of the South, may claim to possess it."

The successful competitor for the prize was Cesare Cantù, who is well known as a voluminous and popular historical writer, and as a conspicuous disciple of one of the sects into which the new Catholic school has already divided itself. Both as a thinker and as an investigator, Cantù is less able and enlightened, we fear we must add less conscientious, than Montalembert. He was educated for the Church, if not actually professed; and though now in secular life, he has never been able so to fold his turban as to hide the tonsure. He

professes toleration, but his notion of religious liberty is a parody of the political liberty of modern imperialism. "The ballot is perfectly free," said a French colonel to his soldiers; "but every man who does not vote for the First Consul shall be shot at the head of the regiment to-morrow morning." Full liberty of opinion and of speech shall be granted to the people when they heartily adopt the views of the Cæsar. Men who accept without question all the doctrines of the Church shall enjoy entire freedom of religious opinion. The historical reasoning of Cantù is generally of the hysteron-proteron order, even when it is not a begging of the question; but as the interests of the Papacy are not visibly compromised by any supposable decision of the problems raised by the Accademia Pontoniana, he has discussed them in a tone of independence and impartiality not usual with him.

In the preliminary part of his essay, — which is entitled *Dissertazione sull' Origine della Lingua Italiana*, — our author states that "there are three conflicting opinions in respect to the origin of the Italian language. First, that through the irruption of the Barbarians the Latin was changed, both lexically and grammatically, to such an extent as to become a new language, which is the modern Italian. This is the system of Castelvetro, Muratori, Raynouard, and finally of the great philologist, Max Müller. Second, that the present language of the Peninsula is the Latin transformed by the influence of the indigenous dialects of the provinces, into which it was introduced by conquest, — an opinion maintained by Fauriel," — a doctrine, it may be observed, which would apply with equal reason, *mutatis mutandis*, to the other Romance tongues. "Third, that Italian is the ancient Latin vernacular, not changed in substance or in nature, but simply modified by time and accident. This view has lately been espoused by Fuchs, and, to a certain extent, by Littré, who recognizes in the Neo-Latin tongues the essence of the actual speech of ancient Rome, affected by Germanic influence." (pp. 1, 2.)

The proposition which Cantù undertakes to maintain is, "that Italian is only the naturally modified speech of ancient Latium; so that the law of continuity, established by Liebnitz in physics, has been verified in that language; that no solution

of continuity was produced by sudden revolutions, but that successive evolutions reduced the spoken Latin to the modern dialect, — evolutions conformable to the usual methods by which the human spirit creates, wears out, transforms speech, and therefore similar to the organic processes of other languages." (p. 2.) As Müller has complained that his views on the question under consideration have been misapprehended by Littré, and as the authority of both philologists is eminently entitled to respect, it is just to state their conclusions in words in which the former has quoted and adopted the opinions of the latter.

"I take this opportunity of stating that I never held the opinion ascribed to me by M. Littré (*Journal des Savants*, Avril, 1856; *Histoire de la Langue Française*, 1863, Vol. I. p. 94), with regard to the origin of the Romance languages. My object was to explain certain features of these languages, which I hold would be inexplicable if we looked upon French, Italian, and Spanish merely as secondary developments of Latin. They must be explained, as I tried to show, by the fact that the people in whose minds and mouths these modern dialects grew up were not all Romans or Roman provincials, but tribes thinking in German and trying to express themselves in Latin. It was this additional disturbing agency to which I endeavored to call attention, without for a moment wishing to deny other more normal and generally admitted agencies which were at work in the formation of the Neo-Latin dialects, as much as in all other languages advancing from what has been called a synthetic to an analytic state of grammar. In trying to place this special agency in its proper light, I may have expressed myself somewhat incautiously; but if I had to express again my own view on the origin of the Romance languages, I could not do it more clearly and accurately than in adopting the words of my eminent critic: 'À mon tour, venant, par la série de ces études, à m'occuper du débat ouvert, j'y prends une position intermédiaire, pensant que, essentiellement, c'est la tradition latine qui domine dans les langues romanes, mais que l'invasion germanique leur a porté un rude coup, et que de ce conflit où elles ont failli succomber, et avec elles la civilisation, il leur est resté des cicatrices encore apparentes et qui sont, à un certain point de vue ces nuances germaniques signalées par Max Müller.'" — *Lectures on the Science of Language*, 2d Series, pp. 275, 276, note.

The difference between the theory of Müller and Littré and that of Cantù may be thus stated. Müller and Littré suppose the classical Latin in its incorrect popular form to be the basis

of all the Romance languages, and they ascribe the general departure of those languages from the Latin type to the disturbing influence of the Germanic element. Cantù makes an old unwritten vernacular dialect the basis of modern Italian, and denies to the Gothic invasion any specific transforming action distinct in kind or energy from that to which all languages are exposed in the vicissitudes of time and social revolution. To express the distinction more succinctly, and perhaps at the same time more precisely, we may say that Müller and Littré hold the Romance dialects, Italian included, to have been abnormally developed from classical Latin as popularly spoken under determining Germanic influences; Cantù regards Italian, at least, as normally developed from the *lingua rustica*, or vernacular dialect of ancient Latium.

Upon general considerations, and without testing the applicability of the Müller-Littré theory to this or that particular Romance language, it is not clear that we may not discriminate between them, and admit in one case a controlling influence which we deny to have been exerted in another; for thus far, *non constat* that the effects are so nearly identical that they must of necessity be referred to a common cause. Evidence which shows that in the classical ages there existed in Italy an unwritten dialect much resembling the modern Italian, would by no means prove that such dialect ever became current in Spain or in Gaul. There is a certain probability to the contrary. Colonists do not carry their popular dialects with them. We have substantially but one form of English — the grammatical language, the *lingua comune* — in the United States, and even in all the British American provinces. Castilian is the only dialect of Spanish known in all Spanish America. There is no presumption, therefore, that the *lingua rustica* ever extended itself beyond the bounds of Italy; and the invasion of the Barbarians may have found in the Hispanic and Gallic provinces a material to work upon very different from that which it encountered in the popular speech of Italy.

This view of the subject makes it important to observe that, in the passage we have quoted, which — being, we believe, Müller's latest statement of his opinions — must be considered as embodying his maturest conclusions, he has not expressed

himself on one point with his usual clearness and precision. "The people in whose minds and mouths these modern dialects grew up were not *all* Romans or Roman provincials, but tribes thinking in German and trying to express themselves in Latin." We italicise *all* in order to draw attention to the discrepancy between the first and last member of this proposition. Now, what is Müller's idea of the ethnological condition of the "people" in question? Was the relative numerical importance of the native and the foreign element much the same in all the territory which had been occupied by the Latin race? Did the invaders constitute everywhere, or even anywhere, an actual majority of the population? And how far can we detect, in the written or the vulgar local dialects of these countries, differences fairly ascribable to a larger or smaller infusion of the foreign element? The importance of these questions, otherwise sufficiently obvious, specially appears from an interesting fact noticed by Cantù: "Venetia was never invaded by any barbarians. Verona, by all; but their dialects resemble each other much more than the Veronese does that of contiguous Brescia, the Brescian that of Bergamo, or the Bergamask that of Milan, — all territories barely separated by small streams. In like manner, only a river-course or a mountain ridge divides two languages so very diverse as Tuscan and Bolognese." In a note to this passage, Cantù states the following general objections to Müller's theory; and we think it will be admitted that, though by no means a decisive refutation, they are entitled to consideration: —

"1. The Germans were few in number as compared with the Italians; for otherwise their native land would have been depopulated, and they would have introduced their vernacular language into their new home.

"2. Allowing for the introduction of a few new words, and the impoverishment of grammatical forms, the Italian language, or (not to assume the point under discussion) the mediæval Latin, resembles the Latin, while it varies very widely from the German in both words and construction.

"3. The resemblance increases as we go backwards, that is, to the period of the invasion; whereas, the fact would be the contrary, if the invaders had introduced the new dialect.

"4. The Latin accent is generally retained in Italian, and we have nothing of the German rule which attaches the accent to the root, both in derivative and in compound words. This is a change which would naturally have taken place, if Latin had been essentially modified by the speech of the Germans." (p. 76.)

The influence of immigration upon languages brought into contact by it may perhaps receive some illustration from what is going on among the German settlers in the United States, who often long remain together in considerable bodies, retaining for many years, more or less exclusively, the use of their native tongue. This is a too interesting and suggestive subject to be quite disregarded as a source of instruction in the study of the present question. We have not the materials for discussing it. We may, however, remark, that the old German immigrants in Pennsylvania, who have continued to use that language for a century in the midst of a nation English by birth and vernacular, have, in "trying to express themselves" in English, very little affected the dialect of their neighbors, or even carried into their own use of a new language many of the characteristic features of the old. On the contrary, you will hear, in the German of that population, many English words and idioms, while their English and that of their neighbors has no German ingredients, except now and then a single word or two, as, for example, *through-other*, corresponding to the German *durcheinander*, and the like.

In the discussion of his theme, Cantù makes little parade of linguistic knowledge, nor has he collected many new facts bearing upon the subject; but he had, on more than one former occasion, more or less fully examined the question, and he appears to be acquainted with nearly all the data and arguments which have been adduced by other writers in support or in refutation of the views he espouses. It was impossible, within the limits of an academic memoir of less than two hundred octavo pages, to give an exhaustive sifting of the principal problem and the many collateral questions which are suggested in considering it. The reader will not find in the paper any satisfactory solution of the doubts he may have entertained as to the coexistence and specific character of numerous local dialects in Roman

Italy, or, in other words, as to the question how far the *lingua rustica* was one or many,—any instructive inquiry in what way and to what extent the popular speech of the Peninsula was affected by irruptions of other than Germanic barbarians, or by the military colonies of foreign non-Germanic veterans established in Italy,—any probable explanation of lexical and grammatical coincidences between all the Romance languages, and which cannot be traced either to German or to ancient Latin, classical or rustic. But, with all these deductions, it must be admitted that our author has accomplished nearly all that could be effected in so brief a memoir. This essay may be pronounced a learned and able investigation of the historical relations of the Italian language, in its spoken and in its written forms, to the literary and the rustic Latin dialects of the classic ages. It is not only the most valuable contribution yet made by an Italian scholar to the primitive history of his native speech, but on the whole, as an argument, more satisfactory than anything known to us on the same subject from a foreign pen.

The theory of Cantù involves, or rather consists, of two minor propositions, the burden of the proof of which lies on the affirmant: first, that there existed in the classic period a *lingua rustica* grammatically, if not logically, so distinct from the written language, that it deserved to be regarded, not as merely a congeries of variable vulgar corruptions, but as a different dialect, though collaterally connected with Latin; second, that this *lingua rustica* still survives in, and is substantially identical with, one or more of the modern Italian dialects.

The notices of the ancient rustic or vulgar speech are so few and so scanty in the Latin authors whose works are embraced in our collegiate curriculum, or in the ordinary reading of American scholars, that the propositions we have just enunciated will strike most of our readers, perhaps, as little better than mere conjectures, improbable in themselves and almost wholly unsupported by historical testimony. Those, too, who have looked into the somewhat unfamiliar literature of this subject may have been confirmed in this opinion by the authority of the late lamented Sir George Cornewall Lewis, who characterizes as "absurd" the "fancy that the Romance or the Italian

existed as the language of the lower orders of ancient Italy in a shape little different from that which they bore in the thirteenth century," and who observes elsewhere, that "there appears to be no evidence whatever for the opinion that the *Romana rustica*, or *vulgaris*, was a language distinct in its forms or roots from the Latin, and spoken by the lower class or the peasants of Italy; still less is there any proof that this language was the base of the Italian." It cannot be *absurd* to suppose that what happens to-day, in a particular family of languages, under given conditions, may have happened in the same family centuries ago under similar conditions. Now, by the side of the *lingua comune*, the written dialect of Italy, there exist spoken dialects "distinct" from the written speech "in forms" and often in "roots," and bearing the same relation to the *lingua comune* which Cantù supposes to have existed between the *lingua rustica* and the literary language of ancient Rome. Further, the Italian *lingua comune* demonstrably possessed, at least six hundred years ago, when it assumed a written form, very nearly the same grammar and the same vocabulary which it possesses at this day; and there existed several other Italian dialects, which, as we have reason to believe, though less fixed than the literary language, or Tuscan, had the same general grammatical and lexical character which they have at present. The comparative immutability of the Tuscan is doubtless due to the fact that it became the standard written language of the Peninsula. Is there anything violently improbable or unreasonable in the supposition that this *lingua comune*, or some one or more of the other extant Italian dialects, was spoken twelve centuries earlier, in a form recognizable as substantially the same as that they now exhibit?

We are, indeed, not entitled to assume a fact as true because it is possible, or even, to a certain degree, probable; and therefore, as we have already said, our author may justly be called upon for his proofs. Sir George Cornewall Lewis denies that there is any "evidence whatever" of the ancient existence of a *Romana rustica*, or *vulgaris*, "distinct in its forms or roots from the Latin." But what proof, in nature and amount, is the affirmant of the proposition bound to furnish? Unwritten lan-

guages leave no literary monuments, possess no formulated and recorded grammatical system. Hence the evidence which could exist on such a point, before the age of critical philology, would necessarily be very scanty. Still, *de non existentibus et de non apparentibus eadem est ratio*, and therefore *some* proof must be adduced by those who maintain the affirmative opinion. The *nature* of the proof, it will be admitted, is the same which would be required to establish to a stranger the existence of the modern Bolognese or Milanese; the *amount* reasonably demanded is less, not merely because of the lapse of time, and the notorious indifference of the Romans to all philologies except classical Latin and Greek, but because all linguistic presumption is in favor of the multiplication of dialects at early periods of European history.

Let us apply these tests to the question, Have there existed in Italy, since the birth of her modern literature, one or more popular, spoken, habitually unwritten dialects, "distinct in their forms or roots" from the *lingua comune*, or language of books, of journalism, of official life, of intercourse between native citizens of different provinces? Let us suppose a foreigner possessing just that portion of modern Italian literature which corresponds to the extant literature of Rome, and let his collection be as fragmentary and incomplete as is the body of Roman literature which has come down to us. What are the chances that he would find, in his reading, any proof that there is, or ever was, a distinct unwritten dialect popularly spoken by the citizens of Milan, or Bologna, or Venice, or Naples, or Turin? The *Secchia Rapita* would reveal to him the existence of the Bolognese, and among his odd volumes of Goldoni he might light upon a fragment of a comedy in Venetian. If he possessed the autobiography of Alfieri, he would learn that in the eighteenth century a *patois* called Piedmontese was spoken at Turin. The *Ricordi* of Massimo d' Azeglio, just now issued from the press, would inform him that this same *patois* is still current at that city. But D' Azeglio's style is as colloquial as that of Plautus, and, besides, there has lately been what the French call a *recrudescence* in the vitality of the *dialetto* at the old sub-Alpine capital. But how much knowledge of the grammatical or lexical character of those dialects could he

gather from such sources, and what actual acquaintance have European scholars generally, who know Italian only by the study of its literature in their own country, with the living *linguæ rusticæ* of the Peninsula? Scholars confined to such sources of information as we have supposed — and we have no better on ancient Italic philology — would be not at all better able to show the real being and character of the modern *linguæ rusticæ* than we are of the old.

It may help to the clearer understanding of the subject if we devote a little space to the consideration of the mutual relations between the spoken and the written languages of Italy, — a matter not easy of comprehension to American and English scholars, who use only one form of their native tongue. It is difficult for us to imagine a great poet, an elegant prose-writer, still more a fluent and correct speaker, habitually thinking, talking with refined friends and neighbors, "driving bargains," and even "making love," in a dialect absolutely without literary culture, and far more remote from the classic form of his native tongue than the language of Birdofredum Sawin is from the English of Macaulay. Yet such is the fact with all Italians excepting Tuscans, and even with them to a greater extent than foreigners usually suppose. Biondelli says: "To speak and write Italian, we must learn our own language by long and laborious study, almost as we master Latin and French; and in spite of the affinity between our dialects, ... we are really obliged to translate our local speech into another tongue." In a letter to the editor of *Il Borghini*, printed in the sixth number of that periodical, Pasquini observes: "To turn into Italian a Milanese sentence, the words and the forms must be, in great part, changed. It is not enough to correct the grammar, there must be actual translation."

The observation of every foreigner resident in Italy will confirm these declarations to the fullest extent; and in Piedmont and some other provinces, speaking Italian, even with strangers, is avoided as an affectation, French being generally employed instead.

The great writers of the fourteenth century, Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, and the chroniclers, adopted the vernacular Tuscan, and wrote as the world around them spoke. The reverence

entertained for those authors, all of whom acquired a great contemporaneous popularity, led to their too exclusive acceptance as models of style and diction, and prevented the written language from keeping up with the enrichment and spontaneous development of the vernacular, which was a natural and necessary consequence of the extension of commerce, of the freedom of thought and inquiry which revived for a time when the anti-Papal schism had diminished the authority of the Church, and of other circumstances which gave a new character to the Italian life of the succeeding century. Hence, while the language of books remained in a great degree stationary, the living speech of Tuscany, as well as of the rest of Italy, was undergoing considerable changes; and in the time of the Florentine Davanzati, three hundred years ago, the divergence between the word and the letter was already such as to justify the complaint of that excellent writer, that the authors of his time "hamstring the language, composing not in our own living tongue, but in the common Italian which is nowhere spoken, but is learned, like the dead languages, by the study of those Florentine writers whose works do not embrace the whole speech," &c.

What authorizes us to affirm, what renders it so much as *prima facie* probable, that a similar relation did not exist between the written and the spoken tongues of even the Roman capital? The usual conversational language of the Italian Bourbons was Neapolitan; the royal family at Turin have always spoken Piedmontese; Milanese is the habitual vernacular of Manzoni; every Italian city has its theatres in which dramatic entertainments are constantly given *in dialetto*, — for this is modern Italian for *lingua rustica*, — and the Teatro Meneghino, for the native drama, is the favorite resort of the most refined society of the Lombard capital. These are all undoubted facts, and yet not one of them would be learned from the perusal of such Italian books as are commonly read in other countries. Hence it is fair to argue that the general silence of the Latin classical writers on this point does not even tend to show that the *lingua vulgaris* was not spoken in the palace of the Cæsars, — in fact, Quintilian tells us expressly that Augustus used the modern Italian form *calda* for *calida;*

that Livy's *patavinity* was anything more than simply an infusion of the idioms of the Paduan household dialect; or that the *fabulæ Atellanæ*, though called Oscan by the foreigner Strabo, were essentially different in diction from the comedy *in dialetto* of modern Italy. Even the conversational witticisms quoted by Cicero and Quintilian, though reported in classical Latin, may have been uttered in the vulgar tongue, for every one who has lived long in Italy has heard jokes, first pronounced in Piedmontese or Neapolitan, translated into good set Tuscan by the narrator, or even by the original author in repeating them.

The universal prevalence of the Latin language, in its classical form, throughout the Roman Empire, is very generally assumed, but by no means yet proved. Nobody doubts that it was the language of law, of literature, of the administrative action of the government, and that, like the modern Italian, it served as a common medium of communication between the citizens of different parts of the Peninsula who may have habitually spoken dialects unintelligible to each other. But where is the proof that it ever went further? It certainly did not extirpate Greek or Oscan at Pompeii, though the evidence of the numerous inscriptions hastily scratched or painted on the walls of that city undoubtedly shows that, of the three languages, Latin was the tongue most frequently written. But it does not prove that Latin had become the popular speech; for by just such evidence we might show that Tuscan is the vernacular of Bologna or Turin at this day. You see everywhere on the walls of these towns inscriptions like those at Pompeii, never *in dialetto*, but always in the *lingua comune*, which is certainly not the familiar dialect of either of them. The only difference between the mural writings of Pompeii and of modern provincial towns lies in the fact that paper and printing have in a great degree substituted perishable placards for the more permanent scratched and colored advertisements, electioneering appeals, and the like, at Pompeii.

Latin was long the official language, but it never became the spoken tongue, of Byzantium. The French conquerors of the Morea and Attica used French during their occupation of Greece. Ramon Muntaner declares that "the goodliest chiv-

alry in the world was that of the Morea; and they spoke as fair French as at Paris." But what impression did they make on the native speech? What effect did even the Avars and the Bulgarians, who permanently changed almost every geographical name in the Peloponnesus, produce upon Greek?

Lewis maintains that "the universal prevalence of the Latin language is proved by the use of the word Latin for language generally in old French and Italian." We draw just the contrary inference from the use of the word as we have met with it; for in most of the examples, especially the earlier ones known to us, Latin evidently means a foreign language. Thus, the birds are said to converse "in their Latin." Saracens, and other strangers are noticed as speaking "their Latin"; and the word *latiner*, afterwards corrupted to *latimer*, meant, not a fluent speaker, but always an interpreter.

Further, we are not well enough acquainted with the normal pronunciation of classical Latin to understand how far its orthography was phonographic. We know from Quintilian and other writers that it had, like French, silent letters, perhaps even syllables, the omission of which in speaking or reading would bring it much nearer to what the *lingua rustica* is supposed to have been, and consequently to modern Italian, than its mere spelling would authorize us to suppose. Suetonius observes that Augustus, like the first Napoleon, did not follow the conventional orthography, but spelt by the ear, writing *error commune* for *error communis*, — a remark which both proves that the *s* was silent, and establishes an exact identity, in this particular phrase at least, between the spoken Roman and the modern Italian dialect. Cantù collects in the eighth section of his paper numerous examples of the same sort, which tend strongly to confirm his views.

In the preceding remarks we have dwelt the longer on the argument from analogy, because neither the writer whom we are reviewing, nor, so far as we are aware, other investigators of the question, have availed themselves of it, and because it seems to us an entirely satisfactory refutation of the charge of absurdity and improbability which has been urged against Cantù's general proposition. It certainly shows that the coexistence of a written and of an unwritten dialect, the one

almost exclusively employed in literature, the other almost as exclusively in speech, is not a new thing in Italy, but a constant fact as far back as we can trace the history of her modern dialects. Hence the truth of the theory we are discussing is a question, not of speculative, philological probability, but of evidence in support of what may be considered a fair historical presumption.

Cantù's thesis, though it logically divides itself into two propositions, does not practically admit of a similar analysis in the citation of its proofs, because the testimony which establishes the ancient use of unclassical words and forms in popular speech shows, at the same time, in most cases, that those words and forms are substantially, if not identically, the same employed at this day in Italian. Who can doubt that the vulgarisms *scopare*, *stopa*, *sufolo*, *bellus*, *caballus*, are the same as the similar words now heard every day in Italy? In Ausonius we have *testa* for *caput; ruvido* in Pliny the elder; *fracidus* in Cato; *cribellare* in Palladius; *minare* (modern Italian *menare*, French *mener*) in Apuleius; *jornus* and *tonus* (Italian *giorno* and *tuono*) in Seneca; *grandire*, *beneque evenire* (Italian *ingrandire e venir bene*) in Cato. Festus says, *res minimi pretii, cum dicimus non hettæ te facio;* the Italians say, *non ti stimo un ette*. Quintilian condemns the adjective *possibilis* as hardly admissible, and complains that *due*, *tre*, *cinque*, *quatiordice*, were in common use. St. Jerome informs us that draught-horses were vulgarly called *burici* (Italian *borrico*); Suetonius, that Augustus deprived a Roman of the consular dignity for writing *ixi* (Italian *essi*) for *ipsi;* but, besides other solecisms already quoted, the Emperor himself was accustomed to use *baceolus* (Italian *baccello*) for *stultus*. In like manner, we find *granarium*, *jubilare*, *pansa*, *bassus*, *morsicare*, *anca*, *planuria*, *sanguisuga*, *majale*, *rasores*, *cloppus*, *parentes* in sense of *affines*, *pisinni* (Italian *piccini*, Spanish *pequeño*, or perhaps *pequeño niño*, negro *picaninny*) for *filii*, all carelessly used for the classical terms, or expressly condemned as rustic by the critics. The modern Tuscan peasants are much inclined to dock words, and they go so far as to say, *u' o a i, dove ho a ire*. The Roman rustics did the same, and asked for a loaf in the phrase, *da mi il pane*, which

is literal Italian for *da mihi illum panem.* Cicero, as Cantù observes, had no difficulty in understanding this expression, and never dreamed that it had been learned from the Germans or other "barbarians."

These are a random selection from the examples cited by our author, and but a small proportion of those which he has so industriously collected; and yet, few as they are, it would require a long search in modern Italian miscellaneous literature to light upon as many specimens of the vocabulary of the living local dialects.

Those who are familiar with the Vulgate are aware that it contains many words and phrases which do not occur in classical authors. Cantù cites several of these, and argues, with force, that as the Vulgate, as well as the earlier translations of the Scriptures, was prepared less for educated Romans, to whom Greek was so familiar that they scarcely required a Latin Bible, than for popular use, it is probable that its departures from classical propriety are adoptions of, or approximations to, the vernacular speech. The solecisms of the Vulgate correspond, in great part, to the idiom of the modern Romance languages; and we think the presumption that they were taken from the popular dialect is stronger than the probability that they were introduced into that dialect from the Latin Scriptures.

Urbicius, who wrote on the art of war near the close of the fifth century, furnishes a remarkable list of words of military command which correspond nearly with the modern idiom: *Silentio mundata implete; Non vos turbatis; Ordinem servate; Bandum sequite; Nemo dimittat bandum; Inimicos seque.* It is true that Urbicius was a comparatively late writer; but words of command are not often changed except with the introduction of new weapons. Soldiers are eminently conservative, and hence the technical phrases we have quoted are probably much older than the time of Urbicius.

The words apparently belonging to the *lingua rustica* collected by Cantù, Diez, and others, are certainly very far from forming a vocabulary complete enough for the uses of humble life; but they are quite as numerous as we have any right to expect to find in authors who sedulously avoided the use of

such words. If we come down a few centuries below the classical period, when the Roman culture had perished under the assaults of domestic corruption and foreign invasion, we find a very large number of vocables unknown to the better literature of Rome. It is certainly highly probable that a considerable part of the vocabulary of Du Cange had floated up from the bottom when the "mud-sills" of society were disturbed by violence and revolution. But Du Cange seldom cites authors older than the seventh century. Quicherat, in his *Addenda Lexicis Latinis*, has no less than seven thousand words collected from authors of the decline of Roman literature, and who wrote before the barbarous age had commenced. Every presumption is in favor of the supposition that most of these words properly belonged to the *Romana vulgaris*, and a great number of them are now extant in the Romance languages.

In the present condition of the science of language, philologists would attach more importance to evidence of grammatical than of lexical coincidences and discrepancies, as tending to show that the *lingua vulgaris* was essentially the same as the modern Italian, and essentially different from the classical Latin. The ancient writers naturally quote from the vernacular single words oftener than entire propositions, or even phrases, which show the grammatical construction. Hence, the evidence of a substantial inflexional or syntactical difference between the unwritten and the written dialects is neither in kind nor in amount all that could be desired to establish the affirmative of the proposition. There is, nevertheless, a considerable amount of testimony on this point. Cantù justly attaches importance to the declaration of Varro, that the [ancient] Latins employed only the ablative, which he appears to consider the stem, "declension having been introduced from convenience and necessity." Whether the Italian form of the noun was really taken from the ablative, is a disputed point, but at least it generally coincides with it; and in many instances expressions condemned by good Latin writers as vulgar show that the noun was used indeclinably in the ablative form.

Our author thus states the characteristic points in which Italian grammar differs from Latin: —

1. In indicating syntactical relations by prepositions instead of cases, or by substituting *pre*-positions for the *post*-positions of agglomerative languages.

2. In preceding the noun by the article, definite or indefinite.

3. In forming many tenses of the active, and all the tenses of the passive verb, by means of auxiliaries, that is, dropping the form expressive of *passion* in act (*legor*), and substituting that of *action* in effect (*ho letto*).

Numerous examples of these various forms of language are cited from ancient authors; and it must be allowed that they occur in the best writers, and often without any note of disapprobation. But they are most frequent in the Vulgate, and in other works not considered as authorities on questions of Latinity, and they are often condemned by ancient critics. Indeed, however doubtful we may be as to our competence to pronounce categorically upon nice questions of Latin construction, every one who has made that language, in its typical form, a familiar possession, feels that such combinations are foreign to the genius of the tongue, violations of symmetry in its architecture, or at least ungraceful colloquialisms. It seems highly probable that they are simply rustic forms, which by negligence or tolerance have been admitted into better society than they could justly lay claim to. These licenses are frequent in proportion to the more or less popular character of the works in which they occur. They are found oftenest in the comedy, in familiar letters, in the Scriptores Rei Rusticæ, in the Vulgate, in the works of the early Christian writers, in sepulchral and other private inscriptions, or in authors unknown to fame.

It is worth noticing, as affording some support to our author's theory, that the Umbrian — a language certainly allied to Latin — appears to use many nouns in an indeclinable ablative form, like the Italian. In the Eugubine tables we find *pane*, *capro*, *porco*, *bue*, *atro*, *ferina*, *sonito*, and even the modern adverb *poi* for *postquam*. The little we know of the other old Italic dialects points in the same direction.

In addition to all this testimony and much more of the same kind, — for we have offered but a *spicilegium* of the proofs, —

Cantù and other advocates of the same opinion cite a great multitude of passages from Roman literature, in which the existence of a distinct spoken dialect is more or less clearly asserted. In some cases these citations seem to refer to a speech almost radically diverse from the Latin ; but in many cases they are as fairly to be interpreted as referring merely to accidental vulgarisms become habitual, as is constantly happening in all languages.

Diez, whose authority on all questions relating to the structure and history of the Romance languages is extremely high, agrees with Cantù in tracing those dialects to the rustic or vulgar spoken Latin, but he does not believe the latter to have been anything more than a popular colloquial corruption of the classic tongue. We give his views in his own words : —

" Six Romance languages claim our attention by their grammatical character or their literary significance ; — two eastern, Italian and Wallachian ; two southwestern, Spanish and Portuguese ; and two northwestern, Provençal and French. They all have their primary and principal source in the Latin. But they are derived, not from the Latin employed in literature, but, as has been often justly argued, from the Roman popular speech, which was used concurrently with classical Latin. Attempts have been made to prove the existence of such a popular dialect by the testimony of the ancients ; but its existence is a fact so little needing proof that we should rather be justified in requiring evidence to the contrary, as an exception to the general rule. We must, however, be careful not to understand by the term 'popular speech' anything more than is implied by it in other cases ; that is, the vulgar vernacular dialect of one and the same language, which consists in a negligent pronunciation of words, in an inclination to the resolution of grammatical forms, in the use of numerous expressions avoided by writers, and in special phrases and constructions. These and no other conclusions are warranted by the testimony and the specimens gathered from the works of ancient authors ; at most, we can only admit that the contrast between the dialect of popular discourse and that of literature, on the complete congelation of this latter, a little before the downfall of the Western Empire, manifested itself more conspicuously. If, then, the existence of a popular dialect, that is, of a vulgar form of speech, is, upon general grounds, certain, the derivation of the Romance dialects from this popular speech is not less certain, inasmuch as the written language — resting altogether on the past and cultivated only by the higher classes and by writers — admitted of no new development or

production, while the much more flexible vulgar tongue contained the germ and the susceptibility of a development imposed by time. When at a later period, in consequence of that great event, the German conquest, the ancient culture perished with the higher classes, the pure Latin died of itself. The popular dialect pursued its course the more rapidly, and became at last the fountain from which the Romance languages flowed, though in a form widely different from their original." — *Grammatik der Romanischen Sprachen*, Vol. I. pp. 3, 4.

Diez, it will be seen, agrees with Cantù in tracing the Romance languages back to the popular dialect of Italy, but he denies to that dialect a lexical or grammatical character distinct from that of the Latin. In short, he holds the *lingua rustica*, of course, in all its different *patois*, to be not a collateral relative, but a direct descendant of the classical tongue, maimed, debased, corrupted by the clownish ignorance of those who spoke it.

This theory, which evidently supposes the Latin to have been at some ancient period the nearly universal language of the Italian people, appears to us to be destitute of historical support, and to be at the same time contrary to all sound presumption. The people of Italy were not all of one race, nor in the early ages of Roman history did they employ a common tongue. Doubtless there existed some local, nameless, and forgotten *patois*, of which, as they were never written, no traces have survived to us. Several of the native dialects, however, had been reduced to writing, and possessed at least a lapidary literature. If these languages were all eradicated by the speech of the Roman conquerors in the brief space between the foundation and the downfall of Rome, it is a fact unparalleled in history and entirely contrary to the ordinary course of nature. The agencies *de propaganda lingua* must have been infinitely less efficient in the rude, semi-barbarous days of republican Rome, than after the introduction of Christianity, and especially after the invention of printing. But how slow, even in our times, is the process of extirpating a local dialect, and substituting a central, common speech! The Germanic dialects are certainly all much more closely allied to the High-German, than Umbrian, Oscan, or Etruscan to Latin, and yet how persistently they hold out against the inroads of the Hoch-

Deutsch. Bretagne was subdued by Charlemagne a thousand years ago, but a Celtic tongue is still generally spoken in that province. Tuscan has been the sole written language of all Italy for at least five hundred years. It is the spoken dialect nowhere but in Tuscany; and Tuscan, Bolognese, Piedmontese, Neapolitan, Venetian, not to mention many other local forms, certainly differ in inflexion, syntax, and vocabulary more widely than Swedish and Danish, or than Spanish and Portuguese.

We have already remarked, that we have no proof that Latin ever supplanted the native Greek and Oscan at Pompeii. The modern Italian of books, though as universal at Naples as at Florence or Rome, has made little or no impression on the use of Neapolitan; and what evidence have we that Latin ever became any more a national vernacular, than the *lingua comune d'Italia* — the language of literature, of journalism, of the pulpit, of government — is to-day? It has never been supposed by any scholar that Bolognese, Venetian, Milanese, and the rest, are corruptions of Tuscan, or in any sense whatever derived from it. Some, indeed, have held, that they are all corruptions of classical Latin, modified by local influences. In our view, it is a far more probable opinion, that they are all descendants of different dialects as old as Latin itself, and that their common resemblances are due, first, to a remote pre-historical common origin, and secondly, to the modifying influence of Roman literature, law, and religion.

The local origin of the *lingua comune*, or Tuscan, is a vexed question. On the evidence of early poems written in that dialect by Sicilians, it has been argued that it was formed and reduced to writing in Sicily. But if so, how did it perish in that island, and how did it become the vernacular of Tuscany? Its universality in this latter province is stronger proof than any mere literary evidence can be that it is of strictly indigenous growth. If it were merely a corruption of Latin, it ought to have originated in Latium, where, if anywhere, Latin was emphatically the mother tongue of the whole people; whereas we have no proof whatever that Latin ever was a popularly spoken dialect in Etruria.

Admitting the *lingua rustica*, if not of Rome itself, at least

of Etruria and other more or less remote provinces, to have been a dialect grammatically distinguishable from classical Latin, it is easy to see that the continued existence of the latter through the Dark Ages as the only cultivated form, and, what is much more important, as the only possible means of either oral or written general communication between the population of different Italian provinces, and of universal religious instruction, must have exerted a great modifying and harmonizing influence on all the local *patois*. Hence we may fairly argue that, from the period of the extension of Roman sway beyond the boundaries of Latium to our own times, the provincial *linguæ rusticæ* of Italy have been converging toward, not diverging from, a common type.

We have thought that we should do a wrong to the author we are reviewing, and weaken an argument to the benefit of which he is entitled, by presenting a complete summary of his course of reasoning, or by introducing much of his body of evidence. We have preferred, therefore, to strengthen, by presenting a few independent considerations, the position taken by Cantù in a discussion which we hope scholars interested in the subject will pursue in his own pages. We have felt, too, that we should encumber and embarrass this brief argument by any examination of the applicability of this or that particular theory to the non-Italian Romance dialects. They each deserve a special, independent examination, and when philology shall have done for Spanish and Portuguese and Catalan, for Wallachian and Romantsch, what Cantù and his predecessors have done for Italian, we shall be better prepared for the formulation and acceptance of definite conclusions, than we can be with only our present means of knowledge. Hispano-Latin is a mine hitherto little wrought. Even Isidore has not been yet turned to the best possible account. The Latin texts of the *Aureum Opus Privilegiorum Regni Valentiæ*, of Capmany's *Memorias Historicas*, of the various collections of Aragonese legislation, and of the *España Sagrada*, contain numerous words unknown to Du Cange; and there yet exists in Spain and Portugal an immense mass of unedited mediæval Latin, which will doubtless yield an abundant harvest to future investigators.

In conclusion, although we are not prepared to say that

Cantù has irrefragably established his whole thesis, it seems to us that he has made out a very strong, if not a conclusive case, as concerns the question whether modern Italian is derived from a spoken or from the classical written language of ancient Italy. There is still room for debate whether the popular speech was, as Cantù supposes, a distinct dialect of Latin, related to that tongue only as Bolognese, for example, is allied to Tuscan; or, as Diez maintains, merely a vulgar corruption of the language written by all, and spoken by the cultivated classes. In all events, the theory of Müller, which is equally applicable to either conclusion, is both sufficient and indispensable as an explanation of Germanic features and Germanic ingredients found in the Romance languages.

Art. II.—1. *Die laendliche Verfassung Ruszlands. Ihre Entwickelungen und ihre Feststellung in der Gesetzgebung von* 1861. Von August Freiherrn von Haxthausen. Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus. 1866.

2. *Les Institutions de la Russie depuis les Réformes de l'Empereur Alexandre II.* Par M. I.-H. Schnitzler. Paris: V^e^ Berger-Levrault et Fils. 1866.

3. *Sketches of Russian Life before and during the Emancipation of the Serfs.* Edited by Henry Morley, Professor of English Literature in University College, London. London: Chapman and Hall. Philadelphia: J. P. Lippincott & Co. 1866.

4. *Eastern Europe and Western Asia. Political and Social Sketches of Russia, Greece, and Syria in* 1861–2–3. By Henry Arthur Tilley. London: Longman, Green, Roberts, and Green. 1864.

Almost unnoticed amid the excitement of our threatening calamities came the report, in March, 1861, that Russia had proclaimed emancipation to the serfs within her borders. At that time no one thought of connecting it with our own experience. Two years later our proclamation had gone forth; another two years, and it had been ratified by the successful

ending of the war. It is interesting, from higher motives than that of curiosity, to look across the waters and watch the working out of a problem similar to ours under a government so diametrically opposite. We welcome, therefore, the recent work of Haxthausen as an accurate and tolerably full account of the Russian legislation on this subject.*

Russian serfdom differed from American slavery not only in many details, but in the grand features which everywhere distinguished the feudal institution from the modern form of servitude. The essential principle of the latter is absolute and immediate property in the person. In villanage the title to the person grows out of a title to the soil, and the condition arises naturally in that stage of society through which most nations pass, when the weak are glad to acknowledge the dominion of one strong hand in order to claim its protection against the violence of many. The serfs of Europe were not strangers in a land of their masters, nor barbarians transplanted to the midst of refinement. On the contrary, they themselves constituted the nation, and their lords were usually the outlanders. Together the two advanced from darkness to light, and, as time went on, they became virtually one and the same people. So long as feudalism lasted, therefore, there was always that in it which checked the tendency of the serf to become a mere chattel, and which in the end greatly diminished the difficulties of emancipation. A thousand years of such a relation do not so far reduce the human creature to the thing, as the single act of snatching a savage from the shores of Africa on the part of men already civilized. Yet the advantage of this difference is not altogether on one side. Negro slavery is simply a modern growth, that has fastened itself on several nations during the last three centuries. Except in the United States, it has never struck deeply into the body politic, partaking of and affecting its vitality. Even with us it throve only by circumstances that suddenly favored its extension, and, though of wide influence, had ever been regarded as an excrescence. But in Russia, from the very nature and antiquity of its origin, the serf class underlies the whole fabric of society, and is among

* A French translation of these laws appeared in St. Petersburg, and a German translation in Mitau, the capital of Courland, both in 1861.

its primitive and most important elements; — primitive, since the causes that led to its formation lie ten centuries back in history; and important, because, at the time of emancipation, the serfs proper numbered over twenty million souls, — one third of the whole population.

In the existence of serfdom there was nothing peculiar; but why in Russia alone of the countries of Europe did it last to the middle of the nineteenth century? Because this Eastern empire had belonged for many hundred years to Asiatic rather than to European development. Its geographical position reserved for it a destiny distinct from either, whose peculiarity may not yet for generations be fully recognized. It had nothing to do with Greece or Rome, nothing with the Roman Church, nothing indeed with Christianity till nearly a thousand years after the death of the founder of our religion. No ruins of an ancient culture crumbled on its territory, and no contest was waged there between barbarism and an effete civilization. The circumstances which determined the form and the date of the feudal system in the West were, therefore, mainly wanting here. It had its own subjugations and revolutions; but, compared with the chaotic conditions under which the rest of Europe acquired its modern features, its history in general has been a slow but uniform development of original, self-contained forces. At the very period when society in France and Germany was shaping itself in the feudal moulds under Charlemagne's successors, Russia is for the first time caught sight of as a definite national organization. When the warriors of the West were rushing from their homes at the call of religion to deliver the Holy City, the wild Russian hordes had but barely accepted the Christian name. The fifteenth century, when the rest of Europe was throbbing with the strong pulses of modern life, found Russia throwing off a Mongol yoke that had been borne for two hundred years. And it was actually not till the genius of Peter went abroad seeking civilization with a kind of brute instinct, that his people took their place in the circle of the European nations. No wonder, then, that when feudalism was known elsewhere rather by its vestiges than its presence, and villanage was either a thing of the past or one whose days were clearly numbered, in Russia, on

the contrary, we see it receiving its earliest legal sanction at the end of the sixteenth, and its full confirmation so late as at the beginning of the eighteenth century. As its rise and growth amid these peculiar circumstances are well worth tracing, we will follow Haxthausen through the short history with which he prefaces his abstract of the emancipation laws. His previous works * have made good his claim to be heard with confidence on Russian subjects, though he is much less concise and explicit than his readers could wish. The topic is certainly one which lies mostly beyond the realm of documents and dates; but allowing for this, the impression remains that in his recent work two or three pieces have been laid together for publication without attention to the jointing.

The type of the Russian national character, we are told with emphasis, is "unity of the family, the commune, the race." Our author attributes this directly to the nomadic origin of the people, and sees in their whole subsequent history the uniform development of the double principle therein involved, — the essential unity of the family and the authority of the patriarch. To the former of these is traced the *commune* system, which pre-eminently distinguishes the Russian social organization from that of Western Europe: the latter is represented in lineal descent by the attributes of the Czar. "Czar and 'mire'† were from the outset, as they are to this day, the objects of the highest, of almost sacred reverence and affection." The characteristic of the nomadic period, and that of gradual settlement which followed, is that everywhere this principle of association prevailed, and nowhere did the farm — the separate, individual location — of the German races come into existence. Large families, a whole kith and kin, occupied a tract of land together, either cultivating it in common and sharing after harvest the crop, or assigning the temporary usufruct of a portion to each member, while the possession remained vested in the whole. Relics of the former practice, which was doubtless the earlier, may still be found, it is said, among the Servian villages; the latter is that which has lasted to this day.

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* Especially his *Studien ueber die Innern Zustaende, das Volksleben und die laendlichen Einrichtungen Ruszlands,* translated into English, somewhat compressed, by Robert Farie. London: Chapman and Hall. 1856.

† The word for *commune,* "mire," is the same as that which signifies the kosmos.

When the population became more stable, tradition tells us that a number of tribes united in inviting to a common sovereignty a small race of Scandinavian origin, the Russo-Varangians, whose leader, Rurik, established his seat of government in Novgorod about A. D. 862. At this time the Russians make their formal *début* in history. An order of nobility, apparently no more indigenous to Slavic territory than serfdom itself, was the natural and speedy consequence of this adoption of masters. The spirit of rule in that age could assume but one shape in the East as well as in the West, — the general shape of feudalism, however much details might differ. The presence of a warlike, dominant race among a people comparatively quiet implied of necessity grants of land and local chieftainships. After the introduction of Christianity, about A. D. 1000, the Church also received large endowments; and the number of such grants naturally increased during the two centuries when Russia was split up into contending principalities, and during the next two (A. D. 1238 – 1477), when all together lay tributary to the Mongol power. These grants, however, — and it is the important fact of this period, — did not give actual and hereditary property in the soil, much less any property in the inhabitants. The soil of "Holy Russia" still belonged to the nation; but the national patriarch, the *pater populi*, had as such the right of assigning its use. His retinue — the Boiars of later time — constituted a nobility, attached more or less immediately to his person, and received their estates simply as reward for their service. If the service ceased, the reward was supposed to cease.

But in that early, rude stage of society, such a tenure could not possibly exist long without giving the nobles, as a practical result, a strong hold on the peasants' industry. The captives taken in war, who probably already formed a class of genuine slaves, could furnish but a small part of the services required. The life of battle and conquest would increase the demand and the power of the leaders, and soon supplies must have been collected from the agriculturists for the support of the lord and his host. That a state tax of some kind was imposed by Oleg, Rurik's successor, we learn from Nestor, a monk of the eleventh century, and the oldest Russian chronicler. Such

a revenue would perhaps go with the grant, or be diverted by the princes to themselves, and its payment would initiate among the people the custom of rendering a return for the land occupied by them, but allotted in fee by their recognized head to another. In some such way the system of rent would gradually arise and prevail. At first rent was paid in natural products, — a mode of payment not yet wholly obsolete. Later, a portion of the land was reserved as exclusively the lord's, and cultivated for him by the peasants.

It is easy to see the tendency of such a relation once thoroughly established between noble and peasant. But two processes were needed to develop full Russian serfdom, — the *ascriptio glebæ* on the part of the people, the hereditary possession of the estate on the part of the proprietor. Six hundred years elapsed from the appearance of Rurik to the reign of Ivan the Great, who threw off the Mongol yoke, and thus secured Russia to modern Europe almost simultaneously with the capture of Constantinople by the Moslems. The period was amply long enough to confirm the tendency. In 1257 a census was taken to serve as a basis in the collection of the tribute paid to the Tartars. Then the inhabitants of the towns and villages were forbidden to leave without special permission, and the custom sprang up of restricting migration to the beginning and end of the agricultural season.* During the time of alien supremacy, while the princes acknowledged no central authority within the country itself, they appear to have asserted with increasing success this control of movement. Each one's resources were evidently in direct proportion to the strength of the population resident in his territory. But when, under the liberator, Ivan III., the Grand Duke of Moscow, the integrity of the empire was restored, or rather was for the first time really attained, these restrictions in a measure fell away. That they had been somewhat firmly established, we infer from hearing of a law by which circulation was allowed, but only at a fixed time, after previous warning, and on payment of an emigration tax. This seems to have proved practically but a small hindrance to the people's restlessness. Perhaps, as the national

* Quarterly Review, No. 225, 1863, Article on "Constitutional Government in Russia."

feeling revived, when the foreign yoke was lifted, the peasants felt a stirring to shake off the bondage which was settling down on them at home; possibly flight had already become the best refuge from their masters' cruelties. So far did they carry their vagrancy, that some districts were half depopulated, and began to go to waste, while others, offering easier support, were overcrowded with settlers. Especially the small estates suffered by the preference of the peasant to live under the protection of the stronger proprietor. Finally, a ukase of Boris Godunoff, in 1592, ordained that all peasants should *remain attached to the soil on which they were found on St. George's day of that year*. This edict, though it naturally could not take complete effect at once, is regarded by the people as the burial of their liberty, and St. George's day is still cursed in the folk-songs as a day of woe. Boris, who was a usurper, had probably hoped by this measure to secure the nobles to his cause. Years of great anarchy ensued, in which one pretender after another grasped at the crown, and the Poles had wellnigh acquired the ascendency over Russian destinies which they have since had to yield over their own.

The period of anarchy ended when Michael, the first Czar of the present Romanoff line, was raised to the throne, in 1613. But meanwhile the people had taken advantage of the confusion to circulate more freely than ever, to the great injury of agriculture. A terrible famine in 1601 was the consequence, and it was found expedient to confirm the recent edict by new enactments. In 1597 a fugitive-serf law authorized a land proprietor during five years to reclaim a peasant who had abandoned his estate for another; but a few years after it was added that he lost the right if he failed in time of need to furnish the dependant with sufficient means of support. The final establishment of the *ascriptio glebæ* is referred by some to a ukase of 1610, by others to one of 1626. But both accounts may be doubted. It is seldom that a law marks either the origin or the full completion of a great social revolution. Usually it is long subsequent to the one, and somewhat anticipates the other. In this case, it is safe to say that the middle of the century, under the influence of increasing order, probably witnessed the general stability of the peasant

class in the condition of serfage. The effect was of course to subject the agriculturists, still nominally free, to the exactions of the land-owner. The latter could now increase his demands and exercise his power almost at pleasure, while the tenant was by law deprived of the only means of escape.

The second process necessary to complete the servitude of the tillers of the soil was not long delayed. From the middle of the fifteenth century, everything had conspired to connect Russia more nearly with the general life of Europe. What influence had previously been exerted upon her from outside had principally come through Byzantine channels. But after the fall of Constantinople, Russia soon felt the force of the strong currents eddying from the West. The nobility had already in part lost its feudal character so far as the claim of the head of the state to their personal service was concerned, and was taking on a modern form in various ranks of civil and military service, when, under Peter the Great, the government began with sudden energy to fashion society anew on German models. Among the Czar's most important measures for developing the resources of the state were two which finally consummated the establishment of serfdom. Hitherto, the estates had not, in the eye of the law, been the actual and hereditary property of the families in which custom had doubtless transmitted them for several generations from father to son. Peter, who felt strongly the need of a standing army, saw the advantage of consolidating old interests by giving legal sanction to what custom had already virtually produced. He therefore presented to the collective nobility the full and transmissible title to their estates; imposing at the same time the obligation of military service on all the peasants. The two measures concurred in throwing more power into the hands of the master; — the former, perhaps, principally through the moral violence offered to the old national idea; the latter, by the way in which it was carried into execution. The census made no distinction between the nominally free peasants and the actual slaves whose existence has already been mentioned. It was simply reported, so many peasants belong to such a noble's estate. When the levy was made, the demand for the proportionate number of recruits was addressed to the lord

himself, who, charged with the police of his district, could furnish house slave or village peasant as he pleased.

A third innovation of Peter had a precisely similar effect. The payment of a state tax had become an established practice, and under the Mongol supremacy had assumed a new form, that of money instead of produce. At that time it appears to have been partly a poll-tax, partly an impost on the land. In 1678, the amount of this land-due was settled by law for each village; but probably, on account of the extortion and dishonesty practised by the collectors under this system, Peter substituted for it a uniform poll-tax, reckoned at eighty copeks for each male. The whole sum, however, due from a village was assessed, not upon the individuals, but upon the joint commune, and its distribution was again left to the proprietor. In this way, not by a law aimed to produce the effect, but by the general system of the government, all peasants were reduced to one level, and serfage was practically established in Russia. The name itself did not at once appear. Haxthausen speaks doubtingly of an edict of 1700, which is said to recognize the fact, but continues: "Much later laws first name them [the peasants] serfs, and attempt to regulate their condition. Among the peasants no cry was raised, no voice was heard against the appellation. Nor is this strange, for their actual circumstances remained unchanged; and when later legislation gradually showed some concern for them, and laid greater obligations on their masters, they may have found themselves really better off than during their so-called liberty."

Between the series of events that have now been described and the corresponding history in the West, the similarity is great, but the contrast also is great. The origin of the aristocracy and the land grants, the increase of the latter under the endeavor of the nobles to throw off control, the nature of the title changing from the personal benefice to the hereditary feud, and the tendency of the constant commotions to depress the freedom of the people, were broad principles alike in both halves of Europe. But though the seeds of feudalism were the same, the soil and the skies were different. In Russia the foreign lords were not conquerors, but invited masters; their number was small, and the territory much vaster than that of

the several members of the Roman Empire, overrun by the numerous German races; the communal organization of the nation gave the people a firmer hold on the soil and their own independence than the individual system of France and Germany; — all, facts which would tend to delay the enslavement of the people. Further, certain most important influences before referred to were absent here, — the Roman law, the Roman Church, the civilization already extant, which created in the West a more earnest striving for the re-establishment of social order, and greatly hastened the maturity of that form which presently developed itself. That form also contained within itself, in the embryo of the middle class, its own successor. In Russia, every cause was less concentrated, every movement consequently slower.

The authority which had confirmed the power of the master was now more than ever called upon to guard against its abuse. Such restraint had from the oldest time been needful. In the most ancient Russian code (A.D. 1017), cruelty to the peasant is forbidden under penalty of a fine. In A.D. 1550, a law against rape and mutilation is found on the statute-book of Ivan IV.; and another which declares that the serfs who pay their legal "obrok" (money-rent) shall be exempt from *corvée* service. Whatever protection the government pretended to afford, it is certain that never were the serfs such mere chattels before the law, never was the idea of human property so predominant in Russia, as during the century that followed Peter's death, under the influence of the system he had called into being. It once occurred to Peter that "it is a thing which causes tears to flow for men to be sold like cattle, parents to be separated from their children, and husbands and wives from each other"; but he did not put a stop to the practice. He and his successors did not hesitate to lavish on their favorites the crown domains, with the peasants who dwelt on them, and to convert the industry of whole communities from agriculture to manufactures. Catharine II. extended the *ascriptio glebæ* to Little Russia, which had before been free from the curse. Nor were the private proprietors, from the highest to the lowest, slow to follow the suggestion, that the labor of their serfs belonged absolutely to them, and could be employed and commuted at

their pleasure. The peasants were summoned from the field to become house servants, sent into mines and factories, leased to contractors, or compelled to hire their own time at heavy prices, and not rarely sold outright. But all this only hastened the era of freedom.

Early in the reign of Alexander I. emancipation was seriously discussed; and in the Baltic provinces, where the population was more than elsewhere German rather than Russian in its origin and feeling, it was actually accomplished with the aid of the proprietors themselves (1816–1819). The latter, however, retained all the land in their own possession, the serfs acquiring only personal freedom, and becoming their tenants; but more recently humanity or expediency has led the nobles to establish loan-funds, by which the peasants are aided in buying their farms. Alexander also renounced the practice of giving away the crown peasants, but in the Western provinces substituted for it one nearly as bad, — the *temporary* grant of the crown estates with their population. Under Nicholas, the efforts of his minister, Cancrin, to develop manufactures are said to have had a special influence in hastening emancipation. The nobility led the way, and both in the cities and on their estates erected factories of all kinds. The rich merchants, a shrewd but uneducated class, followed in their steps. The government nurtured the growing interest with judicious protection. In the course of twenty years thousands of manufacturing establishments were scattered over the country, and the large cities had assumed quite a new aspect. Moscow, earlier the home of the proud Boiars, with a hundred thousand house slaves, was already, in 1843, when Haxthausen visited it, peopled with as many busy artisans. Agriculture seriously felt the loss of so many strong arms. But a more marked effect was the change in the condition of the serfs thus employed. At home in their own villages, where all were indeed exposed to oppression, the life perhaps of the majority was yet not actually much harder than that of the peasant in other European countries. But those who were now sent from the fields to the factories usually passed from the care of interested masters into the power of contractors and employers, to whom they were simply hired instruments. The proprietors found it much more lucrative to

hire out their hands and engage others for their own establishments. Such a number of abuses, such an increasing mass of social evil, sprang into existence, that the government felt more and more strongly the necessity of grasping the whole subject in order to apply to it some decisive and comprehensive treatment.

During the reign of Nicholas not less than one hundred and eight edicts in regard to the serfs are said to have been issued. Among them the most important were: — 1. A prohibition to sell serfs apart from land. 2. A ukase of 1842, which accorded to the owners permission to make legal contracts with their serfs, and thus to change them into tenants paying a fixed rent. The government itself became responsible for the fulfilment of these contracts, but very few of the nobles availed themselves of the privilege. 3. A system of public loans to needy proprietors, who gave in pledge their lands and serfs. On foreclosure of the mortgage the people became crown peasants, and by this means thousands acquired the comparative freedom of that class. 4. Laws authorizing communes, and finally individuals, to buy land at the public sales of the estates of needy proprietors, — but under a very restricted right of alienation. 5. The introduction, or rather the revival, in some of the Western provinces, of Inventories, — village statutes that defined the relations of the nobles with the peasants. All these alleviations, however, failed to cure the trouble, because they did not really reach it. Nicholas succeeded in correcting certain abuses, but something more than a palliation of the existing system was needed. Alexander II. ascended the throne in March, 1855, and within the month it was announced that serfdom must be abolished.

It has been estimated that 325,000,000 acres of the soil of Russia proper were at the time of emancipation in the hands of the nobility, and that their serfs upon this territory numbered about twenty-three millions.* Of the land still belonging to

* The official estimate of 1863 (Schnitzler, Vol. I. p. 293) gave in the forty-nine provinces of European Russia 22,546,732 serfs; of these 1,382,783 were the "dvorovyyé," personal serfs, house servants, &c. In Siberia there were only about 4,000 serfs. The crown peasants at the same time numbered 20,050,248. Besides these there was a special class of serfs, comprising those who were regarded as the pri-

the state, more than one half, constituting an area about as large as that owned by the nobles, was occupied by the twenty million crown peasants, who formed the second great class of agriculturists. The rest of the public land was in great part waste and wood. Indeed, of the populated districts probably less than forty per cent was in actual use. Beside the serfs proper and the crown peasants there was a third class, free peasants who lived on their own ground, comprising freed serfs, certain colonists, and the so-called Odnodvortzi * (freeholders of a single manor). These Odnodvortzi seem in part to be of Finnish extraction, the descendants of warriors settled for the protection of the boundaries, in part the impoverished descendants of the lower Polish nobility. Their freeholds are so far their own that they may be sold, yet with certain restrictions in regard to purchasers. Further, the Crim-Tartars, and the Cossacks of Little Russia, the Don, and the Ural, are included under this head. These hold a portion of their land in individual, a larger portion in joint possession.

In order to understand the processes and results of the measures of emancipation adopted by the present Czar, it is important to have a clear idea of the nature of the two largest classes, and of the distinctions between them.

I. *The Crown Peasants.* — The communal organization, to which we have already alluded, prevails among the serfs, but is seen in its perfection among the crown peasants, where there is no proprietor's will to modify it. Each commune forms a unit, possessing collective rights and regarded as hereditary tenant of the land occupied by it. Without the right of alienation, it holds the perpetual usufruct of the same, and for this it pays the crown a money rent (obrok). Woods and pastures are used in common; the arable ground is divided into shares. In this distribution the land is first classified according to its distance from the village, — for the houses are almost invaria-

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vate possession of the Czar and the imperial family. These "appanage peasants," numbering 2,070,013, occupied a position between the crown peasants and the serfs, — in government, taxation, and privilege more closely approximated to the former. They were partially emancipated in 1858, and in 1863 were placed on the same footing with the freed serfs.

* Their number in 1838 was calculated at 1,365,886 males. Schnitzler, Vol. I. p. 417.

bly grouped in the Russian rural districts, — then, according to the nature or fertility of the soil, into portions as nearly homogeneous as possible. Of each section every adult male or "tiaglo"* receives by lot a narrow strip, so that the share may consist of several separated pieces. Each commune has its skilful, traditionally educated surveyors, who superintend the whole arrangement, it is said, to the general satisfaction. A new apportionment has usually been made every nine years, or oftener, and was prescribed in each census year. But of late it has been complained of as the "black" division; and the more common practice now is to reserve a number of lots, which are leased for the common benefit, or assigned, as occasion demands, to new members. The arguments for and against this system, that seems so strange to us, have been warmly discussed by the Russian politico-economists. Haxthausen, a decided conservative, declares himself unreservedly in its favor. Its principal disadvantage is its bad effect on agriculture. No one cares to manure and improve the land which he must soon give up to another. Its great benefit is its constant provision for the growing generation, by which pauperism is never entailed, and the son escapes the consequences of his father's indolence.

Among the crown peasants the commune must contain at least fifteen hundred "souls," — smaller villages uniting to make up the necessary number, as several communes unite to form the canton. The commune assembly consists of elected elders, one from every five households. These elders choose by ballot the village chief, and send a committee from their number to represent the commune in the canton assembly, which exercises a similar right of election in regard to its officers. Each commune and each canton choose also certain "men of conscience" to decide minor civil and police cases. The commune is responsible for the payment of all public taxes, and for the delivery of its proportionate number of recruits;

* The Russian term "tiaglo," *hearth*, signifies an arbitrary unit of laboring force, used as the basis of distribution of the land and taxes. Its amount varies in different parts from one to three or more males; but usually the idea of a married couple, a man and his wife, seems to be at its root. The *official* unit is the "soul," i. e. the *male*. But on the private estates, and especially where statute labor, not obrok, is rendered, the "tiaglo" is more generally employed.

and to execute these duties, it has a very extended control over its members, much resembling that of the proprietor over his serfs. The admission or discharge of members, the issue of passes to those who leave their home, corporal punishment up to a certain number of stripes, even the banishment of incorrigible offenders to Siberia, come within the functions of the assembly. The sum which the crown peasant pays the government is very moderate. The land-tax proper varies from 2.15 to 2.56 rubles per male. Haxthausen, disclaiming anything like absolute accuracy, however, estimates the average annual amount of all dues, state and commune,* at 7.24 rubles (about $5.50) "for every male capable of labor." Till 1844, the payment, except in the Western provinces, was levied as a capitation tax, and by its uniformity had become a source of great hardship to the poor. The arrears were every year heaped up enormously, and could only be cancelled by direct remissions. After several previous abatements of this kind, 66,980,537 rubles were remitted between 1826 and 1836, and yet the existing arrears amounted to over 63,000,000. In the Western provinces, however, the crown peasants were under a wholly different administration. There the lands were let out to Polish nobles, and the peasants required to perform statute labor. Though this labor was regulated, the land allotments were not, and, as a consequence, the "arendators" absorbed all the land they could, cheating the government, and robbing their dependants. Through this oppression, the Russian communal constitution, which had never held its own in these border regions against the tendency to individual land tenures, was almost completely abolished, and a class of peasants with little or no land was increasing. The reforms begun in 1837, under Count Kisselef's direction, were a noble attempt to execute a great task.†

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* These consist of taxes for the administration, the repair of roads, &c. (often paid in work rather than money), for the recruiting and police service, for the central grain magazines (besides the local stores maintained in every commune by a contribution in kind as a reserve in case of poor harvests or famine), for the mutual fire insurance (three quarters per cent of the peasants' quarters are said to be destroyed yearly by fire), together with the general poll-tax and the special tax of the crown peasant for the use of the public land.

† Schnitzler says the reform would have produced great results, "si l'on eût trouvé pour l'appliquer un personnel suffisant et assez honnête."

By these measures, a special ministry was created for the care of the crown domains, a partially new organization introduced, and, what is most important, the poll-taxes have been gradually changed into a more equitable ground rent, based on a system of registration. In this way a more definite and permanent assignment of the lots has been secured. In the West, it became necessary to give a lot to each peasant, and change his *corvée* to a reduced money rent.

Compared with the serfs, this class has evidently enjoyed a high degree of personal freedom. The code of Nicholas describes them as the "free, rural population." The equal and temporary land allotment, the low rent, the right to travel and carry on trade or handicraft in all parts of the empire, the democratic management of their public concerns, — all this has in it much that is attractive till we encounter the influence of the government officials of the district and province. These authorities have by law only a general supervision over the commune, and are not to interfere in their internal affairs. But, practically, their rapacity has united with the ignorance of the peasants and that of their lower elective magistrates, who can seldom read or write, to produce a degree of oppression greater, according to some authors, than that which the private serfs had to endure. Without the protection of a master to prevent outrage, the crown peasant has had little hope of redress if outrage were committed. "The present administration of justice in Russia," says Dolgorukow in his "Truth about Russia," — speaking, however, before the emancipation, — "is nothing but a series of briberies with an arbitrary decision to end with." The very extent of the reforms which were undertaken proves the previous existence of very great defects. As to the future status of the crown peasants, the Emperor has decided to make them land-owners on the same principles adopted in the case of the serfs; but the greater necessity of the latter obtained for them the first attention.

II. *The Serfs.* — The right to own one's fellow-creatures was, in Russia, the prerogative of the hereditary, and, exceptionally, of the personal nobility. The state regarded the proprietor as the legal representative of his serfs, and imposed on him general obligations to provide for their maintenance and welfare.

Beggary, for instance, was not permitted the crippled or aged serf; the master was obliged to see to it that the infirm were supported. For the public interests, a sufficient quantity of ground needed to be cultivated; therefore the master had to take care that all the necessary means were supplied, and, on occasion of famine, to find his people food. For a like reason, at the sale or mortgage of an estate, a fixed minimum of land was to be reserved per head for their use. The master was further responsible for all the serf's public dues, whether taxes, fines, or military service. Lastly, he was expected to appear for his serf before the civil tribunals, and was authorized to assist him in certain criminal cases. The commune administration, doubtless, rendered little personal concern necessary in these matters; but if the proprietor failed to discharge this obligation, he was amenable to various penalties. If a village was falling into ruin through neglect, or was subjected to outrageous burdens, the governor of the province could put the estate under guardianship, and forbid the interference, or even presence, of the proprietor; and a somewhat similar course was pursued to enforce the payment of public dues. If at a land sale the legal minimum were not reserved, and the deficiency were not in some way made good within a year, the serfs became crown peasants, and were settled on the state lands.

The serf was not allowed to possess real estate, but with the consent of his master could establish factories, carry on trade, and enter guilds. The law permitted him, also, to buy his freedom; but the price, and thus the privilege, were left to the master's discretion. Well-to-do peasants and artisans who had acquired some capital usually made strong efforts to become independent, and often paid hundreds and even thousands of rubles for themselves. It was not an infrequent speculation to buy an estate at a cheap rate in order to extract a profit from the people in this way. "Many of the rich merchants of St. Petersburg and Moscow," says Gurowski, "are either serfs who have purchased their liberty, or actual serfs paying a nominal obrok to their proprietors." In some such cases the serf was absolutely richer than his owner, whose pride or principle refused to manumit him. Military service also conferred freedom on the recruit, but the recruits were always selected

under the master's direction. Further, such crimes on the part of the noble as subjected his property to confiscation converted his serfs at the same time into crown peasants. By law the master could not compel a marriage, but, on the other hand, no woman could wed without his permission. In intermarriage of free peasants and serfs, the children inherited the father's condition. To leave the estate, and travel, settle, or labor elsewhere, the owner's pass was necessary. Fugitive-slave laws were vigorously enforced. The master had jurisdiction over the serfs in civil and police, but not in criminal cases. He could either himself inflict punishment, — not to the extent of bodily mutilation or danger to life, — or could apply to the government and have the offender sent to prison or into the army. For general refractoriness he was able to banish him entirely from his home by giving him up to the state, which was glad thus to obtain settlers for Siberia. Before 1858, the mere wish of the proprietor was sufficient to consign him to such exile. Complaints against the master by the serf, except for certain crimes against the state, were forbidden by law, under severe penalties.

The owner could at will summon field peasants to personal service in the house, or send his house servants to the field, remove them from one estate to another, and, under certain restrictions, apprentice them to strangers. As to the right of sale, the ukase of Nicholas mentioned above, which prohibited "the purchase of peasants without land," recognizes thereby the reciprocal idea implied in the *ascriptio glebæ*. Haxthausen says that the statutes on this point, in the General Code of Nicholas, "amount to this, — that the purchase of serfs shall take place only on condition that the buyers register the serfs on their own settled estates," (a provision, apparently, that would limit purchase to *landed* proprietors,) "and that the sale of serfs without land at fairs, where they are personally exposed at public auction, and also the sale or transfer of individuals separated from their families, are forbidden." Yet it is very certain that such or similar sales occurred. It is said, that, to evade the law, mock transfers of small land-lots were made.*

* Gurowski, who seems to be quite fearless in rounding his numbers and defining his statements, says, in his "Russia as It Is," — "Any noble owning serfs

The serf had to pay the poll-tax and much the same general dues to state and commune as the crown peasant; but in place of the latter's special tax for the use of the public land, the other rendered a much higher tribute to his master. When paid in money, its amount was not fixed by law, but depended on the area of land allowed the serf, and the possibility of earning a living otherwise than by agriculture, — in other words, upon the need or pleasure of the proprietor. On the average, it was estimated at fifteen rubles for the tiaglo, or at ten for each male.

Haxthausen calculates the whole amount of public and private dues to have been 17.07 rubles for the serf, while for the crown peasant it was only 7.24. But from the many thousands allowed to leave their homes with their master's passport and find their support in some more profitable occupation than farming, a higher sum was usually required. The floating population of the cities was composed in great part of such serfs. How extortionate the demand at times became, especially on the part of small proprietors, may be judged from a story which Schédo-Ferroti tells.* His hired coachman, it seems, had a habit of falling asleep on his box. Finally, he discovered that, after working for him all day, the man spent the greater portion of the night in cobbling shoes. An inquiry brought out the confession that, through sickness, he was in arrears with his obrok, and was obliged to take this course to avoid being called home to endure the direct persecution of his mistress. She demanded a sum equal to the whole amount of his daily wages. Subsequently, he learned other facts. An estate of one hundred and fifty-six souls, that had furnished its proprietor an income of from five to six thousand rubles (nearly twice Haxthausen's average), and the peasants on which had been considered as in tolerably easy circumstances, was, after his death, divided among his five daughters. From twenty-seven persons who became Mme. D.'s property, she

must have for every one at least twenty acres of land"; and that "a serf becomes free if sold without land, or if the buyer does not possess the quantity of land required by law, or if his family is separated from him by sale." He also says, "The obrok generally through the whole of Russia, even on the estates of serfs, amounts to $ 10 for each family having a separate communal household."

* *Première Étude sur l'Avenir de la Russie*, p. 76.

succeeded in extracting 3,100 rubles, — 2,400 from sixteen men, and, what relatively is a still higher sum, 700 from eleven women.

But so uncertain was a noble's income where the tribute was collected in money, that of late the labor system had more and more prevailed, till at the time of emancipation seven tenths of the serfs were thus discharging their obligations.

A law dating from the beginning of the century limited the service to three days in the week. But in the short summer season this rule was constantly transgressed. The masters then usually allowed the peasants only the hours absolutely necessary to cultivate their own land, — avoiding the law by their power to withhold a portion of this land and grant it back only on condition of their working for him more than the legal time. The harvest season, when everything with hands was pressed into the fields, was characteristically named "the season of woe." In winter, though the three-day limit was usually adhered to, the necessity of carrying the year's produce to the distant market renewed, in some districts at least, the summer's hardship. Besides this general ordinance, services were also minutely regulated, and varied according to the local methods of agriculture. Man's labor was distinguished from woman's, human labor from that of cattle, and rules were adopted for each kind. The fields cultivated for the master were usually separated from those belonging to the peasants. It is estimated that, in the interior provinces, the former claimed, as a rule, one half the arable and from two thirds to three fifths of the remaining land. In those regions where payment was made in money, the noble left nearly all, of course, to the use of the serfs. The size of the single lot differed in every province, often within the districts of one and the same province, and depended partly on the owner's will, in part on local customs, determined by the density of the population and the nature of the soil.

But the condition of the serfs as prescribed by the law probably suggests a much pleasanter aspect than the actual picture presented. A glance into Mr. Morley's book gives that picture very vividly. "Dogs! pigs!" was the usual address of an impatient aristocrat. "Sons and daughters of dogs! pigs

and swine! rats and vermin! defilement of mothers!" — were the terms heard from a lady proprietress. "No stick, no work," was the orthodox belief of even humane employers. In one scene a single "baron" cudgels forty serfs, not his own, who grumble, but are cowed. Witness too, the *common* treatment of the postilions, who form, in that country of magnificent distances and few railroads, a special and unfortunate class of the crown serfs. Tourgueneff well calls it a "hideous adage" which he heard from the lips of one of them, "It is only the lazy who don't thrash us." The serfs were not without rights, but within the legal limits the proprietor found ample scope for the exercise of arbitrary power over most of the relations of life. And yet this tells but half the truth. The law carried no guaranty of execution, had no vitality within itself, for the reason that the right of complaint against the master was wholly denied his serf. In the eye of the law he was not a mere chattel, like the negro at the South. But since the law had thus tied its own hands, he was virtually in a state of complete moral and physical dependence. The accounts of various authors are as widely apart as North from South-side views of our American slavery. Some use very strong lights, others the heaviest shades, in their descriptions. The same virtues and vices, moreover, on which such stress was laid by Southern slaveholders as peculiar to the negro and justifying his servitude, are put forward with almost equal prominence by the champions of Russian serfdom. "Sheep-like docility," "an incomparable sweetness of temper," affection for superiors, strong family and religious feeling, hospitality, are allowed them; but frivolity, carelessness, and indolence are their special traits. They "appear to have sucked in the propensity to steal with their mother's milk," and can "only be driven to industry by the whip or the burden of a heavy tribute"; while servility abounds, the sentiment of gratitude is almost unknown. According to the author of "Russia by a Recent Traveller" (1859), the physicians give evidence equally discreditable in regard to the purity of the women. The familiar refrains are also heard, "These qualities belong by nature to the Russian peasant," and "emancipation would certainly cause the ruin of a great number"

of them. Their friends, without wholly denying the existence of these traits, first diminish the exaggeration, and then justly trace their origin to the slavery itself. Haxthausen is among those who place themselves between extremes. He acknowledges the generally unhappy condition of the serf, but ascribes this, not to their attachment to the soil, but to the unlimited power of the masters. Their individual character, and not the law, determined the degree of their misery or happiness.

As with us, the number of actual owners was very small. In 1860 it was estimated at 120,197, of whom 35.7 per cent possessed each less than 21 male serfs, and averaged only 7.9. At the other extreme, 1,396 possessed 1,000 males or more, and averaged 2,202. The Chérémétief family alone was credited with from 128,000 to 200,000, — among whom were several millionnaires, possessing themselves, it is said, in their master's name, some six or seven hundred serfs. Over 17,000,000 of the whole serf population were owned by about 24,000 nobles. The smaller proprietors, therefore, who were as a rule the most cruel and extortionate, owned but a very small fraction of the twenty-three millions. But absenteeism on the part of the actual proprietors was a prevailing custom; and in such cases Russian overseers seem to have borne the same reputation as the corresponding class in America. To conclude this sketch of the old *régime*, we can hardly do better than to quote two passages, — the first from Tegoborski.

"In most of the districts which have fertile soil, easy and regular communication, and commercial activity, there are to be found among the serfs subjected to the obrok, as well as among those still under the *corvée* system, well-cultivated fields, stables well filled with cattle, and a degree of comfort not often met with in many countries of Central Europe." *

Haxthausen says as much; but it must be remembered that such districts make a small portion of the Russian territory.

The other passage is by Haxthausen's annotator in St. Petersburg, one thoroughly acquainted with the subject through his own experience.

* Commentaries on the Productive Forces of Russia, English Translation, Vol. I. p. 227.

"How was it possible for the condition of the serfs to be otherwise than miserable, when we remember that they had no right to bring a charge against their masters? The serfs in the districts where the obrok (payment of dues in money) still prevailed were in the best position. There the peasant had, in fact, the free control of his whole life, if he paid his owner a moderate tax; yet he was by no means secure from the most outrageous extortion. Did his master die, or sell his estate, then the peasant had everything to fear. With the increase of luxury there arose various speculations on the part of many proprietors, who succeeded in collecting great properties in the following way. Estates, usually in the obrok regions, were bought at auction. The purchase-money was squeezed as quickly as possible by the buyer out of the richest among the peasants, and he thus found the estate in his hands without its having cost him a ruble. The obrok for all the serfs was then increased, and the sum thus extracted again employed in new purchases. In this way we have seen original capitals of twenty to thirty thousand rubles turned in the course of fifteen years into colossal possessions. But yet more oppressed were the peasants of those agricultural districts, where the *corvée* system was in vogue. It may be true that the half of them who had mild, humane, and educated masters were not in a pitiable condition; but the other half were either under the roughest and most uncultivated portion of the small nobility, who regarded nothing but their own material interests, and abandoned themselves to the grossest sensuality and passion at the expense of their serfs, or were subject to still more barbarous overseers, who occupied the place of the absentee proprietors. The master who chose could exercise his power over his serfs in the most shameless way, without limit or restraint; and many of our country nobles who were born and brought up on their estates recall, among the recollections of their childhood, many deeds of revolting cruelty, which took place almost before their eyes, and were by no means regarded as rare exceptions. Very faint was the voice raised against these outrages by those who had nothing similar on their conscience, and were really full of patriarchal care and tenderness for their dependants. What *could* limit the abuse, where the proprietor was wholly coarse and uncivilized, where the peasant was deprived by law of the right of complaint, and where public opinion did not condemn such deeds?"

Such in general was the condition of the serfs when Alexander II. succeeded to his father's throne, in March, 1855. He at once announced his intention to undertake the task of emancipation, — a task bequeathed him, as he felt, by his

ancestors, and rendered necessary by the circumstances of the time. His nobles recoiled before the thought of a revolution which would not only deprive them of property, but would destroy the whole social fabric of the nation as it then existed. The measure also, granting its necessity, seemed to admit of two radically different modes of execution: either the immediate and complete rupture of every bond between the serfs and the proprietors, and the direct indemnification of the latter by the state for the lands yielded up by them,— a scheme which would involve an immense and dangerous financial operation; or a more gradual liberation, in which the peasants themselves by labor, rent, and purchase should be the principal agents in the process of redemption. Land — there was no serious question about this — the freedmen must have, or enfranchisement would mean nothing but pauperization. The latter of the two methods, as we shall see, was that adopted by the government; the nobles, on the other hand, as long as they could, clung almost unanimously to the other, and placed every obstacle in the Emperor's way. At last, however, his firmness reduced them to quiet submission and cooperation. His first step was to appoint a secret commission, which assembled in his capital, January 3, 1857, to consider the general question of emancipation. The difficulties of the enterprise, and the consequent responsibility, were not underrated. The twenty-three million private serfs were distributed over an area equal to half Europe, and their condition had assumed, in almost every province, local peculiarities originating in variety of soil and race, and hardened into custom by centuries of history. It was hopeless to deal with this subject in the usual way. Hitherto it had been the policy of Russian state-craft to divine, discuss, and arbitrate upon the wants of the people within the ministerial *sancta*, whence the edicts, complete and imperative, issued forth to bind the conduct of the whole series of officials, high and low, far and near. But the detail was in this case too vast, the problem too new, to be thus handled. As its successful solution also would finally depend on its general comprehension, and as for this purpose it must sooner or later be referred to public opinion, it was thought better to enlist and train that opinion by demanding

its assistance from the outset. Alexander resolved, therefore, to adopt an entirely new procedure. In addition to the secret commission he established in each province a committee of resident nobles to collect all preliminary information and report plans for the abolition, at the same time stating for their guidance the leading principles upon which the government had already determined. Throughout their whole proceedings a careful rein was kept upon these local committees, that they might not turn aside from the course laid down. In order to stimulate the Russian nobility, he also tried to bring the Lithuanian nobles, on whose estates the peasants had already acquired partial independence through the system of inventories introduced by Nicholas, to declare in favor of his intention; and his circular of November 24th, 1857, asserting that they had done so, produced a great sensation and much anxiety.

Early in the following year the secret commission in St. Petersburg became the Central Commission for the Empire; and in March, 1859, Redaction Committees were appointed, and divided into three sections, judicial, administrative, and financial, to revise and harmonize the provincial reports. By the labors of these three bodies, the necessary details were collected, and the many various theories discussed with the utmost thoroughness. No opinion that was worth hearing was discarded. Intelligent proprietors, official and non-official, and even commune-starosts and estate overseers were summoned as witnesses or as members to the Redaction Committees. The process, both in the provinces, where forty-eight* committees with 1,377 members were at work, and in St. Petersburg, went on with great method; and the digested result was constantly appearing in print and circulated among the participants for their further instruction. Meanwhile several circulars were issued to defeat any attempted evasion of the impending changes. Many owners, for instance, wished to save their lands by at once voluntarily freeing their serfs. After four hundred and seven sessions, in the course of nineteen

* Forty-six, says Schnitzler.

months, the redaction was completed;* and finally an imperial manifesto, dated February 19, O. S. (March 3,) 1861, proclaimed the emancipation of the serfs in Russia, and promulgated a series of seventeen ordinances, embracing all the general and local legislation which was necessary to carry it into effect.

These laws may be summed up under three heads: —

1. Personal freedom and civil rights are conferred on the serfs; the right to make contracts, to own personal and real estate, to sue, be sued, and bear witness before the courts, to change residence and occupation, to engage in trade and manufactures, — all under the general laws of the Empire.

2. The perpetual usufruct of their homesteads and of a certain area of land is secured to them, in return for which a certain rent in money or in service is guaranteed to the proprietors. The legal amounts, however, are only binding where no amicable arrangement can be agreed upon by the two parties. But in all cases a kind of contract defining these amounts and all the future relations between proprietor and tenant is to be introduced on each estate within two years from the date of the edict. During this period the peasants are considered as "temporarily bound," or apprenticed. At any time, however, they have the *right* to buy the homesteads, and permission, conditioned on the proprietor's consent, to buy their lands, — both at a fixed valuation. The government offers to assist in the purchase. This done, they are released from all obligation to their former owners.

3. A system of administration is organized within the commune, in some degree assimilated to that in use on the crown estates; and officers and tribunals are appointed to carry out the new laws and to arbitrate between the land-owners and their new tenants.

The Homestead and Land-Lot. — The two most difficult questions which the committees were called on to discuss concerned the limits of the homestead and those of the field-lot. As the peasant was authorized to buy the former whenever he

* "Four-and-twenty thick folio volumes" were required for the report of the four years' labor of the numerous committees.

might wish, without consulting the proprietor's pleasure, it was necessary to define minutely its appurtenances. The village premises include the houses and outbuildings, kitchen gardens, hop and hemp gardens, the pens and watering-places for the cattle, the streets, &c. If the boundaries have never been fixed, a certain maximum of land for a homestead lot is allowed per head, and the lines are to be drawn by mutual agreement, or under the direction of the "Arbiter." The principles kept in view in dividing the arable and pasture ground were, to endow the freedmen with as much land as they had needed while serfs for their support, and at the same time to reserve for the proprietors the exclusive possession of a portion of their property.

As the amount used by the serfs had varied greatly, however, in different parts of the Empire, it was impossible to attain the end by a single and uniform rule. The method pursued is as follows. The country is divided, according to the nature of the soil, into three zones, and each zone into circuits. To the first zone belongs the soil that is neither "black earth" nor that of the steppe region; to the second and third, respectively, that of the latter two kinds. In each circuit of the first two zones, maximum and minimum limits are established for the portion allowed to each male; within these limits the actual size of the existing allotment is to be maintained. At least one third, however, of all productive land is secured to the proprietor, in case such provision does not infringe upon the peasants' minimum, which equals one third of their maximum allowance.* But in the third zone, that of the broad steppes, custom had hitherto settled no system, and here the law prescribes a definite allotment for the peasant in each circuit, and fixes the proprietor's minimum at one half. The lot therefore varies, according to situation, from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to over 30 acres; the average for the adult male being $9\frac{1}{2}$.† Although the estimate is made

* "When the serfs are in excess of the land," says Tilley, "the proprietor is required to give up two thirds of his estate and retain one third, the surplus peasants being removed to government land." Haxthausen's expression lacks fulness, but implies that the proprietor may come off without any land.

† $3\frac{1}{2}$ déciatines. The déciatine = 2.7015 acres. This is Schnitzler's statement. Tilley thinks eight acres beside the homestead lot is the average amount.

upon the number of individuals, the assignment is made to the joint commune, to whose judgment the method of distribution is left. By the vote of two thirds of the members and the consent of the proprietor, the land can be divided once for all, and held *in perpetuo* by the separate families, — a tenure preferred by the government. Only productive land goes to constitute this grant, — in general, the same that had been before in use. When, under the new regulations, the former area needs to be increased or diminished, the law carefully prescribes what parts must be assigned, or may not be appropriated, by the owner. Additions are to be near to the village, and contiguous, if possible, to the other commune lands. The law also watches over any exchanges that become necessary in order to consolidate the portion of the peasants in lands distinct and apart from those of the proprietor. The latter may, under certain restrictions, compel the removal of the peasants' houses, and demand that a mutual boundary be drawn. But for such measures he must obtain the Arbiter's sanction, defray the expenses, and pay for the improvements which he forces his tenants to abandon. Where the proprietor formerly furnished his serfs with fuel, the delivery must be continued during nine years; its quality and kind, as well as the amount and kind of payment for it, are to be determined by the Arbiter according to local circumstances.

The Rent. 1. *In Money.* — With equal minuteness are the regulations in regard to the rent laid down. It was a settled principle of the whole legislation to disturb existing customs as little as possible by the new arrangements. The government, therefore, though it strongly favored the obrok system, — that by which the master's dues were paid in money, — did not summarily abolish the *corvée* service, which was prevailing among at least seven tenths of the serf population. It gave rules for each system. For the obrok estates, it established a fixed rent of twelve, ten, nine, or eight rubles per male, according to locality. Within twenty-five versts of St. Petersburg, for instance, it is twelve rubles per male, but in most parts of the Empire nine is nearer the average. This sum, however, corresponds to the maximum allotment; and a scale was furnished by which the component fractions of the one are

proportioned to those of the other.* If an estate offer some special advantage or disadvantage for gaining a livelihood, the rent, as also the amount of land in peculiar cases, may be slightly increased or diminished by order of the Provincial Commission, but, if paid wholly in money, is never to exceed the sum formerly required of the serf. The distribution of the rent among the individual members is left to the commune itself; where the land is held permanently by the families, it is assessed, of course, according to the size of the lots. The pay-days, if not settled by amicable agreement, are appointed by the Court of Arbiters, and the proprietor is allowed to require a six months' advance.

2. *In Labor.* — On the estates where the peasants render payment in labor, a certain number of days' work, viz. forty for a man and thirty for a woman, is fixed as the annual compensation for the maximum allotment, and is proportionally diminished for a less amount. Of these, three fifths are to be "summer days," two fifths "winter days," the former not to exceed twelve hours, the latter nine hours, excluding rest. But, at the option of either peasants or proprietor, a task system, as prescribed by the Provincial Commission, may be adopted instead of the time rates. The whole number of days required in a half-year from the commune, or respectively from the family, is divided equally among the weeks of the same, and in general not more than one third of the week's service can be required on any one day. When the people work in common, the proprietor tells the "starost" ("elder," the chief of the commune), at the beginning of the week, the number of laborers of each sex wanted, and on what days they must be furnished; the appointment is then made by the commune officers according to the village register, and the summons served by the starost on the evening preceding the work-day, with in-

* Throughout the first zone, for instance, for the first déciatine of the individual's maximum allotment, one half the maximum obrok is to be paid; for the second, an additional fourth; and the remaining fourth, divided equally among the remaining déciatines, gives the rent to be paid for each of these. Thus, on an estate containing 240 males, in a district where the maximum obrok is 10 rubles, and the maximum land-lot 4 déciatines per head, and the amount of land actually granted the peasants 900 déciatines, they pay for the first 240 déciatines, @ 5 rubles, 1200 rubles; for the second 240, @ 2½, 600 rubles; for the remaining 420, @ 1¼ rubles, 525 rubles: in all 2,325 rubles, or 9.48 per head.

structions as to the nature of the service. The peasants supply implements and teams, the latter at a fixed rate, one day's work with two horses being equivalent to one and a half days of personal labor. In case of sickness, substitutes must be furnished by the commune, and a similar but less exacting rule is applied to the separate families. Not only an overseer to represent the proprietor, but some village official in behalf of the peasants, is present in the field during the day. At its close a receipt for service is given to the persons engaged, and registers of performance are kept.

To secure the payment of these dues, the law provides that the obrok shall take precedence of all other debts, public or private. For delay, a fine of one per cent a month is added to the amount. Where the commune is collectively responsible, it must pay the arrears of its members, and proceed to enforce repayment on its own account by such methods as the hiring out of the peasant or one of his family, or the sale of his property. Should the commune not discharge its obligations, the proprietor appeals to the Arbiter, who is to take such measures as may be necessary; in extreme cases he deprives the commune of part of its land, puts the whole under guardianship, or even surrenders it again temporarily to the master's disposal. Where the land has been shared permanently among the households, it depends on a second agreement between the two parties whether the responsibility for the rent shall also become individual. Should it be so decided, the commune directory is still the agent, at the proprietor's demand, to exact collections. For the first nine years a purchased homestead is exempt from attachment, but subsequently even this may be sold, or revert to the land-owner, to pay the lacking rent.

In order to facilitate the speedy purchase of the homestead, over whose acquisition the government watches with great interest, the peasants were allowed, under certain conditions, to change their labor to a money payment after the expiration of the first two years. For this purpose their service, reckoned by the day's work, was appraised by the Provincial Commission. A similar right was extended to serfs registered as belonging to certain factories, smelting and salt works. Further, of the whole rent, thus uniformly estimated in money, the law decided

what portion should be considered as belonging to the homestead. The villages were for this purpose classified according to their local advantages; and, of the whole yearly assessment of nine or ten rubles per male, the homestead pays from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to $3\frac{1}{2}$ rubles, in certain cases a little more.*

The Nine-Year Law. — Another law, beneficent to both parties at the introduction of the new system, by preventing injurious consequences from the first excitement, obliges the peasants to hold themselves responsible for the whole of the land grant during the first nine years of freedom, except where a commune jointly, or a peasant singly, acquires actual ownership of a piece of land under certain limitations of size and distance; or when, by mutual consent, a portion is renounced, in which case the diminution must leave an area equal at least to half the legal maximum of the circuit. In a single case this area may be reduced still further; viz. when, by formal agreement between the proprietor and the commune, the latter receives, as an *outright gift* from the old master, an amount of land equal, the homestead lot included, to one quarter of the maximum; in such case the proprietor obtains nothing from the government, and all former relations with the peasants are at once severed.† In order to enforce the responsibility for the land, a member is allowed, during these nine years, to remove from the commune only with the permission of both proprietor and commune assembly; but if the latter give and the former withhold it, appeal may be made to the Arbiter. After the nine years the purchase of the homestead alone is sufficient to authorize a surrender of the remaining land, which in such case reverts, first to the commune, then to the owner; in other cases an emigrant must make some satisfactory arrangement by which his portion of the obrok or the

* In March, 1863, when the two years allowed for the introduction of the new system expired, of 112,000 contracts to be drawn up, 102,552 had been signed, and 92,001, representing a male population of 8,364,594, were ready to be carried at once into execution. Out of every 100 peasants, 33.7 per cent remained subject to the *corvée* system, with the reserved privilege of commutation mentioned above; 50.8 per cent adopted the obrok system; and 15.5 per cent had already become proprietors of homestead and land. Schnitzler, Vol. I. pp. 412, 413.

† It need hardly be said that but few proprietors adopted this method of settlement.

labor shall in future be discharged. And at all times a peasant who wishes to change his residence can do so only on condition that he leave behind him no dues unpaid, and no helpless family to be supported at the public expense. The consent of the commune which he proposes to enter is also necessary, in case he is to share in its land rights.

State Taxes. — The freed commune, besides its land rent, is also collectively responsible for the state and local taxes; e. g. the general poll-tax, the imposts to defray the expense of the new administration, village schools, roads, etc., those levied to maintain the paupers and orphans, to stock the public provision magazines, and to insure the village against fire and other disasters. These are usually to be assessed by the commune assembly according to the size of the lot used or owned by the respective members, and to be collected by the starost or by a special officer elected for the purpose. Payment is to be enforced as for the obrok. Recruits may be appointed either by lot or by turn on the register, and must be furnished *in natura;* only in a few border and Crimean districts is a commutation of three hundred rubles per man allowed. But previous releases from military obligation (*Rekrutirungsquittungen*) may be bought, as among the crown peasants.

Purchase of the Homestead and Lands. The Government Loan. — The commune jointly or the peasants singly have the right to buy their homesteads, under the single restriction that at the time of purchase no arrears be due to either state or proprietor. But the *land* is only to be bought with the proprietor's consent. In case the price cannot be decided on by mutual agreement, the annual rent is considered as six per cent of the actual value; in other words, the legal price is $16\frac{2}{3}$ times the legal obrok, or the year's service estimated in money. The sum total for the village is divided among the heads of families by a decree of the assembly confirmed by the proprietor. In communes where the joint usufruct prevails, a peasant who singly buys his portion has to pay one fifth more. But if the government had done no more than bestow this privilege in words, it would have been as unavailable to the serfs as Lincoln's proclamation without the Northern army to the negroes. Few of the peasants could ever command the cash necessary to

buy their lands; yet, without land as well as homes, they would probably pass from servitude of one kind to that of another. For the present, therefore, the state itself assumes the greater part of the burden. The peasants — only, however, those who are discharging their dues in money — receive a loan from the government, upon condition, as Haxthausen understands it, that, together with the homestead, they buy either the whole, or at least a certain portion, whose minimum is fixed, of their field lands. In the former case the government advances four fifths, in the latter three quarters of the price, — this partly in state bank certificates, partly in government bonds,* which are gradually changed into bank certificates. Should the proprietor be already indebted to the state, the amount of his debt is deducted from the sum paid, — a proceeding which practically reduces the expenses to the government fully one half! Apparently the proprietor has in some degree the right of forcing the purchase on a commune, though not on single individuals; for our author says that, when he does this, he cannot claim the unpaid balance, unless the peasants desire only a portion of their land, in which case they must pay a sum equal to one fifth of the government advance, the proprietor thus sustaining a loss of one tenth. But where the demand comes from the side of the peasants, these must make up the complete price at the time of the transfer. In place of the obrok to their old masters, the peasants then pay yearly to the state treasury six per cent on the advance. This covers the interest on the bank certificates issued to the proprietors, with all incidental expenses, and gradually forms a sinking fund, which, it is estimated, will in forty-nine years extinguish the debt.

Proprietors' Reserved Rights. — While the peasants are in the intermediate state of temporary obligation, the proprietor retains general protective rights over the commune, and a limited supervision of police matters, — a degree of authority which enables him to initiate measures for the public or private wel-

* These bonds, at first very low, afterwards rose in value through foreign speculation, and in September, 1863, were worth eighty-seven per cent of their face. Schnitzler says, "The government pays half in special certificates bearing 5½ per cent interest, issued in the name of the selling proprietor, and not negotiable; and the other half in negotiable five per cent bonds." (Vol. I. p. 409.)

fare of the members without placing them in his power for injury. With the commune he deals through the starost. He may also require information about all resolutions of the assembly; and if they infringe on his rights, he has ever, like the peasants, the privilege of appealing to the Arbiter. Punishment is no longer to be inflicted by himself, but through the appointed officers, and in accordance with the legal regulations. On obrok estates he is allowed to lease his lands, including the peasants' assignment, for terms of twelve years; this, however, is not to interfere with the latter's right of purchase. But on the other estates, where labor is rendered, such personal service is allowed on no pretext whatever to revert to a tenant. In mortgages or sales, the peasants' lands may be included in the transfer only when the estate goes to an hereditary noble; if to a person of another class, at or before the time of transfer the peasants must become proprietors of their portion. In the division of an estate by sale or by inheritance, the single lots permanently held by families may be separated from each other; but in no case may the partition fall within such a lot, or upon the land collectively occupied by the commune.

The Western Provinces. — The above enactments hold good throughout the larger part of European Russia. But in Little Russia and the western provinces, those which were formerly under Polish and Lithuanian rule, there had long existed a different territorial organization, which in some degree affected the present changes. In this region, as has been mentioned, the commune system seems to have been strange to the feelings of the people, — perhaps on account of the German neighborhood, — and their incorporation with Russia had not eradicated the old practice of hereditary transmission of the family lot. As this had continued for many generations, the lots had become of very different size, and the serfs were in different conditions. Some were mere day-laborers, others had homesteads without fields, others again with the fields but an insufficient supply of cattle, and a fourth class with all three requisites of prosperous husbandry. In the Polish provinces particularly the government had encouraged fixity of tenure, in order to weaken the power of the nobility; and the "inventories" introduced here by Nicholas on the private as well

as on the crown estates sanctioned by law the existing system, and determined the amount of labor to be paid as rent. The new legislation, therefore, contents itself in general with confirming the usage thus established. In Little Russia, within the limits of maximum and minimum, the allotments are also left unaltered. The men alone need render the *corvée* service, and that only in person; for a certain portion of their land, for whose rent the labor of oxen is necessary, is specified as "supplementary," and may be resigned at pleasure to the proprietor, — contrary to the nine-year rule in Great Russia.

The Small Estates. — Special provisions were made in favor of the "small estates," viz. those that had less than twenty-one male serfs and contained less than a certain area of land. It was here that the evils of Russian serfdom culminated; at the same time it was to their proprietors that the emancipation was likely to prove most disastrous. In the interest of the one party it was expedient to sever the old connection as completely as possible; in that of the other, to furnish immediate aid. On these estates the peasants became individually, not jointly, responsible, and the proprietors were not bound to furnish the legal allotment to those previously unsupplied. But such peasants might, at their own request, be transferred to the crown lands, where timber for houses, cattle, implements, and money were gratuitously furnished them by the state, besides land and temporary exemption from the usual dues. Further, the peasants provided with land could also, at their request and with the proprietor's consent, be disposed of in the same way, in which case their lots would revert to the estate. And finally the proprietor might turn over his peasants *with* their lands to the crown, and receive in return $16\frac{2}{3}$ times the legal obrok of the district, the people becoming crown peasants, and paying at once the usual dues. Should the small proprietor be reduced to great poverty, especially should his property contain less than two thirds the maximum area allowed to this class of estates, he was entitled to still more assistance from the government. The funds assigned for this purpose were distributed among the provinces, and the method of application and conditions of grant were specified.

The House Servants. — Besides the great mass of agricul-

tural serfs, there were, moreover, several classes whose condition required separate legislation, — the most numerous among them that of the house servants, or personal serfs ("dvorovyye"). Part of these may have been the descendants of a genuine slave order, whose probable existence in the early times has been already mentioned. But many peasants had also been removed from their own category to this; for the 520,000 males reported in the census of 1851 had become 725,000 in that of 1858. It was ordered, therefore, that all who had actually occupied and cultivated land before this latter date should be considered as peasants in the application of the new laws. The house servants proper were to remain during the two years of preparation in the master's service, at wages fixed by him, sustaining to him the same relations as before, except that they were to receive chastisement only through the police, and might complain to the Arbiter if abused. Those who were already hiring their own time were not to be deprived of this privilege, and their previous obrok was not to be increased, nor to exceed the maximum of thirty rubles for a man and ten for a woman. At the end of the two years, a free choice of occupation was allowed them, together with temporary exemption from most state taxes.

The New Administration. — To correspond to the new status of society, a new administration was needed. The communal principle afforded an admirable basis, — one that much lightened, through self-government, the work of superintendence; to stand between tenant and proprietor a strong and wholly novel power had to be created; while the higher control was necessarily left, as before, to a tribunal of the nobility. The lower organization much resembles that already described as existing among the crown peasants. All heads of families that belong to the village or part of a village constituting the commune are members of the assembly. They elect their starost, and such other officials as may be needed, perhaps a tax-collector and a magazine-inspector. The starost, as chief executive and judicial magistrate of the commune, carries out the orders of his superiors, and exercises the functions of a subordinate police judge, his right of punishment being limited to two days' imprisonment or labor, or the fine of one ruble. One large com-

mune, or a collection of several not more than twelve versts distant from each other, form the "wolost," which, in the eye of the general government, is the lowest administrative unit. It must contain at least three hundred, and, unless a single large village, not more than two thousand males. The wolost and commune officials, with one representative from every ten households, compose its assembly, which, in its turn, elects the "Starschina" (the wolost mayor), whose appointment, however, must be confirmed by the Arbiter. The Starschina has assistants and a council, and is responsible for the police of the communes under his charge. From and by the peasants in the assembly are elected the four to twelve judges of the wolost court, of whom three at least must be present on the bench at a time. Their jurisdiction extends to suits involving one hundred rubles, or of any amount whatever in cases to be settled by compromise; in criminal cases they may sentence to corporal punishment. It is essentially an informal tribunal to settle as many disputes as possible by accommodation and according to local usages. The compensation of these different officials depends respectively on the two assemblies. Those elected are obliged to serve, except in case of certain specified excuses. During office they enjoy some special immunities.

The officer whose name appears most frequently in the new laws is the Arbiter (*Friedensvermittler*). He belongs to the nobility, of the hereditary class by preference, and during the first three years was to be appointed by the governor of the province, with the approval of the senate. His jurisdiction covers, — 1. Disputes between peasants and proprietors, and complaints against commune officials; 2. Ratification of certain acts, e. g. the amicable agreements between the two parties; 3. Declaring in operation the regulations or contract made upon each estate, determination of the boundaries, temporary suspension of the starost and starschina from their respective posts, and enforcement of the payment of arrears in the obrok; 4. Police control over the house servants and hired employees of the proprietor, who are not subject to the commune authorities. The Arbiters of the various districts into which each province is divided constitute together the District Assize Court, under the presidency of the District Marshal of

Nobility. They receive appeals from the Arbiter's decision, and complaints against the wolost officials, and settle the more important and general questions which may arise under the new arrangements. The highest tribunal is the Provincial Commission, which consists of the governor of the province (*Gouvernement*), aided by three high officials and four proprietors. Agreements between the peasants and proprietors which require special dispensation of the laws regarding land or rent, must be referred to it; it was also charged with much of the preliminary work, e. g. with organizing the communes into wolosts, and elaborating a scale of wages for the peasants who should change their *corvée* service into an obrok.

Introduction of the New System.—The Two Years' Delay.—The Contracts. — The imperial proclamation and the accompanying orders bear the date of February 19 (O. S.), 1861. The Provincial Commissions, organized in the preceding December, were instructed to proceed at once to their task. Within nine months the formation of the wolosts was to be accomplished, the arbiters and the wolost officers to be chosen and to enter upon their duties, and each proprietor to report a draft of the regulations to be adopted on his estate, modelled on a scheme drawn up by the Commission. These contracts (*chartes réglementaires*) were to state the number of peasants, to give an estimate of the land allotted them and of the rent or service due from them, and to define all the relations established by the new laws between tenant and landlord. They were to be revised by the Arbiter on the spot, and word for word read and discussed in the presence of representatives of the peasants and disinterested witnesses; having received official approval, they were again to be read, and the meaning of each clause separately explained before the whole commune assembly, when, finally, they were declared to be in operation. Three copies were preserved, one by the government, one by the proprietor, one by the peasants themselves. For the full confirmation and introduction of these charters, the period of two years was allowed. Within this time everything was to be placed on its new footing; till then the old order should be maintained within the commune, except that the judicial powers of the proprietor ceased at the end of the nine months, when

the wolost courts received the jurisdiction. In all these proceedings no complaint of past abuse could be preferred by the peasants against their old masters.

In the laws which we have thus sketched in mere outline, the general principles catch the eye at once, as well as the scope which their authors intended they should have. A definite result was aimed at, and, so far as possible, distinct and complete methods were employed. Doubtless, for such an undertaking they will prove, perhaps have proved, partially inadequate; but they plainly belong to no half-way legislation. Nothing that can be foreseen is left to accident or to ill-will. The minute adaptation to local circumstances is one of the most remarkable features of the whole attempt, one that of course cannot be represented in an abstract like this. The determination is manifest throughout to place the peasants entirely beyond the power of their former owner; and even when the levers by which the movement is to be effected are put in his hands, he himself is placed in such a position that he can hardly use them save in the right direction. Moreover, where good-will exists, it is not frustrated by formality. Almost every provision begins with words which allow to the proprietor, within certain restrictions, the alternative of amicable agreement with the freedmen; and Alexander in his manifesto relied upon such agreement to remove the difficulties which the application of rules, however minute, to the thousand-fold variety of local circumstances will unavoidably produce.* The serfs are not only made freemen, but their new condition is thoroughly organized and defended against future attack.

But in spite of its far greater magnitude as regards numbers, the task for Russia, at least so far as direct measures can accomplish it, is in reality enviably small as compared with our own. The greater vigor of our national life gives us the advantage in any work of absorption and reconstruction. But in Russia the government has, in the first place, absolute power to ordain the revolution. No state rights there interfere with human rights. It adopts, in the second place, as a groundwork of the new social fabric, the untouched foundations

* Of the contracts reported in 1863 (*vide* note, p. 71), nearly one half had been arranged by mutual consent.

of the old. Even the superstructure is not so much to be rebuilt as to be converted to new uses. The peasants are freed, and their future life and prosperity insured by a single act. The government simply steps between the owner and the owned, and says to the one: "Remain as you are; your serf represented to you the yearly value of his obrok or service, minus the value of the land he used for his support. He shall still represent to you nearly the same worth.* But you must resign two things; — first, your control of his person; second, your control of that land which he actually needs." It turns to the serf and says: "Remain where you are. You have now no master but the law. Keep your land also; none shall take it from you. But you must pay a rent to the old landlord, about as much money or labor as you formerly gave him. Should you prefer, however, you may buy your house whenever you like; and your lot also, as soon as 'the Baron' is willing.

* What did the serf, or the state for him, really buy, his person or his land? Nominally the land; for the house servants and the obrok payers who hired their own time received their freedom *gratis* at the end of two years. Moreover, nearly all the preliminary reports submitted by the various Provincial Committees began with a preamble to the effect that "the nobility renounce forever, without claiming any indemnity, the right of possessing serfs." But if the following considerations are well based, the land was appraised higher than its actual market value. Haxthausen says that "one hundred souls represent on the average a property worth 25,000 to 30,000 rubles"; i. e. apparently each "soul" with his proportion of the land was worth 250 to 300 rubles. "Dans la plupart des cas les deux valeurs (le terrain même et la force des bras qui le cultivent) se balancent," says Schédo-Ferroti (*Étude*, &c., p. 22). According to this, the land alone would average for each "soul" 125 to 150 rubles in value; whereas the obrok legalized by the emancipation laws (8 to 12 rubles) represents a capital of 133 to 200. Now, when it is remembered that the land which the serf gets is not his proportion of the whole estate, but only of one half to two thirds of the whole (as one third or more is reserved for the proprietor), and that the exceptions to Schédo-Ferroti's statement are probably very numerous and all on one side, (for some writers say that, compared with the laboring force of an estate, the land was worth but a trifle,) it becomes pretty evident that the vast majority of the peasants pay for their freedom something more than the actual value of the house and lot. This conclusion corresponds to what Morley's author and others say, — "I am told that the market price of the land is not half the sum usually charged the peasant under the new laws." But, on the other hand, many proprietors have lost twenty per cent of the appraised values (see p. 73), and all have been compelled to receive their pay in government stocks at a depreciation of twenty to fifty per cent, while during the forty-nine years of free industry which will elapse before the land redeemed from the government will fully belong to the peasants its value will probably rise so much as to make the present appraisal seem very low.

If without money, the government will help you; in this case you will be tenants of the crown, and your children will in the course of time become full proprietors." It favors certain preliminary measures, but, to avoid collision with prevailing customs, does not insist upon them. It empowers, but does not confer, complete independence. It is only imperative in securing personal liberty and the means of continued support. It establishes a democratic self-government in local affairs, and places in direct authority above and within reach of both parties an officer ever ready to arbitrate between them. Much, very much, depends on this functionary, it is true; but apparently he has already cleared for himself a place in popular estimation that has long been unaccorded to a Russian official, and great hopes are built on his permanent usefulness.

It is unsatisfactory to end our inquiry here, to find that at present we can only compare the methods, not the results, of the two nearly simultaneous emancipations, — that in the Old World and our own in the New. On the eve before the movement, Dolgorukow, Tourgueneff, Schédo-Ferroti, and others, told us the "truth about Russia" most abundantly; and their startling revelation of the hollowness and corruption within that huge shell made the European public sceptical as to the possibility of success in the enterprise. But in regard to its actual working we have been able to find only a few facts. Indeed, the most honest official report could not fairly represent the first stages of such a wide-spread and constantly advancing revolution. Even open-eyed travellers see but what comes under their eyes. The book which Mr. Morley has edited photographs vividly the scene of incoming liberty in a single locality, and is written by one who knew the Russian serf by personal contact. Tilley's volume, so far as it has to do with Russia, contains such information as a book-making traveller brings together, more from his reading than his sight-seeing. Schnitzler's is the work of a publicist, and helps us to little or nothing here. But from these and a few scattered sources we draw an indication of what has happened.

The voice of the Czar could overcome the reluctance, but not the anxiety, of the nobles, as they looked forward to the approaching enfranchisement. Yet, to their credit, there seems

to be good reason to believe that they gave themselves heartily to the plan when once announced, and tried their best to further its design. Alexander in his manifesto bestows words full of praise on their self-sacrifice. The *serf* regarded and discussed his future lot exactly as one would suppose. His logic had been: "God gave our forefathers the land to till; we are the children, the land is ours. The Czar is God's representative; him and those whom he sets over us we will serve, but the soil is ours." His words now were: "Has not our father, the Czar, God bless him! decreed our freedom, and shall we not soon do what we like, and be freed from the obrok?" But the first conclusion was retained, — "the land is ours"; and the idea of paying for it in any way was incomprehensible. The common impression seems to have been, that their lords would be pensioned by the Emperor, and removed to the cities.

The "Butter-week," the Russian carnival, was just over when the village priests read the edict of emancipation at all the altars in the Empire. Emissaries, it is said, had been sent out by the disaffected, and false proclamations circulated to create tumultuous risings among the people, and thus to damage their cause. But only in a few districts remote from the capitals was trouble occasioned. At Kesan, one of the pretenders who have played such a famous *rôle* in Russian history gave himself out for Alexander II., who had fled to them to escape an insurrection excited by the nobles in St. Petersburg! He collected around him some fifteen thousand men, who set the law at defiance in the name of the Czar, their persecuted liberator, and were only put down after bloodshed. In 1862 many owners anticipated the final movement, and nearly all who thus freed their serfs gained by their liberality. Thousands in the central districts crowded to Moscow, and the city for a time swarmed with peasants seeking work and finding none. "In a late country journey," says Morley's author, "I saw them crawling back to their villages, begging their way." Towards the end of this year the laborers struck in some places; crops were lost, and incomes much reduced. Alexander, later, made a tour through several of the principal towns, explaining in person that no more was to be expected; that the serfs' cry, "*Prebavit!*" ("Add to it!" "More!")

must cease; that it was useless to hang back, expecting that the land would be given to them without redemption. During the last two or three years a number of towns have been persistently ravaged by incendiary fires. Still, on the whole, *émeutes* and disturbances have been rare and local, and throughout the Empire the peasants have, as a rule, been accredited with good order during the transition.* In 1864 the writer just quoted revisited the village where he had witnessed the first eventful months of liberty. It had belonged to Count Pomerin, one of the owners who cut the bond at once, and treated his serfs most generously. "The change was almost miraculous. It was no longer a straggling village of mud huts, but a thriving town. The people are not like the same beings; and there is now decided evidence of the rise of a middle class, — a class once unknown in such places." Very many of the house servants have become small merchants and pedlers; and the cities have naturally felt the pressure of the great restless tide in the country. Moscow, it is estimated, has added fifty thousand to its population. The price of land, as well as of wages, is said to have risen, — the latter so much that the ex-proprietors find a double reason to condemn emancipation; the peasant holds his labor too high, and at harvest-time, when most needed, is apt to be busy on his own plot. The foreign merchants, on the other hand, are said to bear unanimous witness to the good effects of liberty.

How fast the change has advanced may be judged in some degree by the following extract from Haxthausen: — "According to the reports of June 1, 1865, 50.5 per cent of the serfs have become land-owners; with the aid of the government loan, 2,322,369 males; without this aid, 445,459; and through the ukases of March 1, July 30, and November 2 (1863 ?), all the serfs of the nine western provinces, viz. 2,295,026. In all, 5,062,854 males already enjoy full independence, and have no connection with the old proprietors. Of the 2,322,369, however, the accounts have been settled for only 2,148,186; and of the western serfs, for only 174,183." The ukases to which these western peasants owe their sudden enfranchisement were

* Before emancipation was broached, it is said that, on the average, thirteen proprietors were yearly murdered by their serfs.

occasioned by the Polish insurrection. Their previous *corvée* service was changed to an obrok, and reduced twenty per cent. All obligatory relations to their owners ceased definitely on the 1st of May, 1863. From this date payments were to be made to the district treasury, from which the proprietors should receive their dues till the transfer of the land was concluded. The commissions to whom the rectification of the inventories had been intrusted were employed to draw up for each estate, at the time of its inspection, the necessary act of purchase.

Within the upper strata of society, the fruits of emancipation are much better known. One effect, and that most often referred to, has certainly been to reduce many of the nobility to poverty, and not a few of the small proprietors, it is said, to actual ruin. But let two facts be remembered in this connection, apart from all questions of right; — that the whole number of proprietors was less than 125,000, so that each one's loss represents the gain of 180 peasants; and that much of this ruin is but the breaking down of a structure utterly decayed before.* "From the present data," says Haxthausen, "it is easy to estimate the sum total to be expended in the purchase. For the whole of Russia it is about nine hundred to one thousand million rubles, of which five hundred millions are already owed by the proprietors to the state loan institutions. There remain, therefore, four hundred to five hundred millions to be actually paid."

A second result is the uplifting and regenerating effect which liberty has had upon the whole community. The nobility are the very ones who may experience hereby the greatest benefit, and their changed condition is the very incitement which spurs them to effort. Having lost their former footing, it becomes imperative with them to secure another on which to rest their social predominance.† Hence the striving for representative

* In 1850 two fifths (44,166) of the estates, representing two thirds (7,107,184 males) of the serfs, were indebted to the banks to the amount of 425,503,061 rubles. From 1856 to 1859 alone, about 800,000 "souls" were pledged in this way. Schnitzler, Vol. I. p. 180.

† When Prince Alexis Orlof accepted the presidency of the Central Commission for the emancipation, he did so saying: "Russia will no longer be Russia. The nobility, annulled by this measure, will be obliged, in order to reinstate itself, to claim political prerogatives guaranteed by a constitution."

and constitutional government, which was so marked a feature of their late endeavor, till the Emperor's sharp reproof to the petitioners from the Nobiliar Assemblies of Moscow and Pskoff convinced them that they were running too fast. Yet the principles which eventually lead to a constitution have been already realized in the district and provincial diets constituted by the ukase of January 21, 1864. In these diets, delegates from the landed gentry, the towns, and the villages occupy the seats. Finland has received a partial constitution of its own; and the government has introduced most important reforms. Even with our own experience in mind, it can probably be said with truth, that no nation on the earth has made such perceptible and rapid strides upward and onward as Russia during the last five years. In 1862, the budget was published for the first time. In place of the farming out of the brandy monopoly, under cover of which the greatest extortion had been carried on, a system of excise has been substituted.* Corporal punishment for women has been abolished, and for men lessened and placed more under legal restraint. The administration of justice has been put on an entirely new basis. The judges are differently appointed, and receive higher salaries. The trial by jury, the employ of advocates on both sides, of oral evidence, public procedure, and decisive verdicts in the courts, show, by the extent, the need there was of reform. A kind of habeas-corpus act, by which a person must be brought before a magistrate within twenty-four hours after arrest, has also been introduced; and in civil processes the necessary papers may be freely inspected. The character of Russian justice and of all Russian officials has been heretofore a proverb of dishonor among the nations. Smuggling was almost superseded by the ease with which fraud could be practised in the custom-house. A bribe was the prescriptive way of addressing an official. The "Tschin," — the graded system of administrative rank, — in vogue since the first Peter's day, has long been a miracle of

* Two fifths of the whole public revenue for 1862 was derived from this monopoly. The effect of the new system is cheaper and better brandy, a little more income, and more drunkenness. Previously to its introduction a temperance pledge was started among the peasants, and took so well with them as to seriously alarm the ministers of state. The pledge bound them to abstain from brandy — till brandy should be better, and tolerably cheap!

inapplicability to all existing wants, except those of the members themselves. Men would sustain enormous wrong, would look on while a drowning man sunk, rather than come — and plead guilty rather than stay — within reach of the fangs of the law. The effect of such radical changes can hardly be overestimated ; but no sudden cure should be looked for.

Far greater freedom has been allowed the press. The preventive censorship has given way to one more nearly conformed to the French method of suffocation by warning and penalty. The effect of Nicholas's death was like touching a hidden spring. The lid of public opinion flew up, and a clatter of editorial tongues, a hubbub of journals, began in the land. It was a new sound in the ears of Russia. Many of them were soon silenced, — some losing breath naturally, others by violence. But though Alexander, since the attempt on his life, has grown fearful of the radical spirit he has conjured up, it is hardly possible that even a Russian Czar will try again to impose the silence of death on living lips. "Better from above than from below," it is reported, was his constant exhortation to himself while he toiled to free the people from the incubus of their proprietors, and he cannot wholly forget the maxim now, when the cry for freedom is so much nearer his palace walls. Lastly, both Jews and the Protestants in the western provinces have now an official protection never before accorded their religion.

These changes indicate in some degree the new era which the present Emperor has inaugurated for his country. Peter the Great established its physical connection with the rest of Europe ; Alexander has established the moral connection. The barrier is burst from within, which for the last three centuries has kept Russia in a kind of Japanese seclusion, closed to the influence of outside civilization. Whatever be the ultimate fate of the vast conglomerate which bears her name, henceforth as a state she will live nearer the century than she ever has been able to before. Among the future results which a single generation will produce, may be almost certainly predicted the growth of a middle class, and of still another, that of country gentry. Many proprietors, weakened in means, will have to reside on their estates, and betake themselves in person to

agriculture. Education will also extend more widely, and sink more deeply. Already this work, too big to be grappled with at once, has at least been fingered. "Fifty millions who can neither read nor write" is probably a diminished statement of the truth.* Gerebtzov says (*La Civilisation en Russie*), "On an average only one in eight can read and write, — in some provinces not one in a hundred reads." Heretofore the instruction of most village children, given by the clergyman, has been confined to the church liturgy and traditions learnt orally. Nicholas sanctioned the existence of "five universities, with three hundred students each." † There are now six, with over 4,600 students, besides a considerable increase in the number of gymnasia, and district and parochial schools supported by the state. During the two years of waiting alone (1861–1863), it is said that the peasants' schools increased from 1,955 to 6,666.

One element already noticed exists in Russia which will assuredly prove a valuable auxiliary of safe and steady progress to the mass of the population, however much it must be modified by gradual civilization. The tendency to combine with his fellows seems to be an inborn propensity of the Russian peasant. The communal system of land and privilege, as described above, has almost universal sway throughout Great Russia. Where a village is devoted to manufactures rather than agriculture, industry assumes in the "artel" a similar form, — is carried on in what may be called "workingmen's associations"; and in general a whole village is devoted to a single trade, — all are curriers, all weavers, all blacksmiths, etc. It will be most interesting to watch the effect which freedom will have upon this principle; for of all the resemblances which exist between our character and position as a nation and those of Russia, this, so closely connected with democracy, is the most suggestive.‡

* The statistics of 1865 gave 794,000 pupils in 17,577 educational establishments of all kinds (Poland and Finland not included). Of these, 687,480 were in primary schools; 1 in 86 of the whole population was under instruction; in 1855, only 1 in 151. Schnitzler, Vol. II. pp. 428, 443.

† The statement of A. W. Benne, the author of two interesting articles in the Fortnightly Review for October 15 and November 1, 1865, on the "Upper Classes of Society in Russia." But in 1856 there were six universities, with over 4,000 students. Statististical Journal, Vol. XXII. p. 484.

‡ Those who wish to learn how far, in times prior to Peter's influence, the same

On the other hand, the great obstacle in the way of advance, besides the universal ignorance of all except the aristocracy, is that which springs from this ignorance, — the absence of any *public opinion* in the Western sense of that term. In Russia, the eyes of all wait upon the Czar, and the wind changes with the weathercock. That this is so is most curiously shown by the way in which the storm which rose in the interest of liberalism at Alexander's coronation, when his intentions were first proclaimed, soon veered against Poland during the late rising in that country; and more lately, since the Emperor's fright over the *attentat*, has blown straight and strong from the opposite quarter of conservatism and autocratic prerogative. It is true, that we can judge only by the expression which is allowed utterance; but the eagerness and multitude of the voices which cry just as the Ministry gives the sign, reveal how little the nerve and sinew of any real independence which may exist answers as yet to its own will. The present generation of educated men is far too official, by education and personal interest, to cut the tie which unites them to the government and makes them its facile tools. At the same time, it should be remembered that the accounts usually represent Alexander II. as a humane rather than a strong-minded monarch, — that it is less an individual's act than the force of circumstances, growing through a hundred years and reacting with enormous pressure after the restrictive reign of Nicholas, that has brought about the emancipation and its consequences. The statement is one wholly favorable to the future of the cause. If it be the public necessity that has found such utterance, and carried its demand in spite of the collective obstacles which autocracy, camarilla, nobility, corrupt administrative systems, and all the conservative elements of prestige and property could throw in the way, — if the very measures of reform and purification long called for, but almost despaired of, by the self-exiled Russian patriots, stand to-day on the law codes of the Empire, — there is surely strong reason to believe that the rule of the one or of the few in Russia is doomed, and drawing to its close.

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element existed in the upper classes, and produced fruits akin to representative government, will find a valuable article in No. 225 of the Quarterly Review, 1863.

ART. III. — 1. *Emanuel Swedenborg; his Life and Writings.* By WILLIAM WHITE. London. 1867. 2 vols. 8vo.

2. *The Divine Attributes; including the Divine Trinity, a Treatise on the Divine Love and Wisdom, and Correspondence.* By E. SWEDENBORG. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1867.

3. *Heaven and its Wonders, and Hell, from Things seen and heard.* By E. SWEDENBORG. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1867.

THE fundamental problem of Philosophy is the problem of creation. Does our existence really infer a Divine and infinite being, or does it not? This question addresses itself to us now with special emphasis, inasmuch as speculative minds are beginning zealously to inquire whether creation can really be admitted any longer, save in an accommodated sense of the word; whether men of simple faith have not gone too far in professing to see a hand of power in the universe, absolutely distinct from the universe itself. That being can admit either of increase or diminution is scientifically inconceivable, and affronts moreover the truth of the creative infinitude. For if God be infinite, as we necessarily hold him to be in deference to our own finiteness, what shall add to, or take from, the sum of his being? It is indeed obvious that God cannot create or give being to what has being in itself, for this would be contradictory. He can create only what is devoid of being in itself: this is manifest. And yet what is void of being in itself can at best only appear to be. It can be no real, but only a phenomenal existence. Thus the problem of creation is seen to engender many speculative doubts. How reconcile the antagonism of real and phenomenal, of absolute and contingent, of which the problem is so full? By the hypothesis of creation, the creature derives all he is from the creator. But the creature is essentially not the creator, is above all things himself a created being, and therefore the utter and exact opposite of the creator. How then shall the infinite Creator give his finite creature projection, endow him with veritable selfhood or identity, and yet experience no compromise of His own

individuality? Suffice it to say that what has hitherto called itself Philosophy has had so little power fairly to confront these difficulties, let alone solve them, as to have set Kant upon the notion of placating them afresh by the old recipe of Idealism; that is, by the invention of another or *noumenal* world, the world of "things-in-themselves." No doubt this was a new pusillanimity on the part of Philosophy, but what better could the philosopher do? He saw plainly enough that things were phenomenal; but as he did not see that this infirmity attached to them wholly on their subjective or constitutional side, while on their objective or formal side they were infinite and absolute, he was bound to lapse into mere idealism or scepticism, unrelieved by aught but the dream of a noumenal background.

We may smile if we please at the superstitious shifts to which Kant's philosophic scepticism reduced him; but after all, Kant was only the legitimate flower of all the inherited culture of the world, the helpless logical outcome of bewildered ages of philosophy. Philosophy herself had never discriminated the objective or absolute and creative element in knowledge from its subjective or merely contingent and constitutional element. And when Kant essayed to make the discrimination, what wonder that he only succeeded in more hopelessly confounding the two, and so adjourning once more the hope of Philosophy to an indefinite future? But Kant's failure to vindicate the philosophic truth of creation has only exasperated the intellectual discontent of the world with the cosmological data supplied by the old theologies. Everywhere men of far more tender and reverential make even than Kant are being driven to freshness of thought; and thought, though a remorseless solvent, has no reconstructive power over truth. Men's opinions are being silently modified in fact, whether they will or not. The crudities, the extravagances, the contradictions of the old cosmology, now no longer amiable and innocent, but aggressive and overbearing, are compelling inquiry into new channels, are making it no longer possible that the notions which satisfied the fathers shall continue to satisfy the children. A distinctly supernatural creation, once so fondly urged upon our faith, is quite unintelligible to modern culture, because it violates experience or contradicts our observation of

nature. Everything we observe in nature derives from a common or universal substance, and is a particular or objective form of such substance. If, then, the objective form of things were an outward or supernatural communication to them, it would no longer be their own form, but their maker's. Thus, on the hypothesis of a supernatural creation, every natural object would disclaim a natural genesis; and Nature, consequently, as denoting the universal or subjective element in existence, would disappear with the disappearance of her proper forms.

Now if Nature, in her most generic or universal mood, return us at best a discouraging answer to the old problem of creation, what answer does she yield in her most specific — which is the human or moral — form? A still more discouraging one even! In fact, the true motive of the intellectual hostility now formulating to the traditional notion of creation, as an objective work of God, as an instantaneous or magical exhibition of the Divine power, as an arbitrary or irrational procedure of the Divine wisdom, is supplied by our moral consciousness, by the irresistible conviction we feel of our personal identity. That moral or personal existence should be outwardly generated, should be created in the sense of having being communicated to it supernaturally, contradicts consciousness. For moral or personal existence is purely conscious or subjective existence, and consciousness or subjectivity is a strictly *natural* style of existence, and hence disowns all supernatural interference as impertinent. It is preposterous to allege that my consciousness or subjectivity involves any other person than myself, since this would vitiate my personal identity, and hence defeat my possible spiritual individuality or character. If, being what I am conscious of being, namely, a moral or personal existence invested with self-control or the rational ownership of my actions, I yet am not so naturally or of myself, but by some supernatural or foreign intervention, then obviously I am simply what such intervention determines me to be, and my feeling of selfhood or freedom is grossly illusory. Thus morality, which is the assertion of a selfhood in man commensurate with all the demands of nature and society upon him, turns out, if too rigidly insisted on, — if maintained as a

Divine finality, or as having not merely a constitutional, but a creative truth, not merely a subjective or phenomenal, but also an objective or real validity, — to be essentially atheistic, and drives those who are loyal rather to the inward spirit than the outward letter of revelation to repugn the old maxims of a supernatural creation and providence as furnishing any longer a satisfactory theorem of existence.

Faith must reconcile herself to this perilous alternative, if she obstinately persist in making our natural morality supernatural by allowing it a truth irrespective of consciousness, or assigning it any objectivity beyond the evolution of human society or fellowship. It is not its own end, but a strict means to a higher or spiritual evolution of life *in our nature;* and they accordingly who persist in ignoring this truth must expect to fall intellectually behind the time in which they live. Some concession here is absolutely necessary to save the religious instinct. For men feel a growing obligation to coordinate the demands of freedom or personality with the limitations of science; and since Kant's remorseless criticism stops them off — under penalty of accepting his impracticable noumenal world — from postulating any longer an objective being answering to their subjective seeming, they must needs with his successors give the whole question of creation the go-by, in quietly resolving the minor element of the equation into the major, man into God, or making the finite a mere transient experience of the infinite, by means of which that great unconsciousness attains to selfhood. For this is the sum of the Hegelian dialectic, — to confound existence with being, or make identity no longer serve individuality, but absorb or swallow it up: so bringing back creation to intellectual chaos, which is naught.

We ourselves, in common with most men doubtless, have an instinctive repugnance to these insane logical results; but instinct is not intelligence, and sophistry can be combated only by intelligence. Now, to our mind, nothing so effectually arms the intellect against error, whether it be the error of the sceptic or the error of the fanatic, whether it reflect our prevalent religious cant or our almost equally prevalent scientific cant, as a due acquaintance and familiarity with the ontological

principles of Swedenborg. Emanuel Swedenborg, we need not say, is by no means as yet "a name to conjure with" in polite circles, and, for aught we opine, may never become one. Nevertheless numerous independent students are to be found, who, having been long hopeless of getting to the bottom of our endless controversies, confess that their intellectual doubts have at last been dispersed by the sunshine of his ontology. It would be small praise of Swedenborg to say that he does not, like Hegel, benumb our spiritual instincts, or drown them out in a flood of vainglorious intoxication brought about by an absurd exaltation of the subjective element in life above the objective one. This praise no doubt is true, but much more is true; and that is, that he *enlightens* the religious conscience, and so gives the intellect a repose which it has lacked throughout history, — a repose as natural, and therefore as sane and sweet, as the sleep of infancy. Admire Hegel's legerdemain as much as you will, his ability to make light darkness and darkness light in all the field of man's relations to God; but remember also that it is characteristic of the highest truth to be accessible to common minds, and inaccessible only to uplifted ones. Tried by this test, the difference between the two writers is incomparably in favor of Swedenborg. For example, what a complete darkening of our intellectual optics is operated by Hegel's fundamental postulate of the identity of being and thought. "Thought and being are identical." Such indeed is the necessary logic of idealism. Now doubtless our faculty of abstract thought is chief among our intellectual faculties; but when it is seriously proposed to build the universe of existence upon a logical abstraction, one must needs draw a very long breath. For thought by itself affords a most inadequate basis even to our own conscious activity; and when, therefore, our unconscious being is in question, it confesses itself a simply ludicrous hypothesis.

But in reality Hegel, in spite of his extreme pretension in that line, never once got within point-blank range of the true problem of ontology; and this because he habitually confounded being with existence, spirit with nature. By being he never meant being, but always existence, the existence we are conscious of; so that when he would grasp the infinite, he

fancied he had only to resort to the cheap expedient of eliminating the finite. It is precisely as if a man should say: "All I need in order to procure myself an intuitive knowledge of my own visage, is not to look at its reflection in the looking-glass." Think the finite away, said Hegel, and the infinite is left on your hands. Yes, provided the infinite is never a positive quantity, but only and at most a thought-negation of its own previously thought-negation. But really, if the infinite be this mere negation of its own negation, that is, if being turns out to be identical with nothing, with the absence of mere *thing*, then we must say, in the first place, that we do not see why any sane person should covet its acquaintance. Being which has been so utterly compromised, and indeed annihilated, by its own phenomenal forms, as to be able to reappear only by their disappearance, is scarcely the being which unsophisticated men will ever be persuaded to deem infinite or creative. But then we must also say, in the second place, let it be true, as Hegel alleges, that being is identical with the absence of *thing*, we still are at an utter loss to understand how that leaves it identical with pure thought. We need not deny that we hold thing and thought to be by any means identical; but we are free to maintain nevertheless that if you actually abstract things from thought, you simply render thought itself exanimate. Thought has no vehicle or body but language, and language owes all its soul or inspiration to things. Abstract things then, and neither thought nor language actually survives. You might as well expect the body to survive its soul.

But in truth this metaphysic chatter is the mere wantonness of sense. The infinite is so far from being negative of the finite, that it is essentially creative — and hence exclusively affirmative — of it. The finite indeed is only that inevitable diffraction of itself which the infinite undergoes in the medium or mirror of our sensuous thought, in order so to adapt itself to our dim intelligence. It is accordingly no less absurd for us to postulate a disembodied or unrevealed infinite — an infinite unrobed or unrepresented by the finite — than it would be to demand a father unavouched by a child. The infinite is the sole reality which underlies all finite appearance, and in that tender unobtrusive way makes itself conceivable to our

obtuse thought. Should we get any nearer this reality by spurning the gracious investiture through which alone it becomes appreciable to us? Is a man's intelligence of nature improved, on the whole, by putting out his eyes? If, then, the infinite reveals itself to our nascent understanding only by the finite, — i. e. by what we already sensibly know, — how much nearer should we come to its knowledge by rejecting such revelation? We who are not infinite cannot know it absolutely or in itself, but only as it veils or abates its splendor to the capacity of our tender vision, — only as it reproduces itself within our finite lineaments. In a word, our knowledge of it is no way intuitive, but exclusively empirical. Would our chances of realizing such knowledge be advanced, then, by following Hegel's counsel, and disowning that apparatus of finite experience by which alone it becomes mirrored to our intelligence? In other words, suppose a man desirous to know what manner of man he is: were it better for him, in that case, to proceed by incontinently smashing his looking-glass, or by devoutly pondering its revelations? The question answers itself. The glass may be by no means achromatic; it may return indeed a most refractory reply to the man's interrogatory; but nevertheless it is his only method of actually compassing the information he covets, and in the estimation of all wise men he will stamp himself an incorrigible fool if he breaks it.

But the truth is too plain to need argument. There is no antagonism of infinite and finite, except to our foolish regard. On the contrary, there is the exact harmony or adjustment between them that there is between substance and shadow: the infinite being that which really or absolutely *is*, and the finite that which actually or contingently *appears*. The infinite is the faultless substance which, unseen itself, vivifies all finite existence; the finite is the fallacious shadow which nevertheless *attests* that substance. The shadow has no pretension absolutely to be, but only to exist or appear as a necessary projection or image of the substance upon our intellectual retina; and when consequently we wink the shadow out of sight, we do not thereby acuminate our vision, we simply obliterate it. That is to say, we do not thereby approximate

our silly selves to the infinite, but simply degrade them out of the finite into the void inane of the indefinite. To you who are not being, being can become known only as finite or phenomenal existence. If then you abstract the finite, the realm of the phenomenal, you not only miss the infinite substance you seek to know, but also and even the very shadow itself upon which your faculty of knowledge is suspended. Such, however, was the abysmal absurdity locked away in Hegel's dialectic, which remorselessly confounds infinite form and finite substance, real or objective being, with phenomenal or subjective seeming; that jolly dialectic which turns creation upside down, by converting it from an orderly procedure of the Divine love and wisdom into a tipsy imbroglio, where what is lowest to thought is made to *in*volve what is highest, and what is highest in its turn to *e*volve what is lowest: so that God and man, Creator and creature, in place of being eternally individualized or objectified to each other's regard, become mutually undiscoverable, being hopelessly swamped to sight in the miserable mush of each other's subjective identity. But what is Hegel's supreme shame in the eyes of philosophy, namely, his utter unscrupulous abandonment of himself to the inspiration of idealism, will constitute his true distinction to the future historiographer of philosophy. For idealism has been the secret blight of philosophy ever since men began to speculate; and what Hegel has done for philosophy in running idealism into the ground, has been to bring this secret blight to the surface, so exposing it to all eyes, and making it impossible for human fatuity ever to go a step further, in that direction at all events.

The correction which Swedenborg brings to this pernicious idealistic bent of the mind consists in the altogether novel light he sheds upon the constitution of consciousness, and particularly upon the fundamental discrimination which that constitution announces between the phenomenal identity of things and their real individuality; between the subjective or merely quantifying element in existence, and its objective or properly qualifying one. The old philosophy was blind to this sharp discrimination in the constitution of existence. It regarded existence, not as a composite, but as a simple quantity,

and consequently sank the spiritual element in things in their natural element,—sank what gives them individuality, life, soul, in what gives them identity, existence, body,—in short, sank the *creative* element in existence — what causes it absolutely or subjectively to *be* — in its *constitutive* or generative element, in what causes it phenomenally or subjectively to *appear*. For example, what was its conception of man? It regarded him simply on his moral side, which presents him as essentially selfish or inveterately objective to himself, and left his spiritual possibilities, which present him as essentially social, or spontaneously subject to his neighbor, wholly unrecognized.* In short, it separated him from the face of Deity by all the breadth of nature and all the length of history; and suspended his return upon some purely arbitrary interference exerted by Deity upon the course of nature and the progress of history.

Swedenborg's analysis of consciousness stamps these judgments as sensuous or immature, and restores man to the intimate fellowship of God. Consciousness according to Swedenborg claims two most disproportionate generative elements;—one subjective, cosmical, passive, organic; the other, objective, human, active, free. The former element gives us fixity or limitation; *identifies* us, so to speak, by relating us to the outward and finite, i. e. to nature. The latter element gives us freedom, which is *de*-limitation or *de*-finition; *individualizes* us, so to speak, by relating us to the inward and infinite, i. e. to God. This latter element is absolute and creative, for it gives us potential being before we actually exist or become conscious. The other element is merely phenomenal and constitutive, making us exist or go forth to our own consciousness in due cosmical place and order.

Now the immense bearing which this analysis of consciousness exerts upon cosmological speculation, or the question of creation, becomes at once obvious when we reflect that it utterly inverts the long-established supremacy of subject to object in existence, and so demolishes at a blow the sole philo-

* The best and briefest definition of moral existence is, *the alliance of an inward subject and an outward object;* and of spiritual existence, *the alliance of an outward subject and an inward object.* Thus in moral existence what is public or universal dominates what is private or individual; whereas in spiritual existence the case is reversed, and the outward serves the inward.

sophic haunt of idealism or scepticism. The great scientific value of the Critical Philosophy lay in Kant's making manifest the latent malady of the old philosophy by dogmatically affiliating object to subject, the *not-me* to the *me*. His followers only proved themselves to be his too apt disciples, in endeavoring to paint and adorn this ghastly disease with the ruddy hues of health, by running philosophy into pure or objective idealism. For if the subjective element in existence alone *identifies* it or gives it universality, then manifestly we cannot allow it also to *individualize* it or give it unity, without making the being of things purely subjective, and hence denying it any objective reality. Kant is scrupulously logical. He accepts the deliverance of sense as final, that the *me* determines the *not-me;* that the conscious or phenomenal element in experience controls its unconscious or real one; and hence he cannot help denying any absolute truth to creation. He cannot help maintaining that however much the creator may *be*, he will at any rate never be able to *appear;* that however infinite or perfect he may claim to be in himself, that very infinitude must always prevent him incarnating himself in the finite, and consequently forbid any true revelation of his perfection to an imperfect intelligence. And Mr. Mansel, who is Kant's intellectual grandson, is so tickled with this sceptical fatuity on the part of his sire, as to find in it a new and fascinating base for our religious homage; and he does not hesitate accordingly to argue that the only stable motive to our faith in God is supplied by ignorance, not by knowledge.

Swedenborg, we repeat, effectually silences these ravings of philosophic despair by simply rectifying the basis of philosophy, or affirming an absolute as well as an empirical element in consciousness, an infinite as well as a finite element in knowledge. He provides a real or objective, no less than a phenomenal or subjective, element in existence; an element of unconditional being as well as of conditional seeming; a creative element, in short, no less than a constitutive one. This absolute or infinite element in existence is what *qualifies* the existence, is what gives it natural or generic unity, and so permits it to be objectively *individualized* as *man*, *horse*, *tree*, *stone;* while its empirical or finite element merely *quantifies* it, or gives it

specific variety, and so permits it to be subjectively *identified* as *English*-man, *French*-man; *race*-horse, *draught*-horse; *fruit*-tree, *forest*-tree; *sand*-stone, *lime*-stone. Or let us take some artificial existence, say a statue. Now of the two elements which go to make up the statue, one ideal, the other material, — one objective or formal, the other subjective or substantial, — the latter, according to Swedenborg, finites the statue, fixes it, incorporates it, gives it outward body, and thus identifies it with other existence; while the former *in*-finites it, frees it from material bondage, vivifies it, gives it inward soul, and so individualizes it from all other existence. Thus the statue as an ideal form, or on its qualitative side, is absolute and infinite with all its maker's absoluteness and infinitude; and it is only as a material substance, or on its quantitative side, that it turns out contingent, finite, infirm.

This discrimination, so important in every point of view to the intellect, gives us the key to Swedenborg's ontology, his doctrine of the Lord or Maximus Homo. Swedenborg's cosmological principles make the natural world a necessary implication of the spiritual, and consequently make the spiritual world the only safe or adequate *explication* of the natural. In short, his theory of creation assigns a rigidly natural genesis and growth to the spiritual world; and as this theory is summarily comprised in his doctrine of the God-Man or Divine Natural Humanity, we shall proceed to test the philosophic worth of this doctrine, by applying it to the problem of our human origin and destiny.

But before doing this it may be expedient briefly to recall who and what Swedenborg was, in order to ascertain whether his private history sheds any light upon his dogmatic pretensions. It is known to all the world that Swedenborg, for many years before his death, assumed to be an authorized herald of a new and spiritual Divine advent in human nature. Similar assumptions are not infrequent in history, and it cannot be denied that our proper *a priori* attitude toward them is one of contempt and aversion. But Swedenborg's alleged mission, both as he himself conceived it and as his books represent it, claimed no personal or outward sanction, and accepted no voucher but what it found in every man's unforced delight in

the truth to which it ministered. He was himself remarkably deficient in those commanding personal qualities and graces of intellect which attract popular esteem; and we are quite sure that no such insanity ever entered his own guileless heart as to attribute to himself the power of complicating in any manner the existing relations of man and God.

Swedenborg, as we learn from his latest and best biographer, Mr. White, — whose work is almost a model in its kind, and does emphatic credit both to his intellect and conscience, — was born at Stockholm in 1688. His father, who was a Swedish bishop distinguished for learning and piety, christened the infant Emanuel, "in order that his name might continually remind him of the nearness of God, and of that interior, holy, and mysterious union in which we stand to him." The youth thus devoutly consecrated justified all his father's hopes, for his entire life was devoted to science, religion, and philosophy. His history, as we find it related by Mr. White, was unmarked by any striking external vicissitudes; and his pursuits were at all times so purely intellectual as to leave personal gossip almost no purchase upon his modest and blameless career. He held the office for many years of Government Assessor of Mines, and appears to have enjoyed friendly and even intimate personal relations with Charles XII., to whose ability as a mathematician his diary affords some interesting testimonies. While he was not professionally active, his days were devoted to study and travel; and by the time he had reached his fiftieth year, his scholarly and scientific repute had been advanced and established by several publications of great interest. We may say generally that the pursuits of science claimed all his attention till he was upwards of fifty years old; that his life and manners were pure and irreproachable, and his intellectual aspirations singularly elevated. To arrive at the knowledge of the soul by the strictest methods of science had always been his hope and endeavor. He conceived that the body, being the fellow of the soul, was in some sort its continuation; and that if he could only penetrate therefore to its purest forms or subtlest essences, he would be sure of touching at last the soul's true territory. Long and fruitless toil had somewhat disenchanted him of this illusion pre-

viously; but what he calls "the opening of his spiritual sight," which event means his becoming acquainted with *the spiritual sense of the Scriptures*, or the truth of the DIVINE NATURAL HUMANITY, effectually put an end to it, by convincing him that the tie between soul and body, or spirit and letter, is not by any means one of sensible continuity, as from finer to grosser, but one exclusively of rational correspondence, such as obtains between cause and effect. From this moment, accordingly, he abandoned his scientific studies, and applied himself with intense zeal to the unfolding of the spiritual sense of the Scriptures "from things seen and heard in the spiritual world." This internal sense of the Scriptures is very unattractive reading to those who care more for entertainment than instruction, and we cannot counsel any one of a merely literary turn to undertake it. But it is full of marrow and fatness to a philosophic curiosity, from the flood of novel light it lets in upon history; its substantial import being, that the history of the Church on earth, which is the history of human development up to a comparatively recent period, has been only a stupendous symbol, or cover, under which secrets of the widest creative scope and efficacy, issues of the profoundest humanitary significance, were all the while assiduously transacting. It is fair to suppose, therefore, that our sense of the worth of Swedenborg's spiritual pretensions will be somewhat biassed by the estimate we habitually put upon the Church as an instrument of human progress. If we suppose Church and State to have been purely accidental determinations of man's history, owning no obligation to his selfish beginnings on the one hand, nor to his social destiny on the other, we shall not probably lend much attention to the information proffered by Swedenborg. But if we believe with him that the realm of "accident," however vast to sense, has absolutely no existence to the reason emancipated from sense, we shall probably regard the Church, and its derivative the State, as claiming a true Divine appointment; and we *may* find consequently in his ideas of its meaning and history an approximate justification of his claim to spiritual insight. At all events no lower justification of his claim is for a moment admissible to a rational regard. As we have already said, his books are singularly void of liter-

ary fascination. We know of no writer with anything like his intellectual force who is so persistently feeble in point of argumentative or persuasive skill. His books teem with the grandest, the most humane and generous truth; but his reverence for it is so austere and vital, that, like the lover who willingly makes himself of no account beside his mistress, he seems always intent upon effacing himself from sight before its matchless lustre. Certainly the highest truth never encountered a more lowly intellectual homage than it gets in these artless books; never found itself so unostentatiously heralded, so little patronized in a word, or left so completely for its success to its own sheer unadorned majesty.

It must be admitted also that the books, upon a superficial survey, repel philosophic as much as literary curiosity, by suggesting the notion of an irreconcilable conflict between our conscious or phenomenal freedom and our unconscious or real dependence. To a cursory glance they appear to assert an endless warfare between the interests of our natural morality on the one hand, and of our spiritual destiny on the other. It seems, for example, to be taught by Swedenborg, that human morality serves such important theoretic ends in the economy of creation, that it may even be allowed to render the creature utterly hostile to his creator, or endow him with a faculty of spiritual suicide, and yet itself incur no reproach. In other words, our moral freedom is apparently made to claim such extreme consideration at the Divine hands, in consequence of its eminent uses to the spiritual life, as justifies it in absolutely deflecting us, if need be, from the paths of peace, and landing us ultimately in chronic spiritual disaffection to our Maker. Such, no doubt, is the surface aspect of these remarkable books, — the aspect they wear to a hasty and prejudiced observation; and if the reality of the case were at all conformable to the appearance, nothing favorable of course would remain to be said, since no sharper affront could well be offered to the creative perfection, than to suppose it baffled by the inveterate imbecility of its own helpless creature.

But the reality of the case is by no means answerable to this surface seeming; and it is only from gross inattention to what we may call the author's commanding intellectual doctrine, —

his doctrine of the Lord or Maximus Homo, — that a contrary impression prevails to the prejudice of his philosophic repute. This doctrine claims, in the estimation of those who discern its profound intellectual significance, to be the veritable apotheosis of philosophy. What then does the doctrine practically amount to? It amounts, briefly stated, to this: that what we call Nature, meaning by that term the universe of existence, mineral, vegetable, and animal, which seems to us infinite in point of space and eternal in point of time, is yet in itself, or absolutely, void both of infinity and eternity; the former appearance being only a sensible product and correspondence of a relation which the universal heart of man is under to the Divine Love, and the latter, a product and correspondence of the relation which the universe of the human mind is under to the Divine Wisdom. Thus Nature is not in the least what it sensibly purports to be, namely, absolute and independent; but, on the contrary, is at every moment, both in whole and in part, a pure phenomenon or effect of spiritual causes as deep, as contrasted, and yet as united, as God's infinite love and man's unfathomable want. In short, Swedenborg describes Nature as a perpetual outcome or product in the sphere of sense of an inward supersensuous marriage which is forever growing and forever adjusting itself between creator and creature, between God's infinite and essential bounty and our infinite and essential necessity. But these statements are too brief not to require elucidation.

Let it be understood, then, first of all, that creation, in Swedenborg's view, is of necessity a composite, not a simple, movement, inasmuch as it is bound to provide for the creature's subjective existence, no less than his objective being. The creature, in order to be created, in order truly to be, must exist or *go forth from* the creator; and he can thus exist or go forth only in *his own form*, of course. Thus creation, or the giving absolute being to things, logically involves a subordinate process of *making*, which is the giving them phenomenal or conscious form. In fact, upon this strictly incidental process of formation, the entire truth of creation philosophically pivots; for unless the creator be able to give his creature subjective identity (which is natural alienation from, or *otherness than*,

himself), he will never succeed in giving him objective individuality, which is spiritual oneness with himself. In other words, the creature can enjoy no real or objective conjunction with the creator, save in so far as he shall previously have undergone phenomenal or conscious disjunction with him. His spiritual or specific fellowship with the creator presupposes his natural or genuine inequality with him. In short, the interests of the creature's natural identity dominate those of his spiritual individuality to such an extent that he remains absolutely void of being, save in so far as he exists or goes forth in his own proper lineaments. If creation were by possibility the direct act of Divine omnipotence, which men superstitiously deem it to be, — in other words, if God could create man magically, i. e. without any necessary implication of man *himself*, without any implication of his mineral, vegetable, and animal nature, — then of course creator and creature would be undistinguishable, and creation fail to avouch itself. Thus the total truth of creation spiritually regarded hinges upon its being a reflex not a direct, a composite not a simple, a rational not an arbitrary exertion of Divine power, — hinges, in short, upon its supplying a subjective and phenomenal development to the creature every way commensurate with, or adequate to, the objective and absolute being he has in the Creator.

We may clearly maintain, then, that the truth of creation is wholly contingent upon the truth of the creature's identity. If the creator is able to afford the creature valid selfhood or identity, then creation is philosophically conceivable, otherwise not. All that philosophy needs, in permanent illustration of the creative name, is to rescue the creature subjectively regarded from the creator, or put his identity upon an inexpugnable basis. To create or give being to things is no doubt an inscrutable function of the Divine omnipotence, to which our intelligence is incapable of assigning any *a priori* law or limit. But we are clearly competent to say *a posteriori* of the things thus created, that they *are* only in so far as they exist or go forth in their own form. That is to say, they must, in order to their being true creatures of God, not only possess spiritual form or objectivity in Him, as the statue has ideal form or objectivity in the genius of the sculptor, or the child moral

form and objectivity in the loins of his father, but they must actually go forth from Him, or exist in their own proper substance, in their own constitutional identity, just as the statue exists in the appropriate constitutional substance which the marble gives it, or the child in the proper constitutional lineaments with which the mother invests it. The legal maxim is, *de non apparentibus et non existentibus eadem est ratio.* The philosophic demand is broader. It says, no *esse* without *existere;* no reality without corresponding actuality; no soul without body; no form without substance; no being without manifestation; in short, no creation on God's part save in so far as there is a rigidly constitutional response and reaction on ours.

The creative perfection is wholly active; that is to say, God is true creator only to the extent that we in our measure are true creatures. Thus, before creation can be worthy of its name, worthy either of God to claim it or of us to acknowledge it save in a lifeless, traditional way, it implies a subjective experience on our part, an historic evolution or process of formation, by which we become eternally projected from God, or endowed with inalienable self-consciousness, and so qualified for His subsequent spiritual fellowship and converse. In other words, creation is practically and of necessity to our experience a formative or historic process, exhibiting a descent of the Divine nature exactly proportionate to the elevation of the human, and so presenting creator and creature in indissoluble union. This is the inexorable postulate of creation, that the creature be *himself*, — have selfhood or subjective life, — a life as distinctively his own as God's life is distinctively His own. Not only must the creature aspire, instinctively and innocently aspire, "to be like God, knowing good and evil," i. e. to be sufficient unto himself, but the creative perfection is bound to ratify that aspiration, and endow its creature with all its own wealth of goodness and wisdom. The aspiration itself is the deepest motion of the Divine spirit within us. It is impossible to be spiritually begotten of God without desiring to be like Him; that is, to be wise and good even as He is, not from constraint or the prompting of expediency, but spontaneously, or from a serene inward delight in goodness and wisdom. Evidently no fellowship between God and our own souls is

possible until this instinct be appeased; for up to that event all our life will have been only the concealed motion of His spirit in our nature. He alone will have been really living in us, while we ourselves will have only seemed to live,— will have been, in fact, mere unconscious masks of His life.

Now how shall creation ever be seen to bear this surprising fruit? From the nature of the case, creation must be a purely spiritual operation on God's part, since He alone is, and there is nothing outside of Him whence the creature may be summoned. By the hypothesis of creation, God alone is, and the creature exclusively by Him. How is it conceivable, therefore, to our intelligence, that the creature should possess selfhood or subjective identity, without a compromise to that extent of the Divine unity? How is it conceivable that God, the sole being, should Himself create or give being to other existence without impairing to that extent His own infinitude? The creature has no being which he does not derive from the creator; this is obvious. And yet the hypothesis of creation binds us to regard the creator as communicating his own being to another, without any limitation of its fulness. The demand of our intelligence is insatiable, therefore, until it ascertain how these things can be,— until it perceive how it is that the creator is able to impart selfhood or moral power to the absolutely dependent offspring of his own hands, the abjectly helpless offspring of his own perfection. By an indomitable instinct, the mind claims to know, and will never rest accordingly until it discover, what it is which validly separates creature from creator, and so permits their subsequent union, not only without violence to either interest, but with consummate reciprocal advantage and beatitude to both interests.

It is exactly here — in giving us light upon this most momentous and most mysterious inquiry — that what Swedenborg calls "the opening of his spiritual sight," or his discovery of "the spiritual sense of the Scripture," professes to make itself of endless avail. What the literal sense of revelation is, we all know familiarly. We have been too familiar with it, in fact, not to have had our spiritual perceptions somewhat overlaid by it. It represents creation as a work of God achieved and accomplished in space and time, and consequently

makes the relation of creator and creature essentially outward and personal. Now "the spiritual sense" of Scripture as reported by Swedenborg is not a new or different literal sense. It is not the least literal, inasmuch as it utterly disowns the obligations of space and time, and claims the exclusive authentication of an infinite love and wisdom. In short, by the spiritual or living sense of revelation, Swedenborg means the truth of God's NATURAL humanity; so that all our natural prepossessions in regard to space and time and person confess themselves purely rudimental and educative, the moment we come to acknowledge in Nature and Man an infinite Divine substance. It is true, no doubt, that Swedenborg's doctrine of creation falls, without constraint, into the literal terms of the orthodox dogma of the Incarnation. But then the letter of revelation bears, as he demonstrates, so inverse a relation to its living spirit, that we can get no help but only hindrance, from any attempt to interpret his statements by the light of dogmatic theology. Dogmatic theology is bound hand and foot by the letter of revelation; and the letter of revelation "is adapted," says Swedenborg, "only to the apprehension of simple or unenlightened men, in order that they may thus be *introduced* to the acquaintance of interior or higher verities." Again he says, "Three things of the literal sense perish, when the spiritual sense of the word is evolving, namely, whatsoever belongs to *space*, to *time*, or to *person*"; and still again, "In heaven no attention is paid to person, nor the things of person, but to things abstracted from person; thus angels have no perception of any person whose name is mentioned in the word, but only of his human quality or faculty." Hence he describes those who are in spiritual ideas as never thinking of the Lord from person, "because thought determined to person limits and degrades the truth, while thought undetermined to person gives it infinitude"; and he adds, that the angels are amazed at the stupidity of Church people, "in not suffering themselves to be elevated out of the letter of revelation, and persisting to think carnally, and not spiritually, of the Lord, — as of his flesh and blood, and not of his infinite goodness and truth." *

* Arcana Celestia, 8705, 5253, 9007; and Apocalypse Explained, 30.

It is manifestly idle, then, to attempt coercing the large philosophic scope of Swedenborg's doctrine within the dimensions of our narrow ecclesiastical dogma. There is as real a contrast and oppugnancy between the two to the intellect, as there is to the stomach between a loaf of bread and a paving-stone. For example, it is vital to the dogmatic view of the Incarnation, to regard it as an event completely included in space and time, but brought about by supernatural power, acting in direct contravention of the course of nature. A dogma of this stolid countenance bluffs the intellect off from its wonted activity no less effectually, of course, than a stone taken into the stomach arrests the digestive circulation. With Swedenborg, on the other hand, the Christian facts utterly refute this supernatural conception of the Divine existence and operation, or reduce it to a superstition, by proving Nature herself, in the very crisis of her outward disorder, to have been inwardly alive with all Divine order, peace, and power. According to Swedenborg, the birth, the life, the death, the resurrection of Christ were so remote from supernatural contingencies as to confess themselves the consummate flowering of the creative energy in *universal* nature. No doubt the flower is a very marked phenomenon to the senses, filling the atmosphere with its glory and fragrance. But its total interest to the rational mind turns upon those hidden affinities which, by means of its aspiring stem and its grovelling roots, connect it at once with all that is loftiest and all that is lowliest in universal nature, and so turn the flower itself into a sensuous sign merely or modest emblem of a secret most holy marriage, which is forever transacting in aromal depths of being, between the generic, universal, or merely animate substances of the mind, and its specific, unitary, or human form. So with the Incarnation. The literal facts have no significance to the spiritual understanding, save as a natural ultimate and revelation of the true principles of creative order, the order that binds the universe of existence to its source.

What are these principles? They are all summed up in the truth of the essential Divine *humanity*. According to Swedenborg, God is essential Man; so that creation, instead of being primarily a sensible product of Divine power, or a work ac-

complished in space and time, turns out first of all a spiritual achievement of the Divine love and wisdom in all the forms of human nature, and only subordinately to that a thing of physical dimensions. Swedenborg enforces this truth very copiously in the way of illustration, but never in that of ratiocination. His reason for this abstention is very instructive. Swedenborg distinguishes as no person has ever done between two orders of truth; — truth of being, ontological truth, truths of conscience in short; and truth of seeming, phenomenal truth, truths of science in short. The distinction between these two orders of truth is, that the former is not *probable*, that is to say, admits of no sensuous proof; while the latter is essentially probable, i. e. capable of being proved by sensuous reasoning. The French proverb says, *the true is not always the probable*. Now with Swedenborg, the true — the supremely true — is *never* the probable, that is, finds no countenance in outward likelihood, but derives all its support from the inward sanction of the heart. Facts — which are matter of outward observation or science — may be reasoned about to any extent, and legitimately established by reasoning. But truth — which is matter of inward experience or conscience — owns no such dependence, and invites no homage but that of a modest, unostentatious Yea, yea! Nay, nay! The philosophic ground of this state of things is obvious. For if the case were otherwise, if truth, truths of life, could be reasoned into us, or be made ours by force of persuasion, then belief would no longer be free; that is to say, it would no longer reflect the love of the heart, but control or coerce it. In other words, the truth believed would no longer be the truth we inwardly love and crave, but only that which has most outward prestige or authority to back it. In that event, of course, our affections, which ally us with infinitude or God, would be at the mercy of our intelligence, which allies us with nature or the finite. And life consequently, instead of being the spontaneous indissoluble marriage of heart and head which it really is, would confess itself at most their voluntary or chance concubinage.

We have no pretension, of course, to decide dogmatically for the reader whether what Swedenborg calls the Divine Natural Humanity be the commanding truth he supposes it to be, or

whether it be a mere otiose hypothesis. But we are bound to assist the reader, so far as we are able, to decide these questions for himself; and we cannot do this more effectually than by fixing his attention for a while upon what is involved in the middle term of Swedenborg's proposition, since we are apt to cherish very faulty conceptions of what Nature logically comprises. Swedenborg's doctrine summarily stated is, that what we call Nature, and suppose to be exactly what it seems, is in truth a thing of strictly human and strictly Divine dimensions both, as being at one and the same moment a just exponent of the creature's essential want or finiteness, and of the Creator's essential fulness or infinitude. In other words, where people whose understanding is still controlled by sense, see Nature absolute or unqualified by spirit, Swedenborg, professing to be spiritually enlightened, does not see Nature at all, but only the Lord, or God-Man, carnally hidden indeed, degraded, humiliated, crucified under all manner of devout pride and self-seeking, but at the same time spiritually exalted or glorified by a love untainted with selfishness, and a wisdom undimmed by prudence. Manifestly then, in order to do justice to Swedenborg's doctrine, we must rid ourselves first of all of certain sensuous prejudices we cherish in regard to Nature; and to this aim we shall now for a moment address ourselves.

Nature is all that our senses embrace; thus it is whatsoever *appears* to be. Now the two universals of this phenomenal or apparitional world are space and time; for whatsoever sensibly exists, exists in space and time, or implies extension and duration. Space and time have thus a fixed or absolute status to our senses, so furnishing our spiritual understanding with that firm though dusty earth of fact or knowledge, upon which it may forever ascend into the serene expansive heaven of truth or belief. But now observe: just because space and time, which make up our notion of Nature, are thus absolute to our senses, we are led in the infancy of science, or while the senses still dominate the intellect, to confer upon Nature a logical absoluteness or reality which in truth is wholly fallacious. We habitually ascribe a rational or supersensuous reality to her, as well as a sensible; or regard the universe of space and time, not only as the needful implication of our subjective or con-

scious existence, but as an ample *explication* also of our objective or unconscious being. And every such conception of the part Nature plays in creation is puerile, and therefore misleading or fatal to a spiritual apprehension of truth.

This may be seen at a glance. For if you consent to make Nature absolute as well as contingent, — that is, if you make it be irrespectively of our intelligence, which you do whenever you reflectively exalt space and time from sensible into rational quantities, — then, of course, you disjoin infinite and finite, God and man, Creator and creature, not only phenomenally but really; not only *ab intra* or *in se*, but also and much more *ab extra*, or by all the literal breadth of Nature's extension, and all the literal length of her duration: so swamping spiritual thought in the bottomless mire of materialism. For obviously if you thus operate a real or spiritual disjunction between God and man, you can never hope to bring about that actual or literal conjunction between them which Swedenborg affirms in his doctrine of the Divine Natural Humanity, save by hypostatizing some preposterous mediator as big as the universe and as ancient as the world. In short, you will be driven in this state of things spiritually to reconcile God and man, or put them at-one, only by inventing a style of personality so egregiously finite or material as consciously to embody in itself all Nature's indefinite spaces, and all her indeterminate times.

Thus, according to Swedenborg, sensuous conceptions of truth — the habit we have of estimating appearances as realities — are the grand intellectual hindrance we experience to the acknowledgment of a creation in which Creator and creature are spiritually united. Evidently, then, our only mode of exit from the embarrassments which sense entails upon the intellect, is to spurn her authority and renounce her guidance. Now the lustiest affirmation sense makes is to the unconditional validity of space and time, or their existence *in se;* and this means inferentially the integrity of Nature, or the dogma of a physical creation. The great service, accordingly, which Swedenborg does the intellect is, that he refutes this sensuous dogmatizing by establishing the pure relativity of space and time; so vindicating the exclusive truth of the spiritual creation. We defy

any fair-minded person to read Swedenborg, and still preserve a shred of respect for the dogma of a physical creation. He utterly explodes the assumed basis of the dogma, by demonstrating that space and time are contingencies of a finite or sensibly organized intelligence; hence that Nature, being all made up of space and time, has no rational, but only a sensible objectivity. He demonstrates, in fact, and on the contrary, that Nature rationally regarded is the realm of pure subjectivity, having no other pertinency to the spiritual or objective world than the bodily viscera have to the body, than the shadow has to the substance which projects it, than darkness has to light, or death to life, — that is, a strictly *reflective* pertinency. The true sphere of creation being thus spiritual or inward, it follows, according to Swedenborg, that any doctrine of Nature which proceeds upon the assumption of her finality, or does not construe her as a mere constitutional means to a superior creative end, — as a mere outward echo or reverberation of the true creative activity in inward realms of being, — is simply delirious.

Swedenborg's doctrine then of the Divine Natural Humanity becomes readily intelligible, if, disowning the empire of sense, we consent to conceive of Nature after a spiritual manner, that is, by reducing her from a principal to a purely accessory part in creation, from a magisterial to a strictly ministerial function. There is not the least reason why I individually should be out of harmony with infinite goodness and truth, except the limitation imposed upon me by nature, in identifying me with my bodily organization, and so individualizing or differencing me from my kind. Make this limitation then the purely subjective appearance which it truly is, in place of the objective reality which it truly is not, — make it a fact of my natural constitution, and not of my spiritual creation, a fact of my phenomenal consciousness merely, and not of the absolute and infinite being I have in God, — and you at once bring me individually into harmony with God's perfection. Our discordance was never internal or spiritual, was never at best anything but phenomenal, outward, moral, owing to my ignorance of the laws of creation, or my sensible inexperience of the spiritual world, of which nevertheless I am all the while a

virtual denizen. Take away then this fallacious semblance of the truth operated by sense, and we relieve ourselves of the sole impediment which exists to the intellectual approximation and equalization of creator and creature, of infinite and finite, and so are prepared to discern their essential and inviolable unity.

Thus the supreme obligation we owe to Philosophy is to drop Nature out of sight as a real or rational quantity intervening between creator and creature, and hiding them from each other's regard, and to conceive of her only as an actuality to sense, operating a *quasi* separation between them, with a view exclusively to propitiate and emphasize their real unity. In a word, we are bound no longer to conceive of Nature as she appears to sense, i. e. as utterly independent or unqualified by subjection to Man; but only as she discloses herself to the reason, that is, as rigidly relative to the human soul, and altogether qualified or characterized by the uses she promotes to our spiritual evolution.

Certainly we have no right after this to attribute to Swedenborg an obscure or mystical conception of Nature. Nature bears the same servile relation to the spiritual creation as a man's body bears to his soul, as the material of a house bears to the house itself, or as the substance of a statue bears to its form, namely, a merely quantifying, by no means a qualifying, relation. It fills out the spiritual creation, substantiates it, gives it subjective anchorage, fixity, or identification, incorporates it, in a word, just as the marble incorporates the statue. For the statue is primarily an ideal form, affiliating itself to the artist's genius exclusively, and is only derivatively thence a material existence. So I primarily am a spiritual form, that is to say, a form of affection and thought, directly affiliated to the creative love and wisdom; and what my body does is merely to fill out this form, substantiate it, define it to itself, give it consciousness, allow it to say *me*, *mine*, *thee*, *thine*. What my body then does for my spirit specifically, Nature does for the universe of the human mind, or the entire spiritual world; namely, it incorporates it, defines it to itself, gives it phenomenal projection from the creator, and so qualifies it to appreciate and cultivate an absolute conjunction with him.

My body reveals my soul — i. e. reveals the spiritual being I have in God — to my own rude and blunt intelligence; and the marble of the statue is an outward revelation of the beauty which exists ideally to the artist's brain. So Nature reveals the spiritual universe to itself, mirrors it to its own feeble and struggling intelligence, invests it with outward or sensible lineaments, and, by thus finiting or imprisoning it within the bonds of space and time, stimulates it to react towards its proper freedom or its essential infinitude in God.

We cannot too urgently point the reader's attention to this masterly vindication of Nature, and the part it plays in creation. Creation, as Swedenborg conceives it, is the marriage in unitary form of creator and creature. For the Divine love and wisdom, as he reports, "CANNOT BUT BE AND EXIST in other beings or existences created from itself"; and Nature is the necessary ground of such existences, as furnishing them conscious projection from the infinite. But let us throw together a few passages illustrative of his general scheme of thought.

"It is essential to love not to love itself, but others, and to be lovingly united with them; it is also essential to it to be beloved by others, since union is thus effected. The essence of all love consists in union; yea, the life of it, or all that it contains of enjoyment, pleasantness, delight, sweetness, beatitude, happiness, felicity. Love consists in my willing what is my own to be another's, and feeling his delight as my own; this it is to love. But for a man to enjoy his own delight in another, in place of the other's delight in him, this is not to love; for in this case he loves himself, while in the other he loves his neighbor. These two loves are diametrically opposed; they both indeed are capable of producing union, though the union which self-love produces is only an apparent or outward union, while really or inwardly it is disunion. For in proportion as any one loves another for selfish ends, he afterwards comes to hate him. How can any man of understanding help perceiving this? What sort of love is it for a man to love himself only, and not another than himself, by whom he is beloved again? Clearly no union, but only disunion, results from such love; for union in love supposes reciprocation, and reciprocation does not exist in self alone. Now when this is true of all love, it

cannot but be infinitely true of the creative love; so that we may conclude that the Divine love cannot help being and existing in others whom it loves and by whom it is beloved. It is not possible, of course, that God can love and be beloved by others who are themselves infinite or divine; because then he would love himself, for the infinite or divine is one. If this infinitude or divinity inhered in others, it would be itself, and God would consequently be self-love, whereof not the least is practicable to him, because it is totally contrary to his essence." * "In the created universe nothing lives but God-Man alone, or the Lord; and nothing moves but by life from him; and nothing exists but by the sun from him: thus it is a truth that in God we live and move and have our being." † "Creation means, *what is Divine from inmost to outmost*, or *from beginning to end.* For everything which is from the Divine begins from himself, and proceeds in an orderly manner even to the ultimate end, thus through the heavens *into the world, and there rests as in its ultimate*, for the ultimate of Divine order is cosmical nature." ‡

Thus in all true creation the creator is bound, by the fact of his giving absolute being to the creature, to communicate himself — make himself over — without stint to the creature; and the creature, in his turn, because he gives phenomenal form or manifestation to the creative power, is bound to absorb the creator in himself, to *appropriate* him as it were to himself, to reproduce his infinite or stainless love in all manner of finite egotistic form; — so that the more truly the creator alone *is*, the more truly the creature alone *appears*. Now in this inevitable immersion which creation implies of creative being in created form, we have, according to Swedenborg, the origin of Nature. It grows necessarily out of the obligation the creature is under by creation to *appropriate* the creator, or reproduce him in his own finite lineaments. It overtly consecrates the covert marriage of infinite and finite, creator and creature. By the hypothesis of creation the creator gives sole and absolute being to the creature; and unless therefore the creature reverberate the communication, or react towards the creator, the

* Divine Love and Wisdom, 47-49. † Ibid., 301.

‡ Arcana Celestia, 10, 634.

latter will inevitably swallow him up, or extinguish the faintest possibility of self-consciousness in him. And the only logical reverberation of being is form or appearance. Being is extensive; form is intensive. Being expropriates itself to whatsoever is not itself; form impropriates whatsoever is not itself to itself. Thus in the hierarchical marriage of creator and creature which we call creation, the creator yields the creature the primary place by spontaneously assuming himself a secondary or servile one; gives him absolute or objective being, in fact, only by stooping himself to the limitations of the created form. Reciprocity is the very essence of marriage. Action and reaction must be equal between the factors, or the marriage unity is of its own nature void. If, accordingly, the creator contribute the element of pure being — the absolute or objective element — to creation, the creature must needs contribute the element of pure form or appearance, its phenomenal or subjective element; for being and form are indissolubly one.

It is a necessary implication, then, of the truth of the Divine Natural Humanity, that while the creator gives invisible spiritual being to the creature, the creature in his turn gives natural form — gives visible existence — to the creator; or, more briefly, while the creator gives reality to the creature, the creature gives phenomenality to the creator. In other words still, we may say, that while the creator supplies the essential or properly creative element in creation, the creature supplies its existential or properly constitutive element, — that element of hold-back or resistance without which it could never put on manifestation. Nature is the attestation of this ceaseless give-and-take between creator and creature; the nuptial ring that confirms and consecrates the deathless espousals of infinite and finite. In spite, therefore, of its fertile and domineering actuality to sense, it is as void of all reality to reason as the shadow of one's person in a glass. It is, in fact, only the outward image or shadow of itself which is cast by the inward or spiritual world upon the mirror of our rudimentary intelligence. And inasmuch as the shadow or subjective image of itself which any object projects of necessity reproduces the object in inverse form, so Nature, being the subjective image or shadow of God's objective and spiritual creation, turns out a sheer in-

version of spiritual order; exhibits the creator's fulness veiled by the creature's want, the creator's perfection obscured, and so alone revealed, by the creature's imperfection. Spiritual or creative order affirms the essential unity of every creature with every other, and of all with the creator. Natural or created order must consequently exhibit the contingent or phenomenal oppugnancy of every creature with every other, and of all with the creator; or else furnish no adequate foothold or flooring to the spiritual world.

Nature is thus, according to Swedenborg, an inevitable implication of the spiritual world, just as substance is inevitably implied in form, i. e. as serving to give it selfhood or identity. This is her sole function, to confer consciousness upon existence, or give it fixity, by denying it individuality or affirming its community with all other existence. Nature identifies existence or gives it finiteness, while spirit alone individualizes it or gives it infinitude. In truth, nature is a pure spiritual apparition, having no reality to the soul, but only to the senses. It exists only to a sensibly organized and therefore limited intelligence; and hence, however absolute it appears, it is really all the while nothing whatever but a ratio or mean between a finite and an infinite mind. We as creatures, that is, as finite by constitution, can have, of course, no intuitive, but only a rational, discernment of infinite or uncreated things. We cannot know Divine goodness and truth in a direct or presentative way, but only in an indirect or *re*presentative one, that is, only in so far as they abase themselves to our natural level, or accommodate themselves to our nascent sensuous understanding. And Nature is the proper theatre of this stupendous Divine abasement and obscuration,—of this needful revelation, or *veiling-over*, of the Divine splendor, in order to adapt it to our gross carnal vision. Throughout her total length and breadth, accordingly, she is a mere correspondence or imagery of what is going on in living or spiritual realms; but a correspondence or imagery which is vital nevertheless to our apprehension of creative order. For the very fact of our creatureship insures that we should have remained forever incognizant of the creator, and antipathetic to his perfection, unless he, by condescending to our limitations, or reproducing

himself within the intelligible compass of our own nature and history, had gradually emancipated our intelligence, and educated us into living sympathy with his name.

Such, concisely stated, are the leading axioms of Swedenborg's ontology. Creation, spiritually regarded, is the living equation of creator and creature. But in order to the latter's attaining to the vital fellowship of the former, he must put on conscious or phenomenal form, must become clearly *self*-pronounced, that so being made aware, on the one hand, of his own essential and inveterate limitations, he may become qualified, on the other, to react spiritually towards the creator's infinitude. In other words, creation implies a strictly subordinate or incidental realm, a realm of preliminary *formation*, as we may say, in which the creature comes to self-consciousness, or the conception of himself as a being essentially distinct from, and antagonistic to, his creator. The logic of the case is inexorable. If creation at its culmination be an exact practical equation of creator and creature, the *minus* of the latter being rigidly equivalent to the *plus* of the former, then it incorporates as its needful basis a sphere of experience on the creature's part, in which he may feel himself utterly remote from the creator, and abandoned to his own resources; an empirical sphere of existence, in fine, which may unmistakably identify him with all lower things, and so alienate him from (i. e. make him consciously *another than*) his creator. Thus creation with Swedenborg, being at its apogee a rigid equation of the creator's perfection and the creature's imperfection, necessitates *a natural history*, or provisional plane of projection upon which the equation may be wrought out to its most definite issues. Creator and creature are terms of an inseparable correlation, so that we can no more imagine a creation to which the one does not furnish its causative element, the other its constitutive element, than we can imagine a child in which father and mother are not coequal factors, the one conferring life or soul, the other existence or body. No doubt their relation is a strictly conjugal one, proceeding upon a hierarchical distribution of the factors; one being head, the other hand; one being object, the other subject; one ruling, the other obeying. But their unity is all the more and none the less assured on this

account; for notoriously the truest objective harmony is that which reconciles the intensest subjective diversity.

To sum up all that has been said, creation, with Swedenborg, challenges a subject earth, no less than an all-encompassing heaven; a natural constitution or body, no less than a spiritual cause or soul; an experimental or educative sphere for the creature, no less than an absolute one for the creator; a realm of phenomenal freedom or finite reaction on the part of the former, no less than one of real force or infinite action on the part of the latter. In a word, creation means, to Swedenborg, the creature's spiritual *evolution* in complete harmony with his creator's perfection; but if this be true, and certainly Philosophy tolerates no lower conception, then obviously creation demands for its own actuality the natural *involution* of the creator, or his complete unresisting immersion in finite conditions. Which is only saying in other words, that creation — being a spiritual achievement of creative power within the limits of the created consciousness — involves to the creature's experience a rigidly natural generation and growth, with root and stem and flower all complete.

And now, having done ample justice to the theoretic principles involved in creation, we should like, if we had room, to pursue them into the sphere of their practical operation, as figuratively exhibited in the history of the church, which culminates on its literal side in the person of Christ, and thence reissues a spiritual form. For the church, according to Swedenborg, is the true theatre of the spiritual creation, though she has never had the least consciousness of her real dignity. But then the church has two aspects, one literal or phenomenal, the other spiritual or real; and these are in inveterate subjective opposition, though they both promote the same objective ends. Thus Swedenborg maintains that the church, under all her corrupt disguises in the letter, has been a strictly providential institution in the earth, promoting the same vital uses to the spiritual economy of mankind that the heart promotes to its physical economy; only as the heart has first a death-bearing office to enact, and then a life-giving one, so the church, as a literal institution, lays hold on hell, while on its spiritual side it allies man with Divinity. As the heart attracts to itself the

vitiated blood of the body, gross, lifeless, blackened with all the foul humors discharged into it through its long circuit, so exactly the church, as the spiritual heart of mankind, attracts to itself by its eminent dignities the most selfish, the most despotic, the most worldly tempers among men. And as the heart, having thus gathered this fluid abomination to its living and generous embrace, makes haste to hand it over to the lungs to be defecated, washed, and renewed for use by contact with the outward air, so also the church, by welcoming and harnessing every ungodly lust of men's bosoms to the car of its own advancement, manages, in spite of itself, to bring our most hidden iniquities to the surface, uncovers to the broad light of day the abysses of human depravity, and so gradually ventilates them by the purifying breath of the secular conscience, — gradually renovates, in fact, and restores to sanity, the corrupt public sentiment of the world, by the healing contact of men's unperverted *common* sense. The entire history of the church indeed, on its literal side, amounts to this, neither less nor more, — namely, such an utter abasement of the Divine name to the lowest level of men's carnal pride and concupiscence as begets in the gentile conscience an instinctive contempt and aversion towards all consecrated authority, and leads the common mind continually to associate God's honor and worship only with the reverence of every individual man, however conventionally degraded.

This, we repeat, would be an interesting study to pursue, but our space forbids us doing justice to it here, and we must content ourselves with having illustrated, however feebly, the essential principles which underlie a true ontology. In doing this we have not sought to justify Swedenborg, but rather to have him understood, that so the reader may no longer misconceive his proper intellectual significance, nor attribute to him the altogether odious pretension of being a missionary to the human conscience, or an authority in matters of faith. As a dialectician, his merits are inconsiderable; and it is only as a seer that he prefers the least philosophic claim to our regard. Now the peculiarity of the seer is, that he tells us only what he himself has "seen and heard"; and what consequently puts no manner of constraint upon our intelligence, but, on the contrary,

authenticates its freest and most critical activity. It is solely in this aspect that Swedenborg presents himself to his reader in all his books. No pretension could be more utterly repugnant to the modest genius of the man, than that of defining the limits of human belief. No line nor word of all his writings can be adduced to prove that he was ever, for a moment, so infatuated by self-conceit as to fancy himself commissioned to found a new church, any more than Columbus was commissioned to found a new earth. He talks very freely, to be sure, of a new church, which is to be the crown and consummation of all past churches just as the flower of a plant is the crown and consummation of its leaf and stalk and roots. But this is no visible, but only a living or spiritual church, wholly unrecognized of those who are without it, and known only of those who inwardly belong to it. It is, in fact, according to Swedenborg, that new and everlasting church which alone was founded by Christ and his apostles, but which got itself subsequently overlaid and lost sight of through the dense carnality of its disciples. And the doctrine which he alleges as alone consonant with this church is one which makes charity of sole account before God, and faith comparatively of none; which frees life of its past bondage to routine, or restores good to the supremacy hitherto usurped by truth; which resuscitates, in short, the long-slain but righteous Abel of the heart, and reduces the domineering Cain of the intellect to his cheerful subservience.

Thus the new church to Swedenborg's eyes is not any new and more arrogant ecclesiasticism, but that unitary spirit of love — love at once Divine and human — which has all along lain entombed under the old rituality, but is now at last, by the providential decline of such rituality in men's respect, or its descent into mere historic rubbish, frankly casting off its grave-clothes, and arraying itself in the living lineaments of a beatified brotherhood, fellowship, society of universal man. And his invariable influence upon his reader — whenever the reader himself is capable of spiritually discerning the church, or intellectually disavowing every *personal* claim upon the Divine regard — is to render him insensible to all possible doctrinal divergences among men, by teaching him that the

fiercest zeal of truth is apt, nay, sure, to be associated with the utmost practical indifference to good. Indeed, the corner-stone of his intellectual polity is, that our beliefs are invariably bred in the long run of our affections, and wear their exclusive livery; so that no exactness of intellectual indoctrination affords the least pledge of our vital or spiritual sanity.

We cannot conclude without recommending again to attention Mr. White's excellent biography. We differ with him utterly in many of his specific judgments about Swedenborg, notably in what he says of the inferential injustice done by Swedenborg to woman; and it is clear that his private animosity to the Swedenborgians — who, though they be simple enough publicly to advertise themselves as the New Jerusalem, are yet much too sensible in private ever to deem themselves the finished work of God in human nature so long foreshadowed under that mystic name — cannot absolve him of his obligations to his author's spotless fame before the world: but his book is still by far the best Life of Swedenborg.

We take pleasure, also, in commending to public favor Mr. Lippincott's new and beautiful edition of Swedenborg's writings. The old translations were full of laxities, both of rendering and interpretation; and these, as we understand, have been carefully amended in the new edition. The paper and press-work of the volumes are strikingly handsome.

We owe a word, moreover, to a work which we have received since we began this article, and whose title we give below.* It is an affectionate, nay, an enthusiastic tribute to Swedenborg's unrecognized merits as a philosopher and man of science, made up of the various eulogistic notices his life and writings have attracted from men of letters. No doubt the world owes it to the memory of its distinguished men to preserve an honest record of its obligations to them; but Swedenborg would willingly have forgiven it the debt in his own case. We suspect that he would blush crimson if he could once get a sight of Mr. Tafel's book, and discover himself to have become the object of so much cheap personal laudation on the part of people who apparently are quite indifferent to

* Emanuel Swedenborg as a Philosopher and Man of Science. By Rudolph Leonard Tafel. Chicago: Myers and Chandler. 1867.

the only claim he himself preferred to men's attention, that, namely, of a spiritual seer. Whatever his scientific and philosophic worth may have been to his own eyes, and we may be very sure that it was never very large, nothing can be more certain than that it became utterly obliterated there by the chance which subsequently befell him of an open intercourse with the world of spirits. He at once deserted his scientific pursuits after this event, and never once recurred to their published memorials as offering the least interest to rational curiosity; while he affirmed, on the contrary, that the facts of personal experience which he was then undergoing possessed the very highest philosophic and scientific interest, as alone shedding a fixed light upon every conceivable problem of man's origin and destiny. In looking somewhat attentively through Mr. Tafel's pages, we see no evidence that any of the writers he cites had the least regard for Swedenborg from Swedenborg's own point of view; while we see abounding evidence of their being disposed to yield him an extravagant personal homage, than which, we are persuaded, nothing could be more offensive to his own wishes. This petty partisan zeal is carried so far as to beget a very revolting note in one place (page 60), in which two men who honestly thought Swedenborg insane, are reported to have subsequently gone mad themselves with such hilarious satisfaction as leaves no doubt on the reader's mind that the reporter really supposed the Divine honor vindicated by that shabby catastrophe. If a suspicion of Swedenborg's sanity were an offence to the gods actually punishable by loss of reason, we know of no hospital large enough to house the victims which would ensue from that judgment within the limits even of our own scant acquaintance. Nothing, indeed, in our opinion can be more logical and salutary for certain minds than a suspicion of Swedenborg's sanity. And certainly nothing could be more ludicrously inapposite to the needs of those who appreciate his *real*, though incidental, services to science and philosophy, than a certificate to his merit in those respects would be from the hand of all the technical experts on the planet.

ART. IV. — *The Divine Comedy of* DANTE ALIGHIERI. Translated by HENRY WADSWORTH LONGFELLOW. Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1867. 3 vols. Royal 8vo.

Two years ago last May, when Florence was celebrating the six-hundredth anniversary of the birth of her supreme poet, and was thus giving expression to her joy in the freedom and union of Italy, among the contributions to the festival from foreign lands was a copy of the first volume of the first complete American translation of the Divine Comedy. There can have been few gifts on the occasion more fitted to touch the imagination of one capable of appreciating its significance. It was a testimony of honor to Dante from another world than his, — and of sympathy with Italy in her fulfilment of the patriotic longings and counsels of her greatest son. It was a homage paid by the new and modern world to the old; and there was a peculiar fitness in the gift, not alone in its coming from the American poet whose fame has spread widest over Europe, and whose name has long been familiar in Florence, but also in the very character of his work, which, by its scrupulous fidelity to the original, and by its intrinsic merits, is to make the Divine Comedy better known to readers in America and England than any translation that has preceded it.

Dryden, in one of his admirable critical prefaces, says, speaking of poetic translation, that "to be a thorough translator, a man must be a thorough poet." In the present instance his demand is satisfied. Mr. Longfellow's translation is the mature work of a poetic genius, long accustomed to exercise itself not only in original composition, but also in the reproduction of foreign poetry. The felicity of his minor translations has been universally acknowledged, and the same art and taste shown in them are shown in still fuller measure in this version to which he has devoted, with a sense of what was due to the character of his original, the most patient labor, and the service of his ripest faculties.

The appearance of such a work from such a hand naturally excites a fresh interest in the difficult question of poetic translation; and in order to appreciate correctly the intention and

the achievement of Mr. Longfellow, there is need to understand the principles which have determined him in the choice of his method, and in the mode of rendering which he has pursued. It would hardly have been worth while for him to add another to the fifteen or twenty translations of the Divine Comedy, or of one of its three divisions, which already exist in English, unless it were clear that they all had been made either upon an erroneous method, or, if upon the right method, were defective in execution.*

The discussion as to the proper method of translating, and the principles which should guide the translator, is an old one, and the question seems as far from settlement as ever. From the time of the letter of Jerome, *De Optimo Genere Interpretandi*, to Mr. Arnold's lectures "On Translating Homer," the subject has engaged the interest of scholars wherever scholarship has existed. A history of the various opinions that have been held, and the various rules that have been laid down, would afford curious and entertaining illustrations of the changes and diversities of literary taste and cultivation. The narrative of the contention between the advocates of free and those of literal translation, would be like the story of the battle of the nominalists and the realists.

Dante himself has the merit of being among the first to state clearly the fact that a perfect translation of a poem is impossible; that as a work of art its original language and form are essential to it. He says in a passage often cited from his *Convito*, "Nothing harmonized in the bond of poetry can be transferred from its own tongue to another, without breaking all its sweetness and harmony." Cervantes noted the same fact. In the talk between the curate and the barber in Don Quixote's library, the barber says, "'I have Boiardo at home, but I cannot understand him.' 'Neither is it any great matter whether you do or not,' replied the curate; 'and I could willingly have excused the good captain who translated it that trouble of attempting to make him speak Spanish, for he has deprived him of a great deal of his primitive graces; a misfortune incident

* For a list of these translations, and remarks upon several of them, and for some general observations on translating the Divine Comedy, see North American Review, No. CCXI., April, 1866, Art. VIII., *Dante and his latest English Translators.*

to all those who presume to translate verses, since their utmost wit and industry can never enable them to preserve the native beauties and genius that shine in the original.'" Sir John Denham expressed the same truth with an admirable simile when he said, "Poesy is of so subtile a spirit, that in pouring out of one language into another it will all evaporate."

The substance, the mere meaning of a poem, may be transferred from one language to another, but neither the indefinite and indefinable power over the imagination and the feelings which has its source in the harmonious conjunction of material, spirit, and form, nor the subtile but intense effect of the associations that belong to words, is to be fully obtained or preserved in any translation. A work of art, as Goethe says, is not like a piece of soft clay, to be moulded at pleasure. A version of a great poem which shall be true to the original in rendering all its qualities, is an achievement beyond human faculties. To the production of the effect of a work of art all its original elements are essential, while the differences inherent in different languages, and in which the differences of race and civilization are embodied, cannot be neutralized or overcome, so that an English Odyssey or Divine Comedy shall be to us what the originals were in their time to the Greeks or the Italians.

What, then, may a translator hope to accomplish? He may seek to transfer with fidelity the substance of his original into a new language, with as near a correspondence of form as the genius of language allows; or he may seek to make a poem in his own language, which, so far as his capacity permits, shall reproduce the effect of the original as he feels it, but without exact fidelity to the letter of the work from which he translates. Under these two heads there has been every variety of practice, and every measure of success. The faithful method of translation has often degenerated into a system of literalism, to the loss of every poetic quality; while, on the other hand, free translation has often been the name of mere paraphrastic license.

No general rules can be laid down for success in either method. The best translation must be far from a perfect reproduction, and a good translation of so much of a poem as can be

translated is no more to be made by rule, than a good style is to be written by rule. Success in the work depends on the genius of the translator.

The merit of a free or literal translation, as a translation, consists in the proportion in which it renders the elements of the original. The poetic translations that have been most popular, however, have for the most part widely departed from the simplicity of this principle, and have chosen rather to make poems, more or less excellent as the case might be, adapted to the taste of their contemporaries, than to follow closely the model set before them. Such were the favorite translations of our fathers, — Chapman's Homer, Fairfax's Tasso, Pope's Homer, Dryden's Virgil. In truth, these were rather substitutes for translation than translations. The arbitrary omission in a translation of matter belonging to the original, or the addition of matter not found in it, are privileges which the so-called translators have generally been ready enough to claim.

But an illustration from another art may serve to set these processes in their true light. An engraving may be called a translation of a picture. It preserves the lines and the expression of the original, — its substance; and it represents in simple light and shade the inimitable, untransferable qualities and effects of tone and color. The thought of the artist is rendered, and so much of the form in which the spirit of his work has embodied itself as it is possible to render in a different medium. But no engraver would feel himself warranted, however great his own genius might be, in attempting to improve on the original by the removal from its design of what he might consider blemishes, or by the addition to it of new beauties. His duty is not to attempt to supplement the defects inherent in engraving as compared with painting, with features that the original does not possess; but it is to give, so far as his art allows, the exactest representation of the work on which his own is based.

A similar rule should guide the translator. The art he practises is in its nature different from that required in the production of an original composition; and he is bound to recognize its limitations. A mere verbal, word-for-word translation, which pays no regard to the finer qualities of style and diction,

of harmony and sweetness, may be compared to a hard outline of a picture; while a thoroughly faithful translation, faithful alike to the thought and to the manner of expression, and giving as much of the native spirit of poesy as may be secured in the transfusion, may be likened to an engraving by one of the masters of the art.

Dryden, indeed, says, in his Preface to Translations from Theocritus, Lucretius, and Horace: "I have both added and omitted, and even sometimes very boldly made such expositions of my authors as no Dutch commentator will forgive me. Where I have taken away some of their expressions and cut them shorter, it may possibly be on this consideration, that what was beautiful in the Greek or Latin would not appear so shining in the English. And where I have enlarged them, I desire the false critics would not always think that those thoughts are wholly mine, but that either they are secretly in the poet, or may be fairly deduced from him; or, at least, if both those considerations should fail, that my own is of a piece with his, and that if he were living, and an Englishman, they are such as he probably would have written. For, after all, a translator is to make his author appear as charming as possibly he can, provided he maintains his character, and makes him not unlike himself."

The critical judgments of Dryden, whom Johnson justly calls the "father of English criticism," are unquestionably always deserving of respect; but in this passage he is but inventing an excuse for his own practice, rather than laying down a correct principle. His own practice, in truth, not infrequently leads him into what Cowley, in a defence of a similar practice of his own, judiciously terms a "libertine way of rendering." There could hardly be a more misleading and fallacious rule of translation, than that the translator is to make his author "as charming as possibly he can," and to attempt to write in the style in which, were the author living, and of the translator's nation, he probably would have written.

Dryden's latest follower, in translating Virgil, Professor Conington, one of the best scholars of the present generation, has, however, laid down the same rule in the Preface to his recent translation of the Æneid. "What is graceful in Latin,"

he says, "will not always be graceful in a translation; and to be graceful is one of the first duties of a translator of the Æneid." And he asserts that the translator should apply "a principle of compensation, by strengthening his version in any way best suited to his powers, so long as it be not repugnant to the genius of the original, and trusting that the effect of the whole will be seen to have been cared for, though the claims of the parts may appear to have been neglected." But this again is a translator's defence of his own practice; and Mr. Conington, like Dryden, has produced an English Æneid, of which it may be fairly said, that whatever its merits, (and in each instance they are unquestionably great,) its tone is not Virgilian, while the way of rendering is at times "libertine" enough.

Happily we can set the authority of Dryden himself against his own doctrine and against his own practice. In the Preface to Translations from Ovid's Epistles, he says: "The sense of an author, generally speaking, is to be sacred and inviolable. If the fancy of Ovid be luxuriant, it is his character to be so; and if I retrench it, he is no longer Ovid. It will be replied, that he receives advantage by this lopping of his superfluous branches; but I rejoin, that a translator has no such right. When a painter copies from the life, I suppose he has no privilege to alter features and lineament, under pretence that his picture will look better. Perhaps the face which he has drawn would be more exact, if the eyes or nose were altered; but it is his business to make it resemble the original. . . . . But if, after what I have urged, it be thought by better judges, that the praise of a translation consists in adding new beauties to the piece, thereby to recompense the loss which it sustains by change of language, I shall be willing to be taught better, and to recant."

This diversity of Dryden's opinion, as thus expressed on different occasions by himself, is but an illustration of the diversity of judgment which still obtains among critics generally as to the end of translation and its proper method. Mr. Arnold, in his first lecture "On Translating Homer," says: "It is disputed what aim a translator should propose to himself in dealing with his original. Even this preliminary is not yet settled. On one side it is said that the translation ought to be such 'that

the reader should, if possible, forget that it is a translation, and be lulled into the illusion that he is reading an original work.' The real original is in this case, it is said, 'taken as a basis on which to rear a poem that shall affect our countrymen as the original may be conceived to have affected its natural hearers.' On the other hand, Mr. Newman, who states the foregoing doctrine only to condemn it, declares that he 'aims at precisely the opposite; to retain every peculiarity of the original, so far as he is able, with the greater care the more foreign it may happen to be'; so that it may 'never be forgotten that he is imitating, and imitating in a different material.' The translator's 'first duty,' says Mr. Newman, 'is a historical one,—to be *faithful*.' Probably both sides would agree that the translator's 'first duty is to be faithful'; but the question at issue between them is, in what faithfulness consists."

Mr. Arnold goes on to say, that he "shall not the least concern himself with theories of translation as such"; but he immediately proceeds to state his own theory, that it is the "translator's business to reproduce the effect" of the original; and afterwards, "his proper aim is, I repeat it yet once more, to reproduce on the intelligent scholar, as nearly as he can, the general effect" of the work he is translating.

This is but a vague direction, and it remains vague in spite of Mr. Arnold's efforts to give it definiteness. The effect of a great and sustained poem depends in great measure upon qualities which cannot be translated. It can no more be transferred from one language to another, than the effect of a great picture can be rendered by the best engraving of it. It is in the failure to recognize this truth that the main trouble exists in regard to the work of the translator. Translators have not understood the limits of their art, and, in the attempt to compass the impossible, have confused the whole question of translation, and have been led to form the most futile theories in regard to it. The impossibility of translating effects lies, as we have already said, in the nature of language itself, in the different meanings which corresponding words have acquired in different nations, and in the change which the progress of civilization makes in the ideas which men of one nation, but of

a different age, associate with the same words. A poem is not simply a pure production of an absolute poetic spirit which remains the same, unchanged and invariable in all places and times. Like all human works, it has historical relations which determine the manifestation even of its most abstract poetic qualities. It has its definite place in the annals of the culture of mankind, and its character is not less historic than poetic. M. Littré, in a paper upon Dante, in the first volume of his admirable essays upon the History of the French Language, has some excellent remarks upon this point, in speaking of the difficulties which attend the translation of a work belonging to a remote epoch, and especially of those which arise from the difference between a modern and an old tongue. He says: "Modern language is more abstract, words are more remote from their roots, have come nearer to playing the simple part of conventional signs, and consequently, if I may use the expression, are less speaking. The very qualities which the language possesses are of little service to it; it can both analyze and generalize, but its analysis is too subtile and too advanced, its generalization is too elevated and too scientific, to allow it to accommodate itself easily to archaic thoughts. Human thought such as it was in the time of Homer is not that of the time of Dante; and in like manner that of the time of the Florentine poet is not that of the nineteenth century. Language reflects thought from age to age; its shades vary; and when we bring them side by side, and endeavor to make them correspond, we are struck with the disparity between the ancient and the modern shade. . . . . To translate an author of heroic antiquity or of the Middle Ages is an undertaking which is complicated by the difference of time. It is especially in translating that we perceive that a writer of the thirteenth or fourteenth century, for example, neither thinks nor expresses himself as we do. At every instant he surprises us by his ideas, his turn of thought, his unexpected forms of speech. As long as we believed that there was but one good literary manner, which for us was that of the seventeenth century, there was but one mode of translation, — to render the ancient authors, not such as they were, but such as they should have been, that is, to conform them to that unique

type of correctness and elegance; but at present, history, in making us understand the necessary relation between times and forms, has brought about a change in taste, and shown us the tradition of types of beauty. Thus the translations in which our fathers delighted displease us, and various ways are tried to satisfy the demand made by the feeling for these old compositions." The change in taste here pointed out by M. Littré is also noticed by M. Vapereau in the last volume of his *Année Littéraire*. "We require to-day," he says, "the ideas, the sentiments, the very language of the author, even though the language be brutal, the sentiments odious, the ideas absurd; formerly a translation was required to give to the ancient author something of our habits of thought and style, in order to assure him a good reception from the public."

This difference is due in great part to the advance of criticism, and to the application of the historical method to the study of literature. The deepest interest which a work of literary or any other art has for us, is not that which appertains to it as an isolated effort of human genius, but that which it possesses as one of a consecutive and allied series of monuments of thought and feeling, and as one of the records of the progress of the race in its slow development from age to age. To understand and appreciate it aright, to recognize its real merit, we require to know it exactly as it is; we desire it not remodelled according to modern ideas, but in its original form, with the qualities incident to it as a product of its own time. We seek the great works of other periods not merely for delight, but for instruction, that we may learn something from them of man, — something more than it is their direct purpose to afford. We read Homer and Dante, not only as the greatest of poets, but as men who, in setting forth their thoughts and imaginations, set forth also those by which mankind were filled and moved at the period at which they composed their works. Under the form of the Iliad or the Divine Comedy we seek the heart of man, and, if we cannot read the Greek or the Italian poem, we demand that the translator should give to us, not what a poet in our days might write upon their themes, but the exact substance of what Homer or Dante actually wrote. Pope's Homer may still be read, but only by

the student of Pope, not by the student of Homer; and though Cary's translation of the Divine Comedy is far nearer to the original than Pope's Iliad or Odyssey, it is still too remote from Dante to furnish what the literary taste of our day requires.

The spirit of *realism*, which is so marked a characteristic of the so-called formative or representative arts in these times, prevails also in literary art. Truth not only to the outer and actual fact, but also to the essence, and to the facts of imagination, is the one thing needful alike in original composition and in the reproduction of the works of other men. There is a wide difference between genuine realism and that literalism which is sometimes mistaken for it, — as wide as the difference between truth and fact, between the spirit and the letter; and the good translator is not he that sticks most closely to the letter, but he that gives the meaning of the letter most nearly.

Mr. Longfellow has performed his work in full sympathy with this prevailing spirit, and with entire recognition of the force of these distinctions.* His translation is the most faithful version of Dante that has ever been made. He is himself too much a poet not to feel that, in one sense, it is impossible to translate a poem; but he is also too much a poet not to feel that sympathy with his author which enables him to transfuse as much as possible of the subtile spirit of poesy into a version of which the first object was to be faithful to the author's meaning. His work is the work of a scholar who is also a poet. Desirous to give to a reader unacquainted with the Italian the means of knowing precisely *what* Dante wrote, he has followed the track of his master step by step, foot by foot, and has tried, so far as the genius of translation allowed, to show also *how* Dante wrote. The poem is still a poem in his version, and, though destitute, by necessity, of some of the

* Writing thirty years ago in the pages of this journal, and following Goethe in his statement of the two prevailing modes of translation, Mr. Longfellow describes one as that by which "we transport ourselves over to the author of a foreign nation, and adopt his situation, his mode of speaking, and his peculiarities," while the other is that by which "the author is brought to us in such a manner that we regard him as our own," and it is interesting to find that even at that time he gives in his full adherence to the former method.

most beautiful qualities of the original, it does not fail to charm with its rhythm, as well as to delight and instruct with its thought.

To give up the rhyme, that triple bond of sound and sense, which by its indefinable charm brings the soul of the reader into a frame which fits it to feel as well as to understand the poetry, which, like the subtile harmonies of music, quickens the heart, and rouses the imagination, with a sensation of the intimate and intrinsic union of spirit and form, — to give up this source of power and delight, which no other poet ever drew from so abundantly as Dante, is indeed to give up what no other devices of art can supply. "I give Dante my highest praise," says Mr. Carlyle, "when I say of his Divine Comedy that it is, in all senses, genuinely a song. In the very sound of it there is a *canto fermo;* it proceeds as by a chant. The language, his simple *terza rima* doubtless helped him in this. One reads along naturally with a sort of *lilt.*" All this is lost in the version; but no one who knows the scanty resources of English in rhymes as compared with Italian, and no one who is familiar with the English versions in which the translator has endeavored to preserve the triple rhyme, — the versions of Cayley, of Thomas, of Ramsay, of Ford, — and has studied their effect, will regret that Mr. Longfellow abstained from the impracticable task of triple rhyming. "But," adds Mr. Carlyle, "the essence and material of the work are themselves rhythmic. Its depth and rapt passion and sincerity makes it musical; — go deep enough, there is music everywhere. A true inward symmetry, what one calls an architectural harmony, reigns in it, proportionates it all: architectural; which also partakes of the character of music." And this deeper music is what a translator may render and reproduce, — is what Mr. Longfellow has rendered and reproduced.

The great risk which the translator runs in seeking to reproduce the substance rather than the form of his original, is lest he produce a work of erudition rather than of poetry. The avoidance of this danger depends on his own genius, judgment, and feeling. He must have a subtile perception and delicate tact of the unchanging and universal elements of poetry, and of the individual characteristics of his author's style; and his

perception and tact must be refined by wide and careful study of the qualities of language and of the use of words. Without these faculties his version may be literal, but it will not be faithful in the highest sense. To render a word in one language by its etymological equivalent in another, does not always answer; the associations that have become connected with it in one may be so widely different from those which belong to it in the other, that it may possess a wholly diverse significance. The same principle applies to diction and forms of expression as to words; the same forms in two languages are not the invariable equivalents one of the other. For instance, the character of the three opening lines of the third canto of the Inferno would be utterly ruined by a translation into English which should give the precise form of the *si va*.

> "Per me si va nella citta dolente;
> Per me si va nell' eterno dolore;
> Per me si va tra la perduta gente." *

Truth to the substance of a poem is not to be obtained by pedantic literalness. It is only by a sympathy with the essential spirit of the original, and by capacity to express this sympathy in his version, that the translator can attain the end he should have steadily in view. This sympathy will be shown in style. To render Homer as Pope did into heroic verse, or as Mr. Worsley did into the Spenserian stanza, or to render Virgil as Mr. Conington has done into the metre of "Marmion" and "The Lord of the Isles," is an indication of a

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* Mr. Longfellow has rendered these lines with essential truth: —

> "Through me the way is to the city dolent;
> Through me the way is to eternal dole;
> Through me the way among the people lost."

An objection has been made to this version on account of the use of the words *dolent* and *dole* for *dolente* and *dolore;* the Italian possessing greater simplicity and familiarity than their English etymological equivalents. But here the translator doubtless was determined in his choice by the recurrence in the seventeenth line of *le genti dolorose,* which is properly translated by *the people dolorous;* and also by the fact that neither *grieving* nor *woful* sufficiently expresses the weight and dignity of *dolente.* Dr. Parsons renders the passage with vigor, but loses the powerful effect of the repetition of the sound and sense of *dole,* and closes with a line which fails to give the character of the original: —

> "Through me you reach the city of despair:
> Through me eternal wretchedness ye find:
> Through me among perdition's race ye fare."

want of sympathy with the qualities of the style of Homer and of Virgil.

The directness and simplicity of Dante's diction require of the translator a like directness and simplicity. The difficulty of preserving these qualities in a rhymed version is such as to make such a version practically impossible; and the sympathy of the translator is shown by his discarding rhyme for the sake of preserving more important elements of style. Mr. Arnold cites the *Divina Commedia* as one of the only two poetical works in "the grand style" which have been produced in modern times; and though the phrase is vague, it indicates that this poem is distinguished by a style so marked as to be almost solitary in excellence. The merit of Dante's style is its naturalness. His art is perfect in its truth. What he sees, or feels, or thinks, that he says. There is scarcely a passage in his poem that is obscure in its expression, or perplexed in diction. The dark passages are dark from the subtlety or remoteness of thought, or from hidden allusion, but never from want of plainness in the words. There is little contention in regard to the construction of his lines. His subject is almost uniformly grave, and his style corresponds with it in gravity and dignity; but its tones are as various as those of an organ, and his hand sweeps over the keys with a master's power, drawing from each pipe the note which goes to form with the rest the perfect harmony of his majestic composition. In sweetness and grace Dante is as unsurpassed as in force and elevation of expression. The varieties of human passion and feeling — from tenderness to wrath, from pity to contempt, from love to hate — are reproduced in the changing moods of his verse; and yet over all prevails his intense individuality, so that a verse of his is stamped as surely with his mint-mark as a verse of Shakespeare. Shakespeare is the only other poet who compares with him in universal range and individuality of feeling and of style, that is, in other words, in truth to nature.

If the translator's diction be forced, involved, or artificial, if his language be quaint, antiquated, or ill-chosen, he fails to translate Dante aright. The various and frequently changing tones of the poem can be reproduced, so far as it is possible to

reproduce them at all, only by following simply the manner of Dante's expression. Even the order of his words is not to be changed, except when the idiom of the two languages differs, or when another order than that of the original is more natural to the translator's tongue, and produces in it an effect of greater simplicity and directness. The translator is as much at fault if he arbitrarily substitutes a form of expression different from that which Dante used, as if he introduced fancies or images of his own in place of those of the poet.

But the translator's success is not to be achieved by formal fidelity and lip-service: it must finally and absolutely depend on his genuine respect for, and sympathy with, his author, and on his poetic sense, faculty, and culture. It is when judged by this test that the merit of Mr. Longfellow's work is most conspicuous. The method of translation which Mr. Longfellow has chosen is free alike from the reproach of pedantic literalism and of unfaithful license. In freeing himself from the clog of rhyme, he secures the required ease of expression; and in selecting a verse of the same metre as that of the original, and in keeping himself to the same number of verses, he binds himself to the pregnant conciseness of the poem, and to a close following of its varied tone. His special sympathy and genius guide him with almost unerring truth, and display themselves constantly in the rare felicity of his rendering. The work has been attempted before, in English, after a similar method, by Mr. Pollock, in a translation of the whole poem, and by Mr. W. M. Rossetti, in a translation of its first division. Of these versions we spoke in the article to which we have already referred, "On Dante and his latest English Translators." In German the same course was followed by King John of Saxony, in the excellent version which he published under the pseudonyme of Philalethes, and more recently by Carl Witte, the most eminent and devoted of living students of Dante. The motives which determined two such thorough scholars to adopt this line-for-line, unrhymed mode of translating, may well be regarded as conclusive as to its being the one best fitted to the German and English tongues.

The version of Mr. Rossetti is that with which Mr. Longfellow's will naturally be compared, since both have been made

upon the same general plan, and guided by a like theory of the duties of a translator. The number of lines which are identical in both versions is a curious proof of the straightforward simplicity of Dante's style.* Mr. Rossetti's, which deserves very high praise for its general vigor and literal closeness, seems to us far behind that of his American competitor in elegance as well as substantial fidelity. Mr. Rossetti appears purposely to have made his versification crabbed, and he is overfond of words that may be called uncouth both in the obsolete and current sense of the term. Not seldom we are brought up with verses like these: —

"In the time of the false and lying gods."

"I come from where I would return unto."

"Then said: 'It grieves me more thou 'st caught me in
The misery,'" &c.

"I 'm put so far adown because from out —"

"Remember Pier da Medicina, if —"

Mr. Rossetti seems as designedly to have made his verses end abruptly, as Dante prolonged his with the undulation of female rhymes. Mr. Longfellow, like the King of Saxony in his German version, has given more musical motion and lyrical sentiment to his verse by imitating the practice of his original in this respect. Accordingly it should seem as if the one had chosen a dialect more infused with Saxon, and the other with Latin. Yet this will not be found true on examination. Mr. Rossetti is sometimes Latin enough to please Dr. Johnson. For example, at the end of Canto III., he translates Dante's simple

"La terra lagrimosa *diede vento*,"

"The tearful country *exhalated wind*."

Mr. Longfellow is far finer: —

"The land of tears gave forth a blast of wind."

So in Canto V. Mr. Rossetti translates

"La bufera infernal che mai non resta
Mena gli spirti con la sua rapina
Voltando e percotendo li molesta,"

* It should be remembered that, though Mr. Longfellow's Inferno was not published till 1867, a few copies of it, substantially the same, were printed early enough to be sent to the Dante Festival at Florence in May, 1865. The version was completed before the publication of Mr. Rossetti's. It is on a copy of this earlier edition that our remark in the text is predicated.

> " The infernal hurricane which never rests
> Driveth the spirits with its virulence ;
> *Rotating* it molests, and smiting them — "

Mr. Longfellow gives the passage thus : —

> " The infernal hurricane that never rests
> Hurtles the spirits onward with its rapine ;
> Whirling them round and smiting, it molests them," —

which is as close to the sense and far more in the spirit of the original. Both have intensified *mena*.

In the same canto Mr. Rossetti makes Francesca call Dante

> " O gracious and benignant animal,"

thereby not only making her guilty of discourtesy, but losing the pathos of the original word *animal*. When we remember Francesca's femininely regretful allusion to the *bella persona che le fu tolta*, the words " *living* creature," as Mr. Longfellow has rightly rendered *animal*, become full of nature and feeling. The word should be Englished in the same way at the beginning of the second canto, where both translators give us " animals " instead, thus seeming, as the word is ordinarily used, to exclude men from those whom the twilight takes from their toils, and losing altogether the antithesis implied by the poet.

Mr. Longfellow's exquisite taste has saved him from certain oddities in language to which Mr. Rossetti seems prone. We have such phrases as " conversing matters," " the cruel beast fell suchlike to the earth," " Threw it withinside of the greedy tubes " (the throats of Cerberus), " *O'ertaking* more of the distressful coast," " Crying each other eke their shameful catch," " In whom doth avarice custom its excess," " Within the lofty fosses on we *reached*," " abovehead of us," " whatlike," and many more. In Canto XXIX. we have

> " Out of the mouth of each a sinner's feet
> *Were in excess* " (*soperchiava*).

In Canto XXI.,

> " Non *far* sopra la pegola *soperchio*,"

rendered by

> " see
> There be no *surplus of thee* o'er the pitch."

And in Canto XXV., *troppa materia* becomes " *extra* matter."

Often Mr. Rossetti's oddities arise from a misjudging desire of literal fidelity, as in Canto XXIV., where we read,

> " Which crashes suchlike smitings in revenge,"

though we can hardly so explain

> " and heavy so
> *As 't were that* Frederick put them on of straw,"

where Dante has a simple *che*.

But in spite of Mr. Rossetti's anxious fidelity, Mr. Longfellow is really the more accurate of the two. We may sometimes differ with the latter as to the choice he makes between two readings or interpretations; but that he has exactly given the meaning of the Italian, or one of its meanings, we are never in doubt. We cannot say this of Mr. Rossetti. We have not, it is true, examined his translation critically, with a view to this special quality, but enough slips have caught our eye to justify what we have said. For example, he translates the verse,

> " *Quinci* non passa mai anima bona,"
> " *From here* not ever doth a good soul pass," —

which is not true to Dante's conception. Good souls might pass from there, as Trajan's did. " Through here," is the sense of *quinci*, as where the angel in purgatory says, *entrate quinci*. So, where he is describing the spirits who were "transversed," as he oddly calls it, he translates *dalle reni* by "*from* the reins," though *da* has here its not unusual meaning of *toward*. His translating *provi se sa* (VIII. 92) by " prove if he know," may be defended, but it is clear to us that *sapere* is here used in its sense of *to be able* (*can* and *ken* in English show the analogy), and that " let him try if he can " is much more natural. In the same canto (113, 114), for

> " Ma ei non stette là con essi guari
> Che ciascun dentro a pruova si ricorse,"

we have

> " But he did not stay with them there for long,
> For every one ran back a race within," —

which, to say nothing of the obscurity of the last verse, is not what Dante says. The meaning is, " But hardly did he stand with them (i. e. hardly had he arrived) when each gat him in

as fast as he could." Sometimes his deviations seem merely made to lengthen the verse, as in Canto V., where he translates *tignemmo* by "had to stain"; and in Canto VI. has the awkward phrase

> "But when *thou art to be* in the sweet world,"

where the original says simply *sarai*. This would explain his telling us of Erichtho, that she

> "to their bodies was recalling (*richiamava*) souls,"

as if she were doing it for the nonce, instead of being wont to do it. But how can he make

> "and they thus
> Together run in vengeance as in wrath,"

(which we confess our inability to understand,) out of

> "cosi insieme
> Alla vendetta vanno come all' ira"?

Of his surprising whimsy about *al giudizio divin passion porta*, we shall say nothing. We have no desire to hunt for flaws in a version which was certainly the best that had appeared before Mr. Longfellow's, and which in many passages rivals, in some surpasses his. But translations are for the general reader; and, all other considerations apart, Mr. Longfellow's has eminently that merit of readableness which Mr. Rossetti's in our opinion as eminently lacks.

It is of course impossible to convey by extracts an adequate impression of a work so extended as Mr. Longfellow's translation; but we can illustrate, perhaps, some of the qualities which combine to give it its pre-eminence, by taking a few passages from different portions of his volumes.

We have spoken of naturalness, simplicity, and directness as essential attributes of a good translation of Dante. Mr. Longfellow's version might be opened at random with the assurance that the page would exhibit these qualities. It would be impossible to render more exactly the famous episode of Ugolino than it is done in the following powerful verses: —

> "Thou hast to know I was Count Ugolino,
> And this one was Ruggieri the Archbishop;
> Now I will tell thee why I am such a neighbor.

That, by effect of his malicious thoughts,
Trusting in him I was made prisoner,
And after put to death, I need not say;
But ne'ertheless what thou canst not have heard,
That is to say, how cruel was my death,
Hear shalt thou, and shalt know if he has wronged me.
A narrow perforation in the mew,
Which bears because of me the title of Famine,
And in which others still must be locked up,
Had shown me through its opening many moons
Already, when I dreamed the evil dream
Which of the future rent for me the veil.
This one appeared to me as lord and master,
Hunting the wolf and whelps upon the mountain
For which the Pisans cannot Lucca see.
With sleuth-hounds gaunt, and eager, and well trained,
Gualandi with Sismondi and Lanfranchi
He had sent out before him to the front.
After brief course seemed unto me forespent
The father and the sons, and with sharp tushes
It seemed to me I saw their flanks ripped open.
When I before the morrow was awake,
Moaning amid their sleep I heard my sons
Who with me were, and asking after bread.
Cruel indeed art thou, if yet thou grieve not,
Thinking of what my heart foreboded me,
And weep'st thou not, what art thou wont to weep at?
They were awake now, and the hour drew nigh
At which our food used to be brought to us,
And through his dream was each one apprehensive;
And I heard locking up the under door
Of the horrible tower; whereat without a word
I gazed into the faces of my sons.
I wept not, I within so turned to stone;
They wept; and darling little Anselm mine
Said: 'Thou dost gaze so, father, what doth ail thee?
Still not a tear I shed, nor answer made
All of that day, nor yet the night thereafter,
Until another sun rose on the world.
As now a little glimmer made its way
Into the dolorous prison, and I saw
Upon four faces my own very aspect,
Both of my hands in agony I bit;
And, thinking that I did it from desire
Of eating, on a sudden they uprose,
And said they: 'Father, much less pain 't will give us
If thou do eat of us; thyself didst clothe us
With this poor flesh, and do thou strip it off.'

I calmed me then, not to make them more sad.
That day we all were silent, and the next.
Ah! obdurate earth, wherefore didst thou not open?
When we had come unto the fourth day, Gaddo
Threw himself down outstretched before my feet,
Saying, 'My father, why dost thou not help me?'
And there he died; and, as thou seest me,
I saw the three fall one by one, between
The fifth day and the sixth; whence I betook me,
Already blind, to groping over each,
And three days called them after they were dead;
Then hunger did what sorrow could not do."

Inferno, XXXIII. 13 – 75.

The skill and beauty with which the translator has rendered the softer tones of the poem is not less striking than the vigor and strength of such a passage as that just cited. We quote the opening verses of the twenty-eighth canto of Purgatory, descriptive of the Terrestrial Paradise: —

"Eager already to search in and round
The heavenly forest, dense and living-green,
Which tempered to the eyes the new-born day,
Withouten more delay I left the bank,
Taking the level country slowly, slowly
Over the soil that everywhere breathes fragrance.
A softly-breathing air, that no mutation
Had in itself, upon the forehead smote me
No heavier blow than of a gentle wind,
Whereat the branches, lightly tremulous,
Did all of them bow downward toward that side
Where its first shadow casts the Holy Mountain;
Yet not from their upright direction swayed,
So that the little birds upon their tops
Should leave the practice of each art of theirs;
But with full ravishment the hours of prime,
Singing, received they in the midst of leaves,
That ever bore a burden to their rhymes,
Such as from branch to branch goes gathering on
Through the pine forest on the shores of Chiassi,
When Eolus unlooses the Sirocco.
Already my slow steps had carried me
Into the ancient wood so far, that I
Could not perceive where I had entered it.
And lo! my further course a stream cut off,
Which tow'rd the left hand with its little waves
Bent down the grass that on its margin sprang.

All waters that on earth most limpid are
Would seem to have within themselves some mixture
Compared with that which nothing doth conceal,
Although it moves on with a brown, brown current
Under the shade perpetual, that never
Ray of the sun lets in, nor of the moon.
With feet I stayed, and with mine eyes I passed
Beyond the rivulet, to look upon
The great variety of the fresh may.
And there appeared to me (even as appears
Suddenly something that doth turn aside
Through very wonder every other thought)
A lady all alone, who went along
Singing and culling floweret after floweret,
With which her pathway was all painted over.
'Ah, beauteous lady, who in rays of love
Dost warm thyself, if I may trust to looks,
Which the heart's witnesses are wont to be,
May the desire come unto thee to draw
Near to this river's bank,' I said to her,
'So much that I may hear what thou art singing.
Thou makest me remember where and what
Proserpina that moment was when lost
Her mother her, and she herself the Spring.'
As turns herself, with feet together pressed
And to the ground, a lady who is dancing,
And hardly puts one foot before the other,
On the vermilion and the yellow flowerets
She turned towards me, not in other wise
Than maiden who her modest eyes casts down;
And my entreaties made to be content,
So near approaching, that the dulcet sound
Came unto me together with its meaning.
As soon as she was where the grasses are
Bathed by the waters of the beauteous river,
To lift her eyes she granted me the boon.
I do not think there shone so great a light
Under the lids of Venus, when transfixed
By her own son, beyond his usual custom!
Erect upon the other bank she smiled,
Bearing full many colors in her hands,
Which that high land produces without seed."

It would be difficult to surpass such translation as this; and the more closely it is scrutinized and compared with the original, the more excellent will it appear.

Mr. Longfellow has proved that an almost literal rendering is not incompatible with an exquisite poetic charm, and although he may in some instances have followed the exact order of the Italian phrase too closely for the best effect, his diction is in the main graceful and idiomatic. We would gladly enter into a minute criticism to illustrate these general positions; but there is little need to defend propositions which few readers will be inclined to question, and of the truth of which every page affords proof. Let one instance stand for many. We set the last lines of the thirty-first canto of Purgatory side by side in the Italian and the English: —

"Volgi, Beatrice, volgi gli occhi santi,
Era la sua canzone, al tuo fedele
Che, per vederti, ha mossi passi tanti.
Per grazia fa noi grazia che disvele
A lui la bocca tua, sì che discerna
La seconda bellezza che tu cele.
O isplendor di viva luce eterna,
Chi pallido si fece sotto l' ombra
Sì di Parnaso, o bevve in sua cisterna,
Che non paresse aver la mente ingombra,
Tentando a render te qual tu paresti
Là dove armonizzando il ciel t' adombra,
Quando nell' aere aperto ti solvesti?"

"'Turn, Beatrice, O turn thy holy eyes,'
Such was their song, 'unto thy faithful one,
Who has to see thee ta'en so many steps.
In grace do us the grace that thou unveil
Thy face to him, so that he may discern
The second beauty which thou dost conceal.'
O splendor of the living light eternal!
Who underneath the shadow of Parnassus
Has grown so pale, or drunk so at its cistern,
He would not seem to have his mind encumbered
Striving to paint thee as thou didst appear,
Where the harmonious heaven o'ershadowed thee,
When in the open air thou didst unveil?"

In fine, Mr. Longfellow, in rendering the substance of Dante's poem, has succeeded in giving also — so far as art and genius could give it — the spirit of Dante's poetry. Fitted for the work as few men ever were, by gifts of nature, by sympathy, by an unrivalled faculty of poetic appreciation, and by long and

thorough culture, he has brought his matured powers, in their full vigor, to its performance, and has produced an incomparable translation, — a poem that will take rank among the great English poems. With the increase of general cultivation his work will be more and more highly prized; and it runs no risk of being superseded or supplanted by any more successful achievement for which it must itself have prepared the way. It is a lasting addition to the choicest works of our literature.

It will not be surprising, indeed, if many readers who take up these volumes with indefinite expectations, attracted to them by the fame of Dante, and by their anticipation of pleasure from whatever Mr. Longfellow may produce, should experience, as they read, a certain sense of disappointment, and fail to receive the easy gratification for which they looked. But the fault will be in themselves, not in the author or the translator. Their disappointment will arise from their own want of culture, and of consequent ability to appreciate the true merit of the poem. The Divine Comedy is not a book to be popular, in the sense in which the Lady of the Lake, or the Idyls of the King, or Evangeline, is popular. To be understood aright it requires study, and to be appreciated at its real worth it demands of its foreign and modern reader both quickness and breadth of sympathy, by which he may be enabled to enter into thoughts, beliefs, and conditions of feeling remote from his own, and into a life and character unfamiliar to his experience. Without study and without insight he cannot reap the delight and instruction which the poem offers to him who possesses these qualifications for its enjoyment. But to one who has fitted himself by study, and whose nature enables him to reap the profit of his toil, Mr. Longfellow's version will be the means by which, while ignorant of the language of the original, he may enter into and take possession as his own of one of those rare works of genius which share with Nature herself in the power to administer vital nutriment to the spirit of man, and to afford continual delight adapted to his various moods. Dante did not write to please alone, but to instruct and to help as well; and in spite of change of time and circumstance and thought, his poem remains, and will remain, of the highest service to the highest men.

The Notes and Illustrations which Mr. Longfellow has appended to his translation form a comment upon the poem such as is not elsewhere to be found. It is not only elucidatory of its obscurities, and explanatory of its allusions, but it is a body of really interesting and valuable remark upon the poet and his poem, collected from a wide field of learning, and the fruit of years of preparation and study. Avoiding controversy upon disputed points, Mr. Longfellow states the grounds of his own interpretation with brevity, and occasionally refers to the bitter disputes of the pugnacious Italian commentators with a humorous enjoyment of the extravagant exaggerations of their irascible pens. He does not propose any mystical system of interpretation of the poem, which substitutes the jargon of a sect for the simple directness and transparent significance of the poet's meaning; but after stating the various interpretations which have been given of the perplexing enigmas and allegories of some of the cantos, he selects that which seems to afford the most rational explanation, or he leaves his reader to determine for himself, with full knowledge of the case. The notes are full of pleasant learning, set forth with that grace and beauty of style which are characteristic of Mr. Longfellow's prose; and the long extracts which he gives from Carlyle, Macaulay, Ruskin, and other eminent writers, make his comment a thesaurus of the best judgments that exist in English concerning the poet and his poem. Out of the much that has been written concerning Dante, much of the best is here preserved. Yet, after reading it all, one who has studied the Divine Comedy, sharing in the least the spirit in which it was written; who has entered into it so far as to understand how truly it became its author to speak of it as

> "the sacred poem
> To which both heaven and earth have set their hand";

who has heard

> "The voices of the city and the sea,
> The voices of the mountains and the pines,
> Repeat the song, till the familiar lines
> Are footpaths for the thought of Italy";

and who has drawn from it any part of that nourishment it is able to supply to the will and the intellect; — such a one

cannot but feel how little worth what is written about Dante possesses, save as it makes him and his works more familiar and better understood. Dante is his own best interpreter; and of the followers of such a master he serves him best who, like Mr. Longfellow, translates him with such fidelity that new proselytes may "in their own language hear his wondrous word."

Art. V. — The Judiciary of New York City.

The disgraceful character of the municipal government of New York is notorious. The absolute exclusion of all honest men from any practical control of affairs in that city,* and the supremacy in the Common Council of pickpockets, prize-fighters, emigrant runners, pimps, and the lowest class of liquor-dealers, are facts which admit of no question. But many respectable citizens of New York have been accustomed to console themselves with the belief that at least one department of the local government remained incorrupt; that the judiciary could still be depended upon; and that, whatever might be the fate of the public at the hands of aldermen, justice was yet impartially administered "between man and man." How far this belief is justified by the facts, we shall leave to the judgment of our readers, after they have considered the very small portion of those facts which we are able to disclose.

The large amount of legal business concentrated in the city of New York has made it necessary to establish in it a considerable number of courts, a brief account of which will materially aid those of our readers who do not reside in that city to comprehend the subject. For the sake of brevity, we shall give a merely general statement of the jurisdiction of these

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* The present Mayor is a gentleman of high character; but he is comparatively powerless. So a few members of the Common Council are honest and unpurchasable; but they are too few to constitute any check upon the majority, even when a three-fourths vote is required.

courts, not strictly accurate from a lawyer's point of view, but sufficiently so for our present purpose.

The Supreme Court of the State, which is the highest court of original jurisdiction, consists practically of eight distinct tribunals; the State being divided into eight districts, of which the city forms one, and each district electing four judges, except the city, which, since 1852, has elected five. All litigation beginning in one of these districts is confined to it, as long as the cause remains in the Supreme Court; and none of the twenty-seven judges living outside the district can interfere with the controversy. An appeal lies from the final judgment in a cause to the Court of Appeals, a tribunal of eight judges, representing the whole State; but not an eighth of the actions brought ever reach that court; and almost all questions of practice are decided by the courts below, without the possibility of appeal.

In addition to the Supreme Court, there are in the city two tribunals of substantially co-ordinate jurisdiction; having cognizance of all civil suits in which the defendants reside or are served with process in the city, or in which the subject of the action is properly situated therein. These courts are the Superior Court and the Court of Common Pleas, — in both of which a great amount of litigation is carried on. The former court now consists of six judges, though from its first organization in 1828, down to 1849, it had only three members. The latter court is in substance, though not in name or form, the oldest in the State, having been established by the Dutch, in 1653, under a different name. It acquired its present name in 1821, and has consisted of three judges since 1839.

There is also a Marine Court (fitly named, its law being well adapted to marines), with three justices, whose jurisdiction is limited to claims of five hundred dollars or less; and eight civil justices, having jurisdiction over actions of less importance, within their respective districts, each of which includes two or three wards. The business of proving wills and settling the estates of deceased persons is under the charge of a Surrogate for the county.

The criminal courts of the city are the Oyer and Terminer, which is held by a justice of the Supreme Court; the Court of

General Sessions, which is held by the Recorder and the City Judge alternately; the Court of Special Sessions, held by two police justices together; and the Police Justices' Courts, held in different districts of the city. The first two courts have jurisdiction over offences of all kinds, but only try the graver charges of crime, upon which a jury trial is necessary. The other courts have jurisdiction over petty offences, except for the mere purpose of holding prisoners to bail, or committing them to await further action.

Since 1846, all these officers have been elected by the people. The civil and police justices are chosen by small districts, each containing from two to four wards. The other judges are elected by the city at large.

For some years after the introduction of the elective system, the candidates for the more important judicial offices were, with one or two exceptions, men of high character and respectable abilities. The first judges elected to the Supreme Court by the city of New York were lawyers of more than ordinary ability, and one of them had already served upon the bench for twenty years. The Superior Court, for ten or twelve years after its reorganization, steadily grew in public esteem, and far outshone the reputation which it had attained under the old system. The Court of Common Pleas certainly did not retrograde; the Surrogate's Court acquired a national fame; and the police and justices' courts were but little worse than they had been before, though it must be admitted that they were bad enough.

The change for the worse which has since taken place may be attributed chiefly to three causes; namely, the immense increase of the foreign population, the amount of patronage at the disposal of the judges, and, singular as it may seem, the attempt of good men to use the judiciary as a means of protection against municipal robbery.

The first of these causes, which is indeed the almost insuperable obstacle to reform in the city government, is a familiar fact which needs no demonstration. The last census showed that there were in the city 77,475 foreign-born voters, and only 51,500 native ones. Since then, the naturalizations have been so many, that, if the census were taken again at this time, it would show about 100,000 foreign-born voters to 60,000 native

ones, or in that proportion. It is not, however, the mere fact that foreigners are thus largely in the majority which makes good government so difficult; nor is it even the unanimity with which they support the Democratic party. Good government is maintained in many districts of the United States in which foreigners are largely predominant; and there are thousands of Democrats in New York who would much prefer honest officials of their own party to dishonest ones. But an immense majority of the foreign population of New York are of an ignorant and demoralized class; and their mode of living by no means tends to their improvement. John Wesley wisely said that cleanliness was next to godliness; and judged by this standard, thousands of tenement-houses in New York are to the last degree ungodly. It is impossible that such places should be the homes of intelligent and truly patriotic electors. These people are not degraded by poverty, for in fact they are not so poor as are thousands of excellent men in the agricultural districts; but they are hopelessly degraded by dirt, foul air, and drink.

Accordingly, this immense class, comprising more than two thirds of the foreign voters, not only support Democratic candidates, but, as between two Democrats, almost always prefer the worst. It was such men who thrice elected Fernando Wood to the Mayoralty, and have twice sent him to Congress. It was by the votes of this class that Judge Bosworth, a life-long Democrat, was ejected from the Superior Court in 1863, although his opponent did not, in all probability, receive the votes of a thousand respectable men. The most signal illustration of the solidity of this foreign vote, and of its utter indifference to moral considerations, was given in 1857, when two Democrats ran for Mayor. One of them, Daniel F. Tiemann, was supported by honest men as an honest man, known and respected by all the community. The other was Fernando Wood, concerning whom it is only necessary to say that no one need fear that he has formed too bad an opinion of the man, and that during the year 1857 he had shown all his worst traits. Mr. Tiemann was elected by 2,328 majority, which, after correcting a manifest error in the tables, was within a hundred votes of the majority of native-born over naturalized voters, accord-

ing to the census of 1855. That this coincidence was not accidental is demonstrated by the following comparison of the foreign electors, as returned in the census, with the actual vote for Wood, ward by ward: —

Wards.	1855. Naturalized Voters.	1857. Vote for Wood.	Wards.	1855. Naturalized Voters.	1857. Vote for Wood.
1	1,425	1,276	12	787	887
2	290	231	13	1,852	1,800
3	694	405	14	1,954	2,357
4	2,459	2,112	15	1,292	883
5	1,471	1,349	16	2,173	2,129
6	2,263	2,401	17	3,686	3,765
7	2,649	2,322	18	2,345	2,456
8	1,910	1,871	19	1,460	1,323
9	1,976	1,794	20	3,045	2,834
10	1,476	1,627	21	1,993	1,768
11	3,612	3,269	22	1,889	2,029
			Total,	42,701	40,888

The foreign population has largely increased in the past ten years, so that, as we have said, the foreign-born electors comprise three fifths of the whole number in the city. They are as strongly wedded to their party, and to the worst factions of their party, as ever; while their power is greater than ever. Of this they have given very recent proof, by electing to Congress, over another man of the same party, with whom no fault was found, and who had already served one term acceptably to his party, a man notorious in the past as a pugilist and a criminal, and whose entire claim to a reformation of character consisted in his having given up prize-fighting, and become the chief of professional gamblers.

It is not surprising that the bench, when subject to the votes of this class, should have become debased as the number of such voters increased. It is perhaps more wonderful that so many respectable judges are still in office. But the weight of the legal profession has been generally thrown upon the right side, and might have overcome the difficulties arising from the character of the electors, had not other causes been at work.

The second cause which we have mentioned as injuriously affecting the bench was the amount of patronage at its disposal. This has not only had an evil influence upon the judges already in office, but it has made politicians of the lower grade anxious

to get in men who would make a positively corrupt use of it. The framers of the Constitution of 1846 took great pains to deprive the judges of all patronage, and for this purpose abolished all offices to which the courts had formerly made appointments, and forbade the judges of the Supreme Court and Court of Appeals from appointing so much as a crier. But of late years, with the increase of population and wealth, there has been a great increase in the number of referable causes; and thus in effect the courts have had full power to appoint their friends to very lucrative positions. Nominally, the legal fees of a referee in an action are three dollars a day; but by the custom of the bar he is allowed five dollars, which sum he charges for every day in which he does anything in a cause, even if he merely adjourns it to another day; while he rarely gives more than two hours at a time to the case. As half the days charged are mere adjournments, arranged by the referee's clerk, and the other half consists of very brief sessions, many of which are, by consent, conducted by the clerk, it will be seen that a steady flow of such business would not be unprofitable, even at the usual rates. But in cases of importance, where both parties are anxious to secure the personal attention, care, and good-will of the referee, he can make his own terms; and twenty dollars a session is a common fee. Where it is understood that the relations of the referee with the court are such that there is a moral certainty of the confirmation of his report, his fees may run even higher. There are, moreover, many references in special proceedings, the fees in which are not limited by any statute; and in such cases a referee on good terms with the court can charge what he pleases, say fifty to one hundred dollars a day. Besides this, the Supreme Court has the appointment of three commissioners whenever a street is to be opened, or any private property to be taken for public use. The work is all done by a clerk, and the commissioners draw pay for a hundred days or so, when in fact all their labors have consisted in taking an oath and signing their names once or twice. Of course the same set of men can take charge of a dozen such matters at once, and at the same time carry on any real business that they may have. Receiverships also constitute a valuable subject of judicial patronage; for though

an honest and faithful receiver has until lately been poorly paid, there is abundant profit to be made by one of a different stamp. A public journal of respectable character recently asserted that, upon the settlement of a certain receiver's accounts, the judge demanded half his fees, which amounted to some ten thousand dollars. We do not know what foundation there is for this statement, nor what judge is referred to; but we have known of some transactions equivalent to this, though carried on in a more indirect way.

The third cause of judicial deterioration has arisen from the interference of the bench, at a former period, with the frauds of the Common Council. This interference opened the eyes of the plunderers of the public to the necessity of controlling the civil courts, which they had previously overlooked. In 1863, two worthy and capable judges, both Democrats, were denied a renomination by their party, simply because a notorious corruptionist declared that he must and would have one friend on whom he could rely in each of the city courts of record. In 1861, the same man, after making a theatrical display of patriotism and virtue in the nominating convention of his faction, himself proposing the renomination of Messrs. Hoffman and Woodruff for the Superior Court (two of the ablest and most upright judges in the State), and collecting from them a large contribution for what he represented to be legitimate election expenses, sold them out at the eleventh hour for ten thousand dollars cash, paid by friends of the regular Democratic candidates, and substituted tickets with the names of the latter in place of those which he pretended to support. One of the judges thus elected has procured a seat in the New York Constitutional Convention, and can doubtless give valuable suggestions to his associates upon the advantages of an elective judiciary.

The utter incompetency of some of the judges brought upon the bench by the system now prevailing in the city of New York, and the mediocre character, to say the least, of the majority of them, are too well known to be disputed for a moment. The inferiority of the judges to some of the lawyers who practise before them is often painfully evident, not only to the spectators, but to the judges themselves; and the more

candid of the latter will sometimes openly admit it. But an inferior judge drags down the bar more than he is raised by it; for the arguments of lawyers must be accommodated to the capacity of the court, and learning is too often found to be utterly wasted when bestowed upon the ear of a New York judge. Success at the bar is generally believed — and by none more than by lawyers themselves — to depend largely upon social influence; and that not, as in England or France, an influence acting upon clients, to induce them to bring business, but acting upon the mind of the judge, and swaying his decision. It is certain that some lawyers can always get an injunction or an attachment, and keep it in force for weeks, without a respectable ground for it; that they can obtain or prevent adjournments of their causes to any extent; and that, in short, they can secure every possible favor, even where favors work palpable injustice. Indeed, if a case is at all doubtful, it is hopeless to contest it against certain lawyers before certain judges; and we have known favor go so far, that a shrewd lawyer, having the ear of the court, has been in constant terror lest the latter, by its flagrant partiality for him, should make it impossible to sustain its rulings upon appeal.

One practice has become so common in New York as to excite no remark, although it is fatal to real justice. We refer to the custom of judges allowing counsel to make statements concerning their causes out of court, and in the absence of their opponents. One or two judges are in the almost daily habit of listening to these closet arguments; and it is to be feared that most of them tolerate such practices occasionally. It very naturally follows that the judge who will do this is often utterly indifferent to the argument in open court; and it also follows, in not a few cases, that he pledges his decision beforehand. We have known extensive stock speculations to be conducted on the faith of decisions thus promised; and it is not to be wondered at if the judge was strongly suspected of having an interest, as he certainly had a friend, in the speculation. This, however, is an extreme case, and we mention it only as an example of the natural fruit of so reprehensible a practice.

The influence of the large classes interested in evil prac-

tices might be expected to bear heavily upon courts so weak and ill-constituted. It must be placed to the honor of the Supreme Court that it unanimously affirmed the constitutionality of the Excise Law; but the course of a certain judge in another court deserves notice, all the more because he is of more than average ability. This law was of course very unpalatable to liquor-dealers of the lower class; for though it was in no sense a prohibitory law, like that of Maine, it made *real* the previously *nominal* prohibition of the sale of liquor on Sundays. This restriction is as old as the State itself; but the means provided for its enforcement were never before adequate to the purpose. The new law put sufficient power into hands that were faithful and resolute. The counsel for the liquor-dealers' association honestly told his clients that the law was constitutional, and could not be successfully contested. Not a single lawyer in New York ventured to utter a contrary opinion for some weeks. But at last a well-known lawyer, being retained by a wealthy brewer, gave it as his opinion that the law could not constitutionally apply to liquor-dealers who had taken out licenses under the old law, until those licenses had run out; on the ground that these licenses were contracts, which the State could not rescind or modify. On this sole ground he applied for an injunction to protect his clients, who had unexpired licenses under the old law. He never argued or asserted that the new law was unconstitutional as a whole, or in its application to those dealers who had no previous licenses, — a class which included nine tenths of all the liquor-dealers in the city. That question was never discussed before the judge at all. Yet he promptly decided, not only that the law was unconstitutional in its application to the vendors already licensed, but also that it was "*wholly* void." And having thus decided a question never raised before him, without himself assigning a single reason or authority for that decision, he ever after refused to hear any argument upon the point, on the ground that it was already decided! By virtue of this decision, he issued some seven hundred injunctions, and completely stopped the operation of the law for six months; at the end of which time the Court of Appeals, in accordance with the opinion of nearly every lawyer in the State, adjudged the law to be valid in every respect.

The professional gamblers of New York, who are now represented both in Congress and in the State Legislature, have within a few years past gained a strong hold upon the courts. Several judges have notoriously attained their offices through the influence of this class, and their indisposition to execute the law against their best friends is not a matter for surprise.

The condition to which the highest courts of the city have been reduced can, however, best be realized from a single portrait, — undoubtedly that of one of the worst judges on the bench, (for it is both a pleasure and a duty to say that, whatever may be thought of their abilities, most of the judges in the three principal courts are of unquestionable integrity,) but a fair example of what all must soon be, if the present system is continued.

This man was nominated for the bench against the advice of all the judges, and elected without the support of a dozen respectable lawyers of any party. His knowledge of law from books is confessedly small; but he has a keen perception, and can take in a case with remarkable quickness; so that if a cause is well argued before him, and he listens attentively, without having any bias or prejudice, he can render a decision on the spot with perhaps as much chance of being right as any other judge in the city. This is a great merit, but unfortunately this is all his merit, and the number of "ifs" is large, and fearfully important. If he does not decide at once, he will take the papers to his office, and probably never open them until he has forgotten all that was said; and no judge is less fitted to decide upon the strength of his own mere study than he. Besides, there is no security against his hearing another argument after he leaves the court, and the last word is likely to leave the most impression upon him. He is, moreover, very impatient of, and inattentive to, a long argument, no matter how necessary. A certain case once came before him, in which nearly two hundred thousand dollars was at stake. The defendant was arrested for the embezzlement of this sum, and eminent counsel were arguing for and against his discharge from arrest. The judge listened with such ill-concealed impatience and lack of interest — frequently conversing with some friends behind his desk — that the counsel repeatedly

paused, and waited for him to attend to the case. At length he said: "Mr. ——, you always make an admirable brief; had n't you better submit this case, and let me examine the papers and written arguments?" It was evident that nothing else could be done, so Mr. ——, though with some misgivings, for he was opposing the discharge, which if granted would be fatal to his clients' chances, was obliged to consent. A few days afterward, the order of discharge was granted, and the money lost to its lawful owners. Mr. —— had the satisfaction of receiving back his package of papers in such shape as to afford almost conclusive evidence that they had *never been opened!*

Frequently the judge cuts short an argument in a less civil way, by deciding against a party before he has fairly stated his case. On such occasions, he is apt to say blandly to a lawyer who persists in talking: "You can go on all day, if you like, counsellor; but I have decided this case, and I never take back a decision." Of course he despatches business more promptly than any other judge, and of course he decides the same questions in more diverse ways than any other two judges could manage to do. Accordingly, his associates pay small respect to his decisions. Not long ago, one of his oral opinions being cited as an authority before Judge ——, that learned official fixed his gaze upon the advocate, and inquired, with an air of mild surprise, "Do you mean to cite Judge ——'s decisions as *law?*" Whereat the whole bar indulged in a suppressed laugh.

To dignity the judge does not make the slightest pretension. It is his delight to rouse a laugh by some coarse practical joke, and to brave public opinion by open improprieties. Thus, being offended with some criticism which appeared in the Evening Post, he said in open court that "William Cullen Bryant was the most notorious liar in the United States." On another occasion, a paper having published a simple report of his behavior in court, the next day, in the crowded court-room, he took notice of what he called this attack upon him, in language too indecent for repetion. A motion being made before him in 1864, on behalf of one H——, he listened negligently until it was stated that Mr. H—— had been imprisoned by order of the War Department on a charge of fraud;

whereupon the judge literally shouted, "What! was he put in jail by those villains down there?" — meaning the President and Secretary of War. Receiving an affirmative answer, he immediately granted the motion. We might extend the account of such occurrences to an indefinite length, and might select much more offensive incidents; but in this, as in other respects, prefer to reserve some of our ammunition.

The reference business had begun to assume dangerous proportions before this judge took his seat; but it was reserved for him to give it the form of a science. In his own office there were gentlemen whom he deemed to have qualifications for this duty superior to all the rest of the bar. He always granted a motion for reference, and always sent the case, if it was "worth" enough, to one of these gentlemen. Remonstrance was vain; even the agreement of all the parties upon other names did not help the matter. The only limitations to this practice were such as were imposed by the jealousy of the other judges, and by repeated amendments of the law, aimed directly at this system. The other judges he sometimes defied, and sometimes conciliated by giving a share of the references to their relatives and friends. The law he evaded by various shifts, but chiefly by making lawyers understand that it was dangerous to object to his nominations.

It may easily be supposed that he not only had his standing referees, but also a definite list of receivers, when such officers were needed. The nature of his interest in these appointments has long been the subject of speculation among members of the bar, but only a few are acquainted with facts sufficient to enable them to form a definite conclusion.

Some years ago, one of the foremost lawyers in New York, an eminent member, too, of the party by which all the judges are elected, declared publicly that, in order to secure success before certain judges, it was necessary to employ certain lawyers having influence with them. Such indeed is a well-known fact, especially with regard to this judge, to whom the circumstances mentioned by the lawyer we have quoted clearly showed that he referred. Not long ago, certain parties having an important affair in litigation were privately notified that, if they wished to succeed before the judge, they must employ two

lawyers (neither of them having any claim to the business), at a handsome fee.

The partiality of this judge for a certain politician, whose name is synonymous with corruption and treachery, has been manifested by some extraordinary decisions. Several persons who were injured in riots instigated by this man sued him for damages. His counsel, fertile in excuses, delayed the trials for many months, and finally, when the causes came on for trial before a judge from the interior of the State, and all excuses were worn out, the defendant and his counsel deliberately absented themselves from court without any excuse at all. Verdicts were taken against him; and he moved before this judge of whom we speak to open his default. Although it clearly appeared that the defendant had purposely allowed his default to be taken, the judge relieved him from it, *and ordered costs to be paid to him by the plaintiffs!* This was too much for his associates, who, though they held themselves unable to reverse his order, called his attention to the matter of costs, when he stated that this part of the order was a *mistake!*

Quite recently he issued out of court a peremptory *mandamus* in favor of the same politician against the Controller of the city, without any notice to the latter; by which the Controller was required to sign a most dishonest contract in obedience to a vote of the Common Council. Another judge was at the time holding the branch of the court from which alone the *mandamus* could properly have issued; and he immediately stayed proceedings under it, and finally set it aside, declaring the practice adopted to be grossly irregular, and utterly without precedent.

The facts which we have thus far stated, bad as they are, are not, however, so bad as others, concerning which our information is direct and explicit, and which, if it appears to be necessary to convince the public of the necessity of a complete transformation of the judiciary, we shall disclose on a future occasion. We are not actuated by hostility to a man, but to the system which produces such a man. We have singled him out, only because it would be doing gross injustice to most of the other judges to impute such conduct to the

bench at large. The last public episode in this man's history, however, deserves to be recounted here, because it forcibly illustrates the folly of trusting to revenge as a motive to honesty, as well as the ease with which men are deceived by empty professions.

In 1866, this judge of whom we have spoken appeared to have set his heart upon exchanging his judicial duties for an office of a more directly lucrative nature; and failing in this, he made loud professions of his disgust with the "Ring" (as the managing politicians are collectively called), and of his determination to take vengeance upon it. In charging the grand jury, at the opening of one of the circuits, he declared, with perfect truth, that the whole municipal government was utterly rotten, and that nearly every officer under it deserved indictment. He advised the grand jury, however, not to indict any one, on the ground that it would be useless to do so; but with a great flourish announced his intention to grant an injunction against the frauds of the Common Council whenever it should be demanded. And he did grant several such injunctions in the course of the next two or three months.

The innocent public was delighted with this exhibition of judicial courage and incorruptibility. The leading journals raised a chorus of congratulation. And thus a respectable public sentiment was created in favor of a measure intended to make the fortunes of the judge, and of all his hangers-on.

A bill was introduced into the Legislature, requiring the Governor to appoint one of the judges of the court of which this man is a member to hold the special term in chambers, exclusively of all the other judges. It was urged upon the ground that the business of that branch of the court could be transacted much more rapidly, and with greater uniformity of practice, if permanently intrusted to a single judge, than when taken, as it always had been, by the different judges in succession. The bill was supported by letters from many of the most active practitioners in the city, and was pushed by a powerful lobby, comprising representatives of the best and the worst citizens. Extremes met; and the attorneys of the Citizens' Association joined with the most corrupt politicians in helping this bill along. It passed the Legislature, and,

after some hesitation on his part, was signed by the Governor. Then the candidate, who had of course been known to the chief friends of the bill all along, but whose name had been kept back, made his appearance, and was no other than this same judge. An amazing combination of influences was brought to bear in his favor. The most notorious members of the "Ring," and its most bitter opponents, the Citizens' Association, the men whose rascalities had made the Association a necessity, in short, all the rogues, and nine tenths of the honest men who took any part in the matter, were active in the support of this judge. The Governor was assured by all, that the judge had forever broken with the "Ring," and would use the tremendous power which this appointment would give him for the extirpation of official dishonesty. So strong was the pressure, and so certain was his appointment considered, that several papers published it as a completed fact, and the majority of its opponents were afraid to say a word against it. One of the "great dailies," after publishing a very able editorial condemnatory of the law, and intended to warn the Governor against appointing this judge, lost all its courage upon hearing that the appointment was made, and commended it in warm terms. Indeed, the appointment was substantially determined upon, and would certainly have been made, but for the resolute action of a few gentlemen who knew certain facts to which we have but vaguely referred, and disclosed them to the Governor, who refused to proceed until the matter was cleared up. It is only just to the most influential advocate of the judge to say, that he withdrew his recommendation upon being informed of these facts, of which he was of course unaware when he lent his influence to the scheme; as indeed were the other respectable gentlemen to whom we have referred. We have spoken of their recommendation of the judge, not with intent to cast a doubt upon their probity, but as illustrating the skill with which this man managed to win a support indispensable to him in approaching so upright an officer as Governor Fenton.

The scheme failed, as we have said, and months of elaborate hypocrisy had been wasted. The instant that the judge ascertained this, he threw off the mask, and astounded his dupes

by dissolving the injunctions against municipal frauds which he had previously granted with such zeal; concluding by issuing the unprecedented *mandamus* to which we have before referred. And having owed his defeat in part to the persistent opposition of his associates on the bench, he gave an open manifestation of his spite in a characteristic manner. A lawyer came into chambers while the judge was sitting there, and asked whether a certain other judge was in the inner room, or had been down that day. Judge —— tartly replied: "I don't know anything about him. I don't know anything about *any* of them. There is a certain class of men I don't want to know anything about. When they come up for an election, *then* I mean to know something about them." A little later in the day he informed the bar that he had "the most unmitigated contempt" for all his associate judges, feeling himself "their superior, morally, socially, and financially."

The feeling of relief, when it was known that the Governor had determined not to make any appointment under the law, was general; many who had recommended Judge —— being secretly as glad to be saved from him as any one else. For if the plan had been carried out, he would have had nearly as much power in his hands as an Eastern pacha. Property to the amount of twenty million dollars, in the charge of receivers and trustees, lay at his disposal, since he could appoint and remove them at his discretion; and when the funds were placed in the hands of his friends, they could obtain from him, without giving the slightest notice to creditors or other interested parties, orders for the disposition of the funds in any manner that might suit their and his interests. There would have been no obstinate receivers to refuse fees, or to object to loans without security. This judge alone, of all the court, would have had power to grant or dissolve injunctions, attachments, or orders of arrest; to appoint referees; to issue writs of *mandamus*, *habeas corpus*, &c. By a little ingenuity in postponing arguments or decisions, he could indefinitely delay appeals from his orders, even where they were appealable. But in a large class of cases, especially in those which involved the most money, no appeal would lie from his decision. Few lawyers could have carried on business for a week after the

judge had resolved to crush them; and it was not doubted by any one that his enemies would be made to feel his power. Indeed, it has been publicly stated by an opponent of the project, that he was visited by some of the judge's friends, who assured him that, if he would only retract his opposition, he should have a share of the good things arising out of the scheme; telling him further, that arrangements had been made to realize enormous profits and a practical monopoly of the paying business for those who befriended the judge.

Our narrative might be greatly extended, if we should insert all the instances of unseasonable and indecent jesting, recklessness, and even worse, on the part of this judge, of which we are informed. We have passed over several such instances within our knowledge (as before intimated), and many concerning which we entertain no doubt, but of which legal evidence could be withheld by the parties interested. About two years ago an investigation into various matters connected with the New York "Ring" was attempted by the Legislature, and it was wonderful to notice how many well-informed parties were detained out of the State by sickness as long as the committee remained in session. The season might be unhealthy again, if a new investigation were commenced; and we therefore prefer to rely upon the testimony of acclimated witnesses.

The petty civil courts are not worth an extended review. The nature and value of the justice dispensed by them may be easily inferred from the condition of the superior courts. The salaries of the justices are sufficient to command first-class talent, being larger by far than the salaries of the judges of the highest court in the State. The ignorance, incompetency, and pretension of some of these justices may easily be imagined; of their evasions of duty, under the fear of influences which might be brought to bear against their renomination, we could give some strong illustrations; but it is not worth the labor.

The criminal courts are universally admitted to be inefficient; and those who know them best do not hesitate to pronounce them in the main corrupt. The city has on several occasions been fortunate in its choice of a Recorder; but for

years past no confidence has been placed by well-informed men in a majority of the other criminal judges. If we were to relate half the rumors which are afloat, and which are fully credited, too, by the most intelligent and discreet members of the bar, we should draw a picture as appalling as anything to be found in the books of the Prophets Amos and Micah. But we content ourselves with a statement of a few cases of direct bribery of judges not now on the bench, as examples of what has certainly happened in the past, and with such an account of the present and recent condition of things in the criminal courts as might have been gathered by any careful observer.

Years ago, the master of a small vessel was indicted for a very brutal assault committed on board. The trial had occupied the morning, and was far from its end. The prisoner's counsel therefore proposed a recess for lunch, which was agreed to; and he invited the judge to take the meal with him. The invitation was accepted, and the two went to a place where they found a handsome dinner in waiting, and were joined by the accused party, who was of course on bail. The plates were all laid, with the faces downward, and when the judge turned up his plate, to his surprise, and of course to the amazement of his hosts, a hundred-dollar-bill lay on the cloth. "Why, what is this?" said the astonished judge; and turning to the counsel, he added, "This must belong to you, Mr. ——." That gentleman, however, emphatically disclaimed its ownership, and refused to touch it, as also did his client. So, after some more efforts on the part of the judge to rid himself of the burden, the counsel advised him to take charge of the money until the real owner should appear; which he concluded to do. Dinner being over, the trial was resumed. It is scarcely necessary to say that the evidence for the prosecution was not convincing to the judicial mind, and that an acquittal was directed.

At another period, a certain person was indicted for a crime under a statute requiring the indictment to be found within three years from the commission of the offence. This indictment was found on, say, the last day of the month, the crime having been committed on the first day of the next month, three years before. The defendant obtained judgment in his

favor, on the ground that the time for prosecution had expired; and, by a singular coincidence, on the next day a check for five hundred dollars, drawn by the accused party, was cashed in Wall Street with the indorsement of the judge upon it.

Within a much more recent period, a man was indicted for a series of enormous frauds, by which he had made himself wealthy. The indictment was quashed for some informality, and he openly boasted that he knew how to manage the drawing of future grand-juries so as to secure himself against any renewal of the indictment, — a boast which the failure of all subsequent attempts to indict him seems to justify. We are assured, on the most respectable authority, that the judge received *ten thousand dollars* for his decision.

To come down to the present time, it is indisputable that most of the justices in charge of criminal business in New York are coarse, profane, uneducated men, knowing nothing of law except what they have picked up in their experience on the bench. One of the best of them was a butcher until he became a police justice; another was formerly a bar-keeper. As a rule, they are excessively conceited and overbearing, and in some cases positively brutal in their demeanor. The officers in attendance naturally take their tone from their superiors, and treat every one who enters the court-room with a roughness which makes attendance upon such places ineffably disgusting.

The reporters who have for years attended the police courts seem never to have thought of presenting any other than the ludicrous side of the events which happen there; but to all who feel compassion for man as man, these scenes have much in them to excite both pity and indignation. A motley herd of human beings are driven in, morning after morning, like so many oxen, and as summarily knocked on the head if they are in the least refractory, and violently pushed forward if their movements are slow. Called up before the justice, if poor and friendless, they are sentenced before they well understand the charge made against them. If they have counsel, it may be generally assumed that he is one of the low persons, miscalled lawyers, who hang about these courts, and that he has stripped them of every cent, or will do so before they are released.

Perhaps they are committed "for further examination"; and although the law requires a prompt disposal of such cases, a prisoner unable to meet the ravenous demands of the lawyers, or, as they are more appropriately called, "shysters," who have the run of these places and the favor of the magistrates, often lies in jail for weeks unheard. Sometimes a highly respectable man will be kept in durance, at the instance of wealthy enemies, notwithstanding he is abundantly able and willing to give bail.

Where the guilty party is wealthy and unscrupulous, and the accuser poor, the position of affairs is reversed. We remember an instance in which a rich but infamous brothel-keeper had terribly beaten one of the poor wretches in her house. The "prisoner" was on bail, the accuser was detained as a witness. When the case was called, the poor creature came forward, her face all clotted with blood, and her clothes torn to rags, — a ghastly spectacle. The counsel for the accused took her aside, and, under the very eyes of the judge, bullied and coaxed her by turns, threatening her with prosecution as a vagrant, and with the revenge of her mistress, until she agreed not to prosecute the case, on condition of her doctor's bill (say five or ten dollars) being paid. The counsel then announced to the justice that the complaint was withdrawn. The justice shortly asked the complainant if that was so, to which the poor creature sadly answered that she would not withdraw her complaint if she were not so poor; but as it was, she supposed she could not help herself. The justice harshly replied that he had nothing to do with that. The complaint was dismissed; and the miserable woman was promptly bundled out of court by the officers.

In each of these courts there are two well-known "rings," one of "shysters," and the other of professional bail. The latter are always ready to become responsible for prisoners in amounts of from two hundred and fifty to one thousand dollars, upon receipt of a fee ranging from ten to fifty dollars. Their risk is almost nominal, for they have a perfect understanding with the powers that be, and a shrewd method of doing business. They often get abundant security from their principal, and in other cases are generally familiar enough

with his circumstances to feel sure of his appearance. But if they are at all doubtful of this, they can, and often do, surrender their victim within a few days, or even hours, after pocketing his money; and he is obviously without redress. One very flagrant instance of this kind deserves to be mentioned. A rather noted thief, not, however, without some good qualities, was held to bail in one thousand dollars, and all the sureties offered by him were rejected. At length one of the jailers advised him to ask a well-known politician named B—— to become his surety. B—— consented, on condition that he should be fully secured, and be paid a fee of fifty dollars. Accordingly, five hundred dollars in cash, and a chattel mortgage for five hundred dollars more, were placed in his hands, and the fee paid. But in a few days he surrendered his unlucky principal, and not only kept the fee, but the five hundred dollars besides, returning nothing but the mortgage, and that only after repeated solicitations.

It is not surprising that some of these professional bail are known to make ten thousand dollars or more a year out of the business; nor can the world be blamed for suspecting that their profits are divided with some other parties. For it is observed that, when all precautions fail, and parties for whom these men become bail abscond, the amount of the bond is rarely or never collected.

The so-called lawyers who secure most of the practice in these courts are generally men of disreputable character, who have an understanding with the officers of the courts and prisons, by which the latter receive a commission on business introduced by them. A prisoner, especially if he is such for the first time, is generally unacquainted with any respectable lawyer, and gladly accepts the recommendation of the officer having him in charge. The person thus introduced, after making a very few inquiries about the case, asks the prisoner, "How much money have you?" Usually, of course, the amount is very small, and the next question is, "How much can you raise?" The answer is, perhaps fifty, perhaps a hundred dollars. "A hundred dollars!" cries the lawyer, contemptuously; "why, I shall have to give that much to the judge, and twenty to the clerk. D— it, you must squeeze out

two hundred and fifty dollars somehow, or you 're gone up." The prisoner asks advice of his keeper, and is told that " Lawyer —— knows what he is about," and should be secured at any price. If, after severe pressure, the prisoner declares that he cannot raise the required sum, the lawyer grudgingly accepts whatever he can get. But it must not be supposed that the fees are limited as a rule to two hundred and fifty dollars. These men, whom long experience has made keen in judging of a prisoner's means, take all he has, be the same more or less. If he has only ten dollars in the world, they take that, and really make a good fight upon it; if he has five thousand dollars, they will extract it all out of him, if not interfered with, though of course such opportunities are very rare. We will give some illustrations of the various degrees of plunder.

The case of Lamirande, the French cashier, is fresh in the public memory. He employed a couple of " Tombs lawyers " to protect him, who, upon one pretext or another, got nearly twenty thousand dollars out of him, with part of which they purchased his escape from the officers in charge.

A certain ingenious criminal, after he had long concealed himself in a neighboring town, where he lived in a style of comparative luxury, was at length arrested, together with all his family, — they being accomplices in his crimes. On his way to New York, the officer having him in charge advised him to employ a lawyer at once, and recommended a certain well-known individual, still in active practice, and very influential in some courts, notwithstanding the notoriety of his character. The prisoner accepted the suggestion, and by the advice of the officer placed all his ready money, amounting to nearly two thousand dollars, in the care of this man, who agreed to attend to his case for one hundred dollars, and to return the rest of the money on demand. After having been in jail for some time, awaiting his trial, he sent to his lawyer for money to pay for extra expenses which he had incurred in making his position comfortable; but to all the messengers the lawyer returned a flat denial of his receipt of any money. The prisoner was compelled to resort to other means of provision, and could obtain them only by selling all his furniture, worth over two thousand dollars, to one of the keepers of the prison, for three

hundred dollars. Just before his trial came on, the lawyer called upon the prisoner, plausibly excused his own previous conduct, and assured his client that, with fifteen hundred dollars in addition to what he had already received, he could bribe the judge to reduce the prisoner's sentence to two years' imprisonment, and to let his wife (or mistress) go free. The luckless wretch believed the story, and put a small house, his last remaining property other than a gold watch, into the hands of this man for sale. The house was sold for twelve hundred dollars, — perhaps half its value. This man, whom we are ashamed to call a lawyer, pocketed the whole thirty-two hundred dollars; and the prisoner and his wife were sentenced the next week to eight and six years' imprisonment respectively!

We do not mention this case as an instance of corruption in the court, for it is entirely certain that the "lawyer" never offered the judge a dollar, nor ever meant to do so; but when there *are* judges with whom the influence of such a man is powerful, it is impossible not to suspect their purity.

There is a person doing a large business in the criminal courts who has been repeatedly detected in thus stripping prisoners of their all, and who has been compelled in some cases to disgorge, but who still pursues the same line of business with great profit. Thus on one occasion he took from a servant-girl two gold watches (stolen, of course), two trunks full of valuable clothing, and twelve dollars in money, which was all she had; and on another occasion squeezed fifty dollars out of the friends of a poor negro, upon promises which he well knew could not be fulfilled. This man, who was the special friend of the bounty-jumpers, and largely engaged in filling up the ranks of the army, by means which we shall presently describe, was not long ago a candidate for a high judicial office, and received over twenty-five thousand votes in the city, though he failed to be elected.

The last two years of the war afforded a magnificent opportunity for making money in a strictly patriotic manner, which the criminal judges and lawyers did not fail to improve. The national armies were thinned, the jails were full, and the bounties for enlistment large. How could a judge evince his love of country better than by filling up the ranks of its defenders?

How could he more judiciously exercise the prerogative of mercy than by extending it to the misled pickpocket, the erring burglar, or the penitent garroter, upon condition that he should do valiant battle for his adopted land? And if a liberal nation provided, as it did, certain pecuniary inducements for enlistment, who shall say that these emoluments could be more fitly disposed of than by appropriating them to the reward of such virtue as we have imagined? To have given them to the recruit himself would have been to reward vice and to waste good money. Accordingly, thousands of men were liberated on condition that they would enlist. Bounties varying from six hundred to fifteen hundred dollars were paid for each man, either by the public, or by private persons hiring substitutes; and the recruits themselves were fortunate indeed if they received twenty-five dollars each. The rest was divided between the lawyers who persuaded prisoners to enlist, the judges who released them on that condition, and the officials who passed the recruit and paid the money.

It is a common practice of the worst judges to make an occasional show of extreme severity, for the purpose of gaining a reputation for Roman firmness, under the cover of which they may let off more dangerous criminals with impunity. A terrific sentence imposed upon some prisoner too poor to employ the right kind of counsel looks well in print; and a few such sentences have been the entire stock in trade of some judges for years. Not long ago, a serious crime was committed by three men, one of whom was a hardened criminal, who had "got up the job," and enticed the others into it. All were convicted, but sentence was indefinitely suspended as to the chief offender, while his far less guilty accomplices were sent to the State prison for long terms.

The Annual Reports of the Police Commissioners, though very guarded in their language, as befits official communications, nevertheless indicate a decided conviction that the administration of justice in the city is corrupt. The Report of 1865, which was made by a board equally divided in politics, and therefore less open to the charge of partiality than more recent Reports, used this language: "In no other such city does the machinery of criminal justice so signally fail to restrain or punish serious

and capital offences. . . . . Property is fearfully menaced by fire and robberies ; and persons are in startling peril from criminal violence. This lamentable state of things is due, in a great measure, to a tardy and inefficient administration of justice. . . . . As our laws and institutions are administered, they do not afford adequate protection to persons or property. Some remedy must be found and applied, or life in the metropolis will drift rapidly towards the condition of barbarism." These words may seem strong to those who are not familiar with the facts ; but to those who are, the picture seems so weakly drawn as to appear rather the work of an apologist than of an enemy.

We should be sorry to have it thought that the bar of New York is mainly composed of such men as those whom we have described in our account of the police courts. Such is very far from being the case. The majority of the profession are gentlemen who will compare favorably with their brethren in any part of the world. But it cannot be denied that the number of disreputable lawyers is very large, and that the profession as a whole take little interest in keeping up the standard of admission, and are far too much afraid of exposing the corruptions of which they are aware.

The picture we have drawn is a dark one, yet we have purposely understated the evils which exist, and reserved for the present the most damning facts. It is one of the worst signs of the times, that the public have become so accustomed to seeing and hearing of corruption, that the most conclusive evidence falls upon deadened ears. If we should describe the calm indifference with which some of our most upright public men listen to such evidence, we should mortally offend them ; but so it is : they have become so familiar with the sight of official dishonesty, that, while maintaining their own integrity, they cannot rouse a feeling of indignation at the depravity of others. We might simply add to this unfortunate insensitiveness by telling at once all that we know.

It may be asked, however, whether we mean to assert that justice is never to be had in New York. We answer, certainly not. In nine cases out of ten, the worst judges in the city desire to do justice between the opposing parties. Society would be dissolved, or reduced to desperation, if it were not so. But

the same thing might be said in favor of Tresilian, Scroggs, and Jeffreys; and almost as much is true of the most venal tribunals of the East. We doubt if there ever was a judge who did not decide a majority of the cases before him according to his conscience. The very same judge whom we have known to *extort* a fee from one party has been found perfectly impregnable to bribery from another. But no person of intelligence will imagine that such merits and demerits balance each other. A judge who decides honestly in *most* cases is like a woman who is virtuous six days in every week.

We should insult our readers by offering any argument to prove that the maladministration of justice must have a demoralizing effect upon the whole community. That is an inference which the common sense of every man will draw without our aid. But there are some reasons peculiar to a few large cities, and especially applicable to New York, why these abuses should lead to unusually disastrous results; and these it is proper to state.

New York, as we have said, contains many more foreigners than natives in its permanent population; and, being the chief port for the debarkation of immigrants, always contains a vast number of transient residents. Nearly all these immigrants are entirely unacquainted with republican government, and utterly unfamiliar with our political ideas. More than half of them have no ideas whatever upon political subjects, further than the vague notions of personal liberty which every human being has by nature. They come to New York to be trained, and receive there the first impressions of democratic institutions. They or their friends furnish the larger part of the business in the petty courts, and they hear the character of these courts discussed at an early day. What must be the effect upon them of hearing justice commonly spoken of as a thing to be bought, — of being told by their friends and their counsel that the judge must have a fee? Grant that, in most of the cases in which the fee is paid, it never reaches the judge, yet the moral effect of the act upon the men who pay it is just the same; and when, upon inquiring of honest and well-informed men, they are told that, whatever may have been the fact in their cases, there is no doubt that the judges are corrupted in other instances, the poor

defrauded creatures cannot but conclude that democracy means universal corruption. Impressed with this conviction, it is only natural that they should look upon politics as a mere contest for the spoils of office, and use their own votes, as soon as acquired, for the most selfish purposes.

Again, New York is a place to which thousands of young men come every year from the country. Any large city offers sufficient temptation to wickedness, in the ordinary course of things,—in the isolation of the young from home influences, in evil companions, in the absence of observation and criticism, and in the abundant opportunities for debauchery. But who can estimate the additional impetus to evil which is given by the notorious corruption of public justice? The example of wickedness thus raised to places of honor is itself fearfully damaging to the virtue of young men. But besides this, the clerk who is tempted to dishonesty hears on every side the assurance that, if he only steals enough, he can buy his discharge from the judge or the jailer; and although, as a general rule, the calculation will fail him, the fact that in many cases it does *not* fail is enough to tempt hundreds to ruin.

It can scarcely be necessary to point out the demoralizing effect of judicial corruption upon the criminal classes of society. They learn to rely upon the profits of their depredations for immunity; and when justice finally overtakes them, the predominant conviction of their minds is that they are only punished because their money was not enough to satisfy the judge. And although this is often an unjust suspicion, how can they be disabused of it, when they know that money has bought their escape before, and have been assured by their adviser that a certain sum, beyond their reach, would do so again? Many of them have paid the required bribe to their "lawyer," who has never troubled himself to offer it to the judge; and such men naturally go to prison with hearts full of rage and suspicion, not knowing whom to blame, and therefore cursing the whole world. Such a state of mind makes reform almost impossible, and breeds feelings of revenge which naturally find vent in new crimes.

There are some good people who comfort themselves with the belief that the very extremity of corruption to which all the

public affairs of New York are tending will work its own cure by so disgusting the people as to cause a reaction. But the process which is now going on debauches the public conscience almost as much as it robs the public purse. Every successive reaction is fainter. Efforts were made in 1853, 1857, 1863, and 1865 to stem the current, and each time with less energy, less unity, and less effect. Even the most respectable classes are growing callous. They are satisfied that corruption is inevitable, and in many instances are only anxious that their party should have its share of the public plunder. We have already referred to the fact that it is thought a matter of course for a judge to listen to *ex parte* representations. A judge recently told a lawyer of our acquaintance, without the least idea of having committed an impropriety, and as if it were the most natural thing in the world, that the adverse party had visited him privately, to speak about the case, almost daily for months; and his decision bore the plainest marks of the influence of these secret arguments, although no thought of corruption was in the mind of either the party or the judge. By the constant occurrence of such transactions, passing as they do without a word of censure, the conscience of the bench, the bar, and the whole community becomes enervated; and finally the utmost abominations are accepted with a mere shrug of the shoulders or a languid expression of regret. An illustration of this occurred very lately within our knowledge. One of the most respectable junior members of the bar was endeavoring to secure promotion for a certain judicial officer, when he was informed, upon authority which he could not doubt, that this officer had been guilty of some outrageous acts of plunder. Yet, believing that his own clients would not be endangered, he listened with indifference, and continued to give his support to a man whom he must have believed would make a dishonest use of his judicial position, although he himself would have utterly refused to use any corrupt influences. The same story might in substance be related of older and more eminent lawyers, in whose personal integrity the utmost confidence might justly be placed. The sense of honor in their own affairs is as strong as ever in such men; but the atmosphere in which they live has made them almost insensible to the degradation of public men. They

have ceased to expect honesty from any man in office ; and the lack of that quality in a judge excites no more surprise than the untruthfulness of a servant-girl, or the uncleanliness of a coal-heaver.

In all this there is nothing to warrant indiscriminate censure. It is all very well for lawyers in other cities, where no such state of affairs has been known, to say that *they* would not thus tolerate a degraded bench. Let them consider what they would do, if forced to endure it. Should they denounce and defy the judges ? That would be equivalent to renouncing the bar. Should they give up practice ? That would be to leave the public wholly at the mercy of unscrupulous men. Do they think that they could practise before such judges as we have described, for ten years continuously, and yet retain to the end as keen a sense of their improprieties as they had at first ? If so, they must be more than human. The bar of New York has struggled against the downward course of things to the last, and is even now generally desirous of reform. But the moral tone of the whole community is inevitably lowered by such an administration of public affairs as New York has long had ; and the wonder is that the bar retains so many good qualities, and so much desire for an upright judiciary, as it unquestionably does.

The Convention which is now revising the Constitution of the State of New York has a most solemn responsibility upon its hands. A large majority of its members undoubtedly favor such a reform of the judicial system as shall restore to the city an honest and efficient judiciary ; but they feel justly anxious for the support of their constituents. It would be a grave disaster if the reforms proposed by this body should fail at the polls. We shall not indicate to them any particular plan, but would strongly urge that, whatever plan they may adopt, it should be one which shall *manifestly* tend to secure the best men of all parties for judicial office. This is no time to seek for mere party advantages in a matter so vital to the welfare of the State, yet so far removed from national politics. Good men of all political opinions must unite upon this single issue, or the greatest city of America will soon fulfil the gloomy forebodings of the Police Commissioners, and sink into hopeless barbarism.

ART. VI. — 1. *On the Collection of Revenue.* By EDWARD ATKINSON. Boston: A. Williams & Co. 1867.

2. *Annual Report of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, Machinists, Millwrights, Smiths, and Pattern-Makers for* 1866. London.

DURING the past year the industry of the four great manufacturing countries of the world — the United States, England, France, and Belgium — has been in a state bordering on disorganization, owing to incessant strikes amongst the workmen. Trades which have hardly ever struck before, such as the hair-dressers and tailors, have struck now. Even that most ignorant and degraded portion of the European working class, the farm laborers of England, have been seized with the prevailing mania, and, after a slumber of five hundred years, have learnt to combine, and have had the audacity in some districts to ask for a rise in wages, and to refuse to work until they got it. What has made these strikes, too, the more alarming to capitalists is, that the organizations which direct them may now be said to pervade all the more highly civilized countries, and that the employer's old device of drawing labor from other places no longer avails him. The railroad and the telegraph have not simply enabled the workman to move about readily in search of employment, they have enabled him to hold his own against the master in the place in which he is. The English Trades' Unions — after having first brought the skilled labor of their own country under their control, and subjected it to a discipline which, considering by whom it has been devised and put in force, is perhaps the most remarkable social phenomenon of our day — have extended their ramifications to the Continent, and are now in alliance with similar organizations in France and Belgium, Italy and Switzerland, and have held one great "conference" at Geneva to cement it. The result is, that, when a strike occurs in any of these countries, not only is it no longer possible to put it down by importations of labor from the others, but assistance in money is freely rendered to the strikers by the members of the "International Association." An example of this co-operation has been afforded in

the case of the London and Paris tailors, who have struck almost simultaneously, and render each other mutual aid.

Europe and America are too far apart, and the conditions of labor in them differ too widely, to render concerted action between European and American workmen possible; but the Trades' Unions have, in many of the great branches of industry here, been brought to as high a degree of efficiency as in Europe. Still we doubt whether that perfect discipline which pervades the English and Continental organizations can be found in America in any of the trades, for the simple reason that in England it is supported by intense class feeling. There the workingman on a strike is not simply a laborer who wants more wages: he is a member of a distinct order in society, engaged in a sort of legal war with the other orders, and he is bound to his fellows, not simply by community of material interest, but by sentiments of caste pride and fidelity. His employer is not simply a capitalist in whose profits he is seeking a larger share: he is the member of a hostile class, which the workman does not only not hope to enter, but which, both in France and England, it is considered mean or traitorous or cowardly for him to desire to enter. This feeling, we need hardly say, does not exist in America. The social line between the laborer and the capitalist is here very faintly drawn. Most successful employers of labor have begun by being laborers themselves; most laborers hope, and may reasonably hope, to become employers. Moreover, there are in the Northern States, outside the great cities, few barriers of habit, manners, or tradition between the artisan and those for whom he works, so that he does not consider himself the member of an "order." In fact, the idea of an "order" is either unknown or unfamiliar to him. Strikes, therefore, are in the United States more of matter of business, and less of matter of sentiment, than in Europe; and the abundance of land, and the multiplicity of openings in various other walks of life which every American finds before him, naturally render him less disposed to submit to very rigid rules of discipline, whether imposed by the master or by his fellows, than the European. In other words, the success of the strike is never a matter of such vital importance to the one as it is to the other. Should

the worst come to the worst, he has the prairies behind him, — a fact which, however valueless it may be in individual cases, diffuses through every workshop an independence of feeling, a confidence in the future, of which the European knows nothing. Besides this, the American working classes are in the enjoyment of political power, and have during the last four or five years shown a disposition to use it to further the ends which in Europe can only be attained through strikes; and this, whether successful or not, naturally leads them to attach less importance to trade combinations.

In England the growing power of the Trades' Unions, now so great as to overshadow capital, and appear in the eyes of "good society" a political monster of portentous mien, has caused the issue of a Commission of Inquiry, which is sitting as we write, and taking evidence of leading members of these organizations, as to their character, aims, and mode of working. The testimony has only been published in fragments, and a series of attempts has been made by the London Times — and very unfair attempts the friends of the Trades' Unions consider them — to base on these fragments charges of tyranny, of violence, and of a desire to bring all capacities down to the same dead-level of reward, — in other words, of adopting the worst feature of French communism, and the one most likely to prove injurious to civilization. The first function of the Unions seems to be the placing of the workman on an equality with his master in the matter of contracts, so as to enable him to contract freely; the second, the supply of information to the men in different localities as to the state of trade and the rate of wages in others, so as to aid them in deciding whether they would be justified in demanding a rise, or in accepting a fall, or in changing their place of abode; the third, the relief of sick men, or superannuated men, or men on a strike; and the fourth, the prescription and enforcement of rules as to the manner of performing work. This last is the only one to which real objection has been or can be taken. Amongst these rules is one which forbids piece-work, as tending to overwork and inferior work; another which forbids a strong man or a man of extraordinary capacity from doing more than an average day's work, even for a proportionate increase

of wages, as tending to his being used as a "bell-horse," or standard to which men of inferior capacity would be compelled to work up; another which limits the number of apprentices; and several others, fixing the penalties to be incurred for any violation of the foregoing.

A very violent discussion has been raging in England over the morality of the rule which forbids the man of unusual powers from using them for his own personal advantage, either by working over hours, or doing more work than others in the same time. The Unions defend it, unjust as it seems on the surface, as simply the exaction, on behalf of a class, of the species of abnegation which is expected of every man on behalf of his family or at great crises of his country. We do not think it necessary to go into the matter here, because, as we shall try to show hereafter, these organizations are but temporary, and these rules are not likely to last longer than may be necessary to help the working class in its passage from one state of progress to another. Such criticisms of them by English economists as we have seen are evidently based on the idea that the Trades' Unions are likely to have a permanent place in the workingman's economical *régime*, and their rules to embody his social creed. But this we consider clearly a mistake. The Trades' Unions are but a levy for temporary service, and their rules are but the workingman's martial law. His true position in the body social secured, there can be hardly a doubt that the Unions will pass away, so that disquisitions on the abstract justice of their rules seem to us as much a waste of labor as discussions over the severity of the articles of war. All that can be said for them is, that they are, under present circumstances, necessary, and this is all that need be said. It may help to give some idea of the scale on which the operations of the Unions are conducted, to mention that the largest one, that of the engineers or machinists, numbers 33,600 members, with an annual increase of 2,000 or 3,000. Each member pays one shilling a week. The annual income in 1865 was $434,425, and the reserve fund in bank $700,000.

These associations, however, as well as the strikes which are going on all over the world under their auspices, derive their claims to notice rather from what they indicate than from

what they have actually accomplished. They indicate very clearly that we are entering upon the last stage in the process by which the working classes have been raised from the condition of slaves into that of freemen, and by which the last vestige of stigma will eventually be removed from the practice of "the base mechanic arts."

The law of modern social progress, as Professor Maine has pointed out, is the substitution, in nearly all relations of life, of contract for status, but there is no class of the community on which this law has acted more slowly than the working class. In archaic society everybody occupied a status provided for him by the law before he was born. He was either a slave or a Son under Power all or the greater portion of his life; the woman was always the ward of her male relatives. In primitive societies there were, no doubt, free laborers, who worked for their families; but as states grew, and industry spread, and riches accumulated, free laborers disappeared, until it is safe to say that, before the fall of the Roman Empire, nearly all the work of the Roman world was done by slaves, employed either by their owners or by persons to whom their owners hired them out, as negro slaves were so frequently hired out by owners at the South in our own day. Farm laborers, artificers, miners, domestic servants, actors, and even literary men were slaves. The free laborer had literally no place in Roman society. The conversion of the slave into the serf, which was the condition in which he was found at the dawn of modern history, was a great step in advance; but it is only within the present century that the last traces of serfdom have disappeared in Europe. In Russia, until within the last three years, some of the best mechanics were owned, as the Roman mechanics were, by persons who pocketed their wages, or forced them to compound for them; so that it may be said that, although the process begun more than a thousand years ago, it is only within the lifetime of the present generation that the substitution of contract for status has been completed. Nobody is now predestined by law to any calling or condition. When he has reached the years of discretion, he can determine what his pursuit shall be. The lives of all of us, of course within the limits prescribed by our circumstances and our capacity, are

regulated by contracts of our own making, and not by legal rules or traditions or customs.

Probably few, who have not paid very close attention to the social phenomena of our time, have noticed to what an extent this change is affecting many of the most important relations of modern life. Parents, for instance, retain, and must always retain, the legal right to regulate the conduct of their children, until the latter attain their majority. But in practice the exercise of this right is undergoing serious modifications. The advocates of implicit, blind obedience are becoming almost as rare as the advocates of corporal punishment. Children are not now expected, as they were expected fifty years ago, to do or not to do things simply because "they are told," or because they are children. Most plans of education are based on appeals to the understanding; and parents and teachers think it necessary, whenever it is possible, to give reasons for their orders or decisions, to point out the natural, and not simply the artificial, consequences of obedience or disobedience, and thus to bring the child's own will into play in the regulation of his conduct.

In like manner the institution of apprenticeship may almost be said to have disappeared from among us, at least in the form in which our ancestors were familiar with it. Half a century ago a lad, who wanted to learn a trade, was literally forced to become a bondsman for five or seven years. He was made a member of the master's family; his conduct was controlled by orders and rules from his rising to his lying down. His earnings belonged to his master, and the trades were not open to him until he had served out his time. He might be beaten or disciplined in any other way short of legal cruelty that seemed necessary to secure his obedience; and if he ran away he was advertised for, pursued, and brought back, with much the same formalities as a fugitive slave. In fact, advertisements offering rewards for the capture of runaway apprentices were not uncommon in the Northern newspapers sixty years since; and we know with what earnestness one set of interpreters of the Constitution of the United States have contended that the clause providing for the return of fugitives "held to service" applied to apprentices, and not to

slaves. But apprenticeship of this kind may now be said to be unknown. No lad will accept such a position, and few masters would like to have him work for them on any such terms. As a general rule, apprentices remain apprentices as long as they please; and in practice the master's claim on their obedience is no stronger than on that of his journeymen. In many trades, too, apprentices cannot now be had on any terms. Young men learn trades when they choose and how they choose.

So also in the relations of husband and wife, the tendency of legislation in all modern states — of course it is in some more rapid and more perceptible than in others — is to reduce marriage to an instrument for the legitimization of children simply, leaving all the relations of husband and wife which are not necessary to this end to be regulated by individual will. The common law had a status ready for the wife, into which she passed the minute the ceremony was over, and which placed both her person and property under the absolute control of her husband. In most European countries the woman is deprived, by custom, to this day, of freedom in choosing her husband; but in all of them there is every day a stronger and stronger movement towards her liberation from all legal incidents of matrimony which are not necessary to prove the paternity of her children and provide for their maintenance. One of the rights of woman, too, which is most strongly asserted in the prevailing agitation about her condition, and one which we have little doubt is rapidly obtaining recognition, is her right, even after marriage, to the control of her person in the matter of child-bearing.

We might multiply these illustrations indefinitely. Our proposition is perhaps, however, sufficiently clear, and may be summed up by saying that the tendency, both of legislation and of usage, in modern times, is to release all human beings from obligations imposed by imperative law, and to submit our social relations more and more to the dominion of contract simply.

The laborer passed out of the domain of status long ago. He has been in Western Europe, in theory, for several centuries, under the *régime* of contract; but his circumstances

have been such that he has never been really emancipated. He has always been so poor, and so ignorant and helpless, that he has never been able to assume in practice the position which the political economists have persistently assigned to him. A contract, both in law and in political economy, is an agreement entered into by two perfectly free agents, with full knowledge of its nature, and under no compulsion either to refuse it or accept it. When a political economist talks of a thing being regulated by contract, this is the kind of contract he means. When he makes his deductions from his theory of contracts, he invariably assumes that the parties to the contract have really acted freely, under no influence except that of an intelligent self-interest. The laborer has, however, since his emancipation, never been able to be a party to any such contract as this. He has, as far back as we can trace his history, been drunken, improvident, ignorant of everything but his trade; living in wretched dens, and working in foul shops, for what economists call "natural wages," that is, the wages necessary to keep him and his family alive; breeding with a brute's indifference to the future of his offspring, and always pressing with so many mouths on his means of subsistence, that a week's idleness meant starvation for himself and his wife and children. The means of locomotion were scant and costly, so that, even if there was better work to be had by changing his place of abode, he could not seek it. But whether it was to be had or not he had no means of learning. We of this generation are so used to cheap postage, the telegraph, and the newspapers, that, although we marvel much over them in our speeches and poems, very few of us realize what the condition of society was when they did not exist, how slight was the intercourse between different localities, and how largely the news which passed through the country was composed of travellers' gossip, vague, scanty, and unreliable. For all practicable purposes a laborer's market, almost down to our own day, was the district in which he lived; and it was so easy for employers to combine, and employers did combine so constantly, that in many callings dismissal by one carried with it exclusion from the service of all the others. As if, too, this tremendous power of a comparatively wealthy and intelligent

class over a poor and ignorant one was not sufficient, combinations of workmen against employers for any purpose were long prohibited by statute in England; and although this law has been modified, a workman's refusal to fulfil his contract is an offence still punishable criminally before a magistrate, while a master's can only be reached by a civil action for damages. In fact, it has been within a few weeks decided by the Queen's Bench, that a mere notice to an employer that, if he did not dismiss a non-Union man, the other workmen would strike, was "intimidation" under the statute.*

To talk of a man in this condition contracting with his employer was an abuse of language. The relation between the two was only contract in a legal sense; in a moral sense it had none of the incidents of a contract; and it is right to add, that, whatever illusions political economists may have cherished about it, the rest of the world has never cherished any whatever. To society at large, the laborer has never been a man who sold so much labor for so much money, and gave full value for what he got. He has been a kind of retainer or vassal, who was favored by being allowed to work, and from whom the employer was entitled to exact, not simply the service agreed upon, but deference and obedience with regard to the conduct of his whole life. As codes of minor morals, too, are usually framed by the employing class, the laborer

* "The first legislation which took place on the subject was in the fourteenth century, when attempts were made to check by statute the rise in wages which naturally occurred after the diminution of the population by the black death. The well-known statute of laborers limited the wages which different sorts of laborers were to receive, and made it penal in the men to demand more. This was followed by other statutes, one of which, in the reign of Elizabeth, empowered the county magistrates to fix the rate of wages in given trades from time to time as they thought proper, and this power was not legally abolished till the beginning of the present century. Another statute passed in the reign of Edward VI. forbade all 'confederacies and promises' amongst workmen to regulate wages or hours of work; and in the year 1800 a similar statute, of a more elaborate and stringent character, was passed in order to provide for the same object. There were besides a great number of statutes prohibiting strikes in particular trades. These enactments were known collectively as the Combination Laws, and they remained in force till the year 1825, causing, as may well be imagined, the utmost irritation and indignation amongst the workmen, and provoking them to enter into secret societies in defiance of the law, and to carry out their objects by every sort of violence to person, to property, and to the public peace." — *Pall Mall Gazette.*

was saddled with a variety of duties, which in no way flowed from the nature of the wares he offered for sale. The right of an employer, for instance, to the political support of his workmen, though not recognized on paper, and generally repudiated with indignation at public meetings, is nevertheless secretly held in Europe at least by nine tenths of the capitalist world; and even in America, the common saying about the folly of "quarrelling with one's bread and butter" is but the expression of a rough popular recognition of the doctrine that, when a man agrees to sell his labor, he agrees by implication to surrender his moral and social independence. Whether this theory of the laborer's position be a good or a bad one, we are not now discussing. All that we say is, that it is not the economist's theory, or, in other words, that the economist's theory of the relations of labor to capital are not supported by the facts of daily life. What I agree to do in order to escape from starvation, or to save my wife and children from starvation, or through ignorance of my ability to do anything else, I agree to do under compulsion, just as much as if I agreed to do it with a pistol at my head; and the terms I make under such circumstances are not by any means the measure of my rights, even "under the laws of trade."

When, therefore, political economists talk of wages as being fixed by the proportion which labor bears to capital at any given time and place, they presuppose a state of things which is purely ideal. The hypothesis on which this "law" rests is, that the capitalists go in a body to the market-place, where they are met by the laborers, and that there, if the amount of capital seeking profits is found to preponderate over the amount of labor seeking employment, the competition of the capitalists fixes the rate of wages; if, on the other hand, the amount of labor offered is out of proportion to the amount of capital available for its employment, the competition of the laborers fixes the rate. We know, however, that the process is never conducted with this freedom from disturbance; and a very large portion of the distrust of political economy felt by the working classes is due to the assumption of the economists that their processes are capable of as much accuracy as those of the science of mechanics. It is safe to say that, until within a

very few years, the rate of wages has, in no European country at least, been regulated in the manner here described. The most powerful regulator, and the only constant one, has been the laborer's ignorance and necessities. He always took what was offered him, and no more was offered him than was necessary to supply him with coarse food and clothing. A striking illustration of the defectiveness of the politico-economical theory on this point has just been afforded in England. A clergyman in Somersetshire found the farm laborers in his parish miserably paid, lodged, and fed, and usually ending their days in the workhouse, although they might have had nearly double wages, better treatment, and good houses, by moving away half a day's journey by railway. So he raised some money and sent some of them off. The light being thus let in, others have followed of their own accord, and the consequence has been that the remnant have had a considerable rise in their wages and great improvement in their treatment. Strikes also, organized by benevolent outsiders, have taken place amongst the same class in other counties, and with a similar result. But these laborers were too ignorant and too degraded to have made any move towards bettering their condition themselves; and it is fair to assert that, for centuries past, the rate of their wages has really been affected but little, if at all, by the demand for labor existing throughout England, or, in other words, with the proportion borne by English capital to English labor. It may, in short, be said of the laws of political economy, as is said of the municipal law, *vigilantibus non dormientibus subveniunt.*

Another illustration of the defectiveness of the basis on which political economists sometimes build their theory is afforded by the Irish land question. According to the school of social philosophers of which Mr. Lowe and the London Times may be considered fair mouthpieces, the relations of landlord and tenant in Ireland ought to be regulated, as they are regulated in England, by the "law" of demand and supply. The farmer and the land-owner are, they say, free agents: let them make their contracts to suit themselves. Let the one try to give as little as possible, and the other to get as much as possible, and they will at least come to an understanding which will fix the rent at the proper level. Now the

fact of the matter is, that, until the drain on population brought about by the emigration to America, the choice of the great body of the peasantry in Ireland lay between renting a piece of land and becoming a day-laborer; and a day-laborer in Ireland was a man who worked in fine weather for a sum barely sufficient to supply him with potatoes, and who in wet weather, in one of the rainiest climates in the world, earned nothing at all. So that on his success in renting a farm on which he could raise his own substance it depended whether he would be sure of shelter and food all the year round, or pass it in a state of semi-starvation, keeping himself and his family alive partly by casual employment and partly by beggary. It must not be forgotten, too, that farmers with capital, such as now do most of the work of cultivation in England, are a class practically unknown in Ireland. When an Irish peasant, therefore, went to bargain with the landlord for a farm, he did not go as the political economists supposed him to go, as a man looking out for an investment, and who, if he did not like farming, could fall back on consols and wait: he went in the character of a drowning man, and the bargain he made was really a bargain with a boatman to whose gunwale he was clinging for the privilege of being hauled in. If the demands of the boatman were exorbitant, the other party might, it is true, let go his hold, and wait till other boats came up, and thus secure his safety at a price justified by the number of boats in the neighborhood, and the commercial value of his own life; but then drowning men neither act nor think scientifically.

It appears, then, that, although the emancipation of the laborer in modern times removed all legal bar to his selling his labor in the best market, or, in other words, selling it for such share in the products of labor and capital as the laws of political economy entitled him to, his education and social position have been such, that, in practice, the capitalists in each locality have had a monopoly of his labor. In other words, he has been legally free while socially bound. In books and in lectures he has, it is true, since the rise of political economy, been treated as the equal of the capitalist, and is always spoken of in scientific treatises as simply the vendor of a com-

modity in open market; but in real life his position has been that of a servant with a fixed status.

Now the growth of education amongst the working classes, the increasing variety of employments, the increasing demand for labor created by the progress of discovery and invention, and the improvement in the diffusion of news and in the means of locomotion, have naturally opened their eyes to this wide divergence of the facts of their lives from the theory of political economy. They are very willing to admit that the relations of labor and capital ought to be what the economists say they are, — that the hiring of a laborer by a capitalist should simply mean the sale of a commodity in open market by one free agent to another. But then, they say, the bargain cannot and does not take place in this way. When a farmer brings his wheat to market, if he thinks the price offered too low, he carries the wheat back again to his barn, and waits patiently and comfortably for a rise. If the corn-dealer thinks the price asked by the farmer too high, he goes home, puts up his money, and waits also. After a few days or a few months, during which both parties have lived in perfect comfort, the demand of the public probably makes itself felt with sufficient emphasis to enable them to come together once more and agree upon a price. So also, when the capitalist goes into the market in quest of labor, if he finds that it costs more than he thinks it ought to cost, or more than he had calculated on paying, he withdraws, or waits, or invests in something else, or seeks labor in some other region; the only inconvenience he suffers being a temporary, and to him probably trifling, loss of returns. When the workman goes into the market with his labor, on the other hand, if he finds wages are lower than he thinks they ought to be, he cannot wait in order to subject them to the test of capitalists' competition. He has not the means of remaining idle or seeking employment elsewhere. He may have some savings, but they are all that stand between himself and sickness, or between his family and his death, and he dares not touch them. His labor all the year round is barely sufficient to support himself and those dependent on him, and a month's or a week's idleness may plunge him in want or in debt. An attempt, on the part of an

individual laborer, to bring the capitalist to terms would simply result in a contemptuous dismissal. The laws of political economy no doubt work constantly, but they work slowly; and if the laborer always waited passively for the promised result, he might never see it, or it might find him in the almshouse.

It has, therefore, been apparent to the working classes, that, even supposing the economists to state correctly the laws of their science, the workman could not live by them, unless he were by some means raised, in making his bargain, to the master's level, — unless he were enabled to treat with the capitalist on a footing of equality, as political economy supposed him to be, but as he was not. It was plain that to this level the individual workman could not raise himself in the present state of society. The only remedy was combination, the union of a body of workmen large enough, by mutual aid, to support each other in testing the market by waiting, and to subject the employer to something like the same inconvenience in waiting to which the men are subjected. It is only when these conditions are secured, that the politico-economical process for the ascertaining the true rate of wages begins. The mass of labor is then measured against the mass of capital. The laborers array themselves on one side, the capitalists on the other, and have a trial of endurance. Whichever can hold out the longest is decided to be in the right, or allowed to fix the price of labor. A strike, therefore, means simply the concerted organized abstention of the laborers in one trade and one place from work, with the view of ascertaining whether the price they have put on labor or that which the masters have put on it be the correct one, the laborers being supported out of a fund previously accumulated by themselves. They do, in fact, nothing more than all other dealers do every day, — withdraw their goods from the market when they think the prices offered lower than the state of trade warrants. But when a farmer stores his corn or a cattle-dealer leaves his oxen in the pasture for this reason, economists do not think of abusing him for it, or displaying before his eyes a calculation of the loss he has caused by not converting his wheat or his beef into human muscle, and thus increasing production and promoting human enjoyment. On the contrary, if they do not applaud his course,

they call attention with great satisfaction to the way in which his selfish regard for his own interests works for the general good.

Of course a strike is a wasteful and clumsy process; but so is war, so is all speculation for a rise. The only excuse for it is, that it is the only means of reaching the desired result. If, when a scarcity is impending, people would only foresee it, and cut down their consumption voluntarily, instead of having economy forced on them by the hoarding of speculators, much labor and waste would be saved. If, when business has been too much expanded, and credit begins to get shaky, business men would voluntarily narrow their undertakings, instead of waiting for the banks to raise their discount and restrict their accommodation, the prudent and the careless or chimerical would not suffer together as they now do. If, in short, human nature were only what it ought to be, the saving in money would be incalculable, for two thirds of our time is really spent in guarding against the consequences of folly or stupidity. Strikes are sad sights, for the same reason that armies and courts of justice and jails are sad sights.

The more excellent way, and that to which we believe and trust we are now coming, for the decision of what the rate of wages ought to be, would be for the capitalist to take the laborer into his counting-room, and show him his books, reveal to him his rate of profit, and prove to him that he could not afford to give more for his labor than he was giving. But this would be a formal acceptance of a theory of the relations between labor and capital which, until very recently, the capitalist has always scouted. He has maintained, indeed, that the interests of labor and capital are identical, — a phrase which, though often used, and by some people regarded as something exceedingly valuable, has about as much practical importance as the statement that honesty is the best policy, or that true happiness comes from virtue. The interests of labor and capital are identical in the long run, and on a great scale; but no capitalist feels them to be so, in his particular case, and on a particular day. He does not go into any business expecting to treat the laborer as a partner, and make him share in his prosperity by giving him a proportion of his profits. He ex

pects, on the contrary, to make a large portion of his profits by giving the laborer as little for his labor as possible, that is, by taking all the advantage he can, though perhaps not knowingly or designedly, of the laborer's ignorance or necessity.

It might be said, in the same way, that the interests of the cotton-grower and cotton-manufacturer are identical: so they are in the long run. It is the interest of the grower that there be plenty of manufacturers, and that they all get high prices for the finished article. It is the interest of the manufacturer that there be plenty of growers, and that there be large enough crops, and demand enough for the raw material, to encourage cultivation. But it is the interest of the manufacturer, nevertheless, to get his cotton on any particular week at the lowest possible price, without regard to the grower's necessities; and for this purpose he uses all the skill and knowledge and power of waiting he may possess. Nevertheless, both grower and the manufacturer are paid out of the same fund.

Of course, if the laborers worked for nothing for a year or two, it could be shown that by so doing they not only benefited capital, but benefited themselves, inasmuch as the greater the profits of capital, the more capital will there be hereafter for the employment of labor; and it might also be shown that capital, by bestowing all its profits for a while on labor, and thus stimulating the multiplication of laborers, prepared the way for cheap and abundant labor at some future period. But what is the use of speculations of this sort, except as an exercise for the wits? The real hard fact is, that the interests of capital and labor, in a particular year and in a particular place, are *not* identical. The capitalist makes all the profit he can out of labor, just as he does out of any other commodity; and the laborer gives as little labor as he can in return for his wages. For example, it was reported, and we believe with truth, that some of the most extensive manufactories in Rhode Island made over one hundred per cent profit during the years 1864 and 1865. These profits were enormous, so enormous that they were pretty sure not to last. When gains of this kind are to be had in any business, either production is so stimulated as to produce a glut, and cause a falling-off in prices; or so much capital is attracted into the business, that prices are lowered by

competition. But neither of these results comes very speedily. It takes a year or two to bring the one, often several years to bring the other. Men cannot and do not withdraw their capital from old channels, and put it into new ones, in a month. They wait and watch and deliberate before they go to work to build factories or put up machinery; and in the mean time those who are already in the business enjoy a practical monopoly; and yet the largeness of their profits makes no difference for the time being to the laborer. It *will* make a difference to him in the end, because, as capital is attracted to the business, the competition for labor will grow keen, and wages will rise; but the Rhode Island mills might make one hundred per cent for two or three years, and nothing during that interval except a sudden diminution in the number of available laborers would compel the mill-owners to raise wages under the ordinary working of economic laws.

Now it is easy enough to tell the laborer that, the rate of wages being regulated by the proportion borne by the number of laborers to the quantity of capital actually engaged in production, — and the capital in this particular business having undergone no increase, and the number of laborers having undergone no decrease, — he is entitled to no rise in his wages, no matter what profits may be. In the days before he knew anything about combination he would have accepted this answer as sufficient, and gone on with his toil, while his employers every day received larger and larger dividends, bought gaudier coaches and faster horses, built themselves finer houses, wore finer silks, and drank costlier wine. He would have found himself powerless. Remonstrance would have brought dismissal, and dismissal would have brought starvation. But having learnt to combine, he refuses to accept the capitalist's exposition of the laws of his condition. He insists on establishing a relation between wages and profits, not in the long run, but at once. In vain you tell him the capitalist has to provide out of the gains of profitable seasons for the loss of unprofitable seasons, and for the hazards of all seasons. He will reply, that, as the capitalist takes care of himself, so must the laborer; that the laborer's capital is his labor, and that he too must make hay while the sun shines, — must make provision in days when con-

sumption is brisk, and profits are high, and labor in demand, for days in which consumption will be dull, profits fail, and labor in no demand; that the laborer, it is true, runs no risk which would be considered by a capitalist worth mention, but he risks his all every day he rises. His capacity of earning twenty dollars a week is a very small matter, but it is all he has in the world; and in order to make it as valuable as possible, he creates, by combining with others, an artificial scarcity of the commodity in which he deals; — or to put the matter in an odd, but perfectly true economical light, the laborers unite in dismissing their employer until the latter consents to divide with them a larger share of his gains.

Here the Trades' Unions step in, and perform a most important duty, that of deciding when it is proper to strike. In the earlier days of combination, when the workingmen were less intelligent than they are now, strikes of course were frequently made when striking was absolutely useless, and when the manufacturer could not afford any advance of wages. The result was enormous loss and vexation to both parties, and often terrible suffering to the laborer. But the managers of the Trades' Unions now make it their business, not only to watch and report the rates of wages in different localities, but to watch and report upon the state of trade. They follow the markets with keen, practised eyes, note the demand and supply, and are able to compare cost of production with obtainable prices with as much accuracy as the manufacturers themselves. The managers know with all but certainty what rate of profits employers in any branch of business are making, and therefore whether they can or cannot afford, without injury, to pay higher wages; and it is only with permission from head-quarters that strikes are now made, as it is from head-quarters that the supplies of money come to support them. Moreover, — and this is a singular illustration of the conservative influence of responsibility, — the more powerful the Trades' Unions have become, and the larger the sum of money accumulated in their treasury, the smaller has been the number of strikes which have taken place under their auspices or by their direction. They are very careful not to exact of the capitalist more than his business can bear, or enough to

disgust him with it; but they do insist on his admitting the laborer at once to a share in his prosperity, instead of allowing the latter to be relegated, as he has been under the *régime* of the pure economists, to the distant period when, production having increased capital, and capital having been invested in the business in question, and the number of laborers not having changed, and the demand for labor having grown, wages should be duly raised.

We think nobody who considers the matter calmly and impartially can help wondering that economists should expect laborers to accept this statement of the law of wages, as a solace for the ills of their condition, one minute after they have discovered what combining can do for them. They have found in this a means — clumsy and imperfect, no doubt, but which, as we all see, is every year growing in efficiency — of securing for themselves in reality what political economists have assured them in theory, — an identity of interest with the capitalist, or, in other words, a participation in his profits as well as in his losses. At present the laborer does not share in his employer's prosperity unless it is long continued, while he suffers from his adversity at once. What he seeks is to share in both instantaneously, whenever they come, and whether they last longer or shorter. Of course the risks of capital are great, but so are its prizes. The success of his business to the capitalist means a fortune; to the laborer, his employer's success means simply the continuance of his daily wages. For any marked improvement in his own condition he cannot look. No matter how hard he may work, or with how much zeal for his employer's interests, he has nothing to hope from it, except the sweet consciousness of his own virtue, and the cold approval of the man he has benefited. Most capitalists look forward to retirement from trade after a few years of successful application to business; and even if this expectation be not fully justified, they enjoy throughout their career abundant opportunities for recreation, for travel, and for culture. The laborer, however, as at present situated, in nearly every country in the world, has little to look forward to except a life of constant toil; and even the soberest and most frugal and most highly paid is rarely able to save more than enough

to provide for himself in case of illness, or to secure a pittance to his family in case of his death. For books, for amusements, for any of the thousand and one distractions which sweeten the life of the class above him, nothing remains after he has clothed and fed himself and his family.

Now to say that this is part of the natural order of things, the result of the working of the laws of political economy, that it has been ordained that the laborer should receive barely enough to live on, though the man who employs him is making one hundred per cent per annum, and that he should always be paid in fixed wages, is to beg the question. This is the theory which nearly all sociologists have until now accepted, but the very object of the present agitation is to try its correctness.

How large a number of unchangeable things are only unchangeable because we have never seen anything different, has been pointed out and illustrated by philosophers over and over, and this is peculiarly true of social phenomena. Every day witnesses new discoveries in the sphere of moral duties and relations. We have seen how greatly the relations of master and servant, of parent and children, and of husband and wife, have been changed in the modern world by the growth of individualism. What we have now to see is whether we have reached the last stage of development in these relations, or whether further modifications are still possible. For several hundred years it has been accepted as one of the ultimate facts of political economy, that the laborer must be the servant, in all senses of the term, of the capitalist; but we maintain that that relation was as little determined by natural law as the relation of master and slave. What we have to see is, whether in the future he may not be the partner of the capitalist, and whether the will of the working classes, embodied in custom, may not assume the appearance and force of an economical law, and make, after a while, their participation in profits, and not daily or weekly wages, seem the natural mode of paying for labor.

When Co-operation is talked of as a remedy for the troubles between labor and capital, what is almost always meant is the co-operation of laborers with laborers, the capital being borrowed or contributed by them, and the work of superintend-

ence being done by some of their own number, elected for the purpose. There is little question that this is the form of organization to which labor is tending, and which it will ultimately assume; but it may be doubted whether the mass of laborers in any trade are yet in a sufficiently advanced state of culture — to say nothing of the material difficulties in their way — to render this possible as an immediate substitute for the present state of things. Large capitalists can always carry on business to greater advantage than small capitalists; and there is, we need hardly say, little probability that co-operative associations of workmen will, for a long time to come, be able to muster capital in large enough quantities to compete without disadvantage with such individual manufacturers as are able to secure steady labor. Moreover, the difficulty of obtaining in any association of workmen, possessing the amount of mental and moral discipline now common in that class, the requisite efficiency in general management, must for a long time to come prove serious. It has been overcome in several cases in France and England, but the number of these successes is still comparatively small. The attempts which have been made in this country have usually resulted in the conversion of the enterprise into an ordinary partnership composed of two or three individuals, and the withdrawal of their remaining members, or their falling back into the position of journeymen. Although, therefore, we look forward to seeing labor eventually organized in co-operative associations, and to seeing all the great accumulations of capital held by these associations, — and, what is more and better, to seeing a state of things in which the position of a mere hired laborer, dependent on daily wages, will be occupied only by a very small and insignificant class, and that class composed solely of the vicious and unusually unskilled or unstable, — we think the next stage in the progress of labor, and that to which the present agitation is likely to lead us before very long, will be the co-operation of laborers with capitalists, the association of the men with the master as partners, receiving in lieu of wages, or in addition to wages, a share in the profits, after the deduction of a fair, probably a high, interest on that capital, thus sharing his prosperity as well as his misfortune. This,

we venture to predict, will be the form of relation between labor and capital which will be witnessed in most manufacturing countries before very many years have passed. It has already been tried in some English factories with marked success; and although the majority of masters will of course find it very hard to fall into it, inasmuch as it involves the sacrifice of some pride, of some cherished habits, and of some anticipations of profit, which, even if not always realized, and if becoming every year more difficult to realize, as anticipations have their value. That it is possible has been proved by one or two experiments in England, where it has saved at least one firm from the ruin which was impending over them from the incessant strikes of their workmen, while since its adoption all has gone on smoothly. In Chicago, also, the experiment is being tried as the result of the confusion brought about by the eight-hour law. The Northwestern Manufacturing Company of that city has effected an arrangement by which the capital and good-will of the concern are valued at a certain round sum; on this the company reserves, after deducting taxes and insurance, ten per cent interest; the men are then to receive ordinary wages for an ordinary day's labor, the amount to be fixed by the foremen of the several departments of the company, and, besides wages, half the profits of the concern to be distributed amongst them in proportion to their wages, the other half being appropriated by the company. If trade should fall off, the number of working hours, and the rate of wages also, are to be proportionately reduced; but nobody is to be discharged for want of work, and if anybody leaves or is discharged for any other reason than want of work, and should be, at the time of his leaving, a stockholder in the company, he is bound to sell his stock to the company, and the company is bound to buy it at cost price and ten per cent per annum additional. The agreement is only made for one year, and of course it may be regarded as simply an experiment.

That it may prove successful, and that the example thus set may be imitated all over the country, every friend of humanity, and, let us add, every friend of the political system of the United States, — if the terms be not synonymous, — must

heartily desire. There is no question — and this eight-hour agitation, the Fenian agitation, and the negro confiscation agitation at the South prove it — that the mental and moral condition of the laboring classes is rapidly becoming in America what it is in Europe, the great social and political question of the day. Fifty years ago, the opportunity still presented itself to the people of the United States of trying an experiment then entirely novel, and the success of which would have been one of the greatest triumphs ever achieved in the field of social science, — the experiment of unlimited freedom of trade, of trusting, not in some things only, but in all things, to the sagacity, the foresight, the self-restraint and intelligence of the individual man. As everybody now knows who knows anything at all of the history of social science, amongst the thousand fallacies and superstitions by which the world was ridden in the Middle Ages was the fallacy that money was not only wealth, but the only real wealth; that whatever brought gold into a country enriched it, while nothing else did. From this flowed the delusion that all operations of trade which did not leave behind a large residuum in gold and silver were losing operations, and that therefore in every commercial transaction somebody must lose, that both parties could not be gainers, and that which was the gainer was to be ascertained when the account was closed, by seeing which could show most specie as the result. Spain acted on this theory in her management of her magnificent colonial empire in the New World, and flattered herself that she was laying the foundations of endless wealth, when her fleets of galleons unloaded their cargoes of precious metal on her quays. Other nations not having gold-bearing colonies acted on it in their regulations of foreign trade. The governments saw that men, when left to themselves, entered every day into transactions which did not leave behind a residuum of specie; that, in the ordinary course of trade, gold left the kingdom almost as much as it flowed into it; and that, in point of fact, the goods of foreigners seemed often to come in in greater volume and value than native goods went out, — and the difference they assumed had to be paid in gold. They therefore, perceiving the incompetence of the mass of men to manage their own business, got together knots of "statesmen"

in the different capitals of Europe; — lawyers, to whom the merchant was a vagabond trespassing on the feudal lord's domain; priests, to whom trade was but a snare set by the Devil for the unwary; and soldiers, to whom the only use of craftsmen was to equip armies and decorate courts; — and these drew up rules and ordinances informing the subjects what to sell and what to buy, what to manufacture and what not to manufacture, what might leave the kingdom and what might come into it; and they did it with the most perfect simplicity and good faith, — the most perfect confidence in their own competence. They had no more doubt of the monarch's right to regulate trade, than of his right to regulate worship. The system of interference with commerce and manufactures was but the counterpart, perhaps we should rather say the complement, of the system by which the government prescribed what their subjects ought to believe in matters spiritual. It would have been absurd for a power which professed to know what church men ought to go to, and in what form of faith the pure truth was to be found, to profess inability to show men how to get rich. It was the most natural thing in the world — to come down almost to our own time for an illustration — that, when one minister of Louis XIV. was dragooning the Huguenots into the true Church, another should be teaching the faithful how to weave and spin and dye, what trades to follow and what to avoid. When a government can decide how a man ought to save his soul, of course it knows how he ought to make his fortune.

The doctrine that freedom of trade is a good thing, or, in other words, that the work of accumulating wealth is best done by individuals following their own instincts, seems a very simple one; but it is, nevertheless, only eighty years old, and is yet only partially recognized. There is hardly one of the fallacies of the Middle Ages which has retained so strong a hold on men's minds as the idea that the government ought to act as director-general of trade and manufactures. One might have expected that it would never have succeeded in crossing the Atlantic, — that when a new community was founded here, with individual freedom as its very base, it would have been one of the first European fallacies to be laid aside. But

it nevertheless, unfortunately both for this nation and for all others, did come over, along with religious intolerance, and survived it. The men of the Revolution saw very clearly the advantages of freedom of trade within certain limits, and accordingly established it between the States, thus devoting to it a larger area and a greater variety of soil and climate than have elsewhere ever been won for it, and thus opening what has been unquestionably one of the greatest sources of the national prosperity. But with one of those failures of logic with which political history is filled, and which makes the growth of a science of history seem impossible, they did not see, and the mass of the American public does not see to this day, that what was good for the States between each other might be good for the States between them and foreigners. Everybody acknowledges that, when Massachusetts men trade freely with New York men, both are gainers, and that the establishment of custom-houses on the State line would be a great misfortune for both. But most people nevertheless, to this hour, imagine that, if Massachusetts men were allowed to trade freely with foreigners, the foreigner only would be the gainer, and the Massachusetts man would go on losing and getting into debt as long as the trade lasted, let the foreigner sell ever so cheaply. The dividing political line seems to have some obfuscating effect on the mind when it comes to deal with this sort of problem. In the case of Canada, the absurdity becomes more apparent, however, than in the case of Europe. If Canada were annexed to the United States to-morrow, free trade across the St. Lawrence would be established at once, and to everybody's satisfaction; and it would be universally accepted as self-evident that in the traffic which followed both the people of the new States and of the old States would profit. But draw the political line, — hoist the Stars and Stripes on one side and the Union Jack on the other, — and nothing will persuade most of us that, if free trade were permitted, all the profit would not fall to the Canadians and all the loss to the Americans; and yet the political line, of course, exists only in the mind, and has of itself no more real effect on the results of trade than the Milky Way.

The Democratic party, it is true, has been, during a portion

of its history, a free-trade party; but less from a belief that through freedom of trade lay the straightest road to the object of all trade, — the making of money, — than from a dread of centralization and strong government. That free trade should not have been proclaimed by the Colonies from the first hour of their independence, and steadily adhered to ever since as part and parcel of the American system, and that protection should not have been repudiated along with royalty, oligarchy, religious establishments, passports, and all other parts of the paternal system of government, must ever be considered as one of the great misfortunes of our time. This country was, of all, the best adapted to the preaching and the practice of the doctrine. The climate, the soil, the situation, the genius and habits of the people favored it, and its adoption here would have had a force and influence which its adoption in any European country now does not and cannot have. Had England or any other leading European state, two centuries ago, thrown its ports open, the world would, no doubt, have made much more rapid advances both in moral and in material progress. We may be sure that feudal ideas would have died out earlier; the soldier's trade would sooner have fallen in repute, and that of the merchant have sooner risen; the means of intercourse between different countries would have improved more quickly, because intercourse, instead of being regarded as injurious, as it is under the protective system, would have been regarded as a blessing; good feeling, too, among the nations of the earth would have been promoted, and the growth of standing armies, the great curse and scourge of modern civilization, have been prevented. But now, after five hundred years of meddling, the free-trade policy of England, as an example, produces comparatively little effect. People say, and not unnaturally, that she has only abandoned protection after it has done for her all she wanted it to do.

But it is easy enough to show that England has achieved her manufacturing supremacy, not in consequence of, but in spite of, the trammels on her industry. She has, in the first place, the great essential of manufacturing industry, — large beds of coal and iron lying side by side; she has, in the next place, a population of extraordinary energy and indepen-

dence of character. She has a government which, with all its faults and all its affectation of superior economical wisdom, has been less meddlesome than any other in Europe, and which has paid an amount of respect to individual freedom which in all other parts of Europe has been unknown. Since the termination of the Wars of the Roses, at the close of the fifteenth century, she has been the theatre of only one war. France, Germany, and Italy, during the last three hundred years, have been desolated nearly a dozen times by hostile armies. During the whole of this period no Englishman had seen a foreign soldier in England, or an army in the field, except during the Revolution of 1642, and the brief raid of 1745. That the opening of the nineteenth century found England rich as well as free, compared with all Continental nations, was no wonder; the wonder would have been if it had not.

But neither in England nor anywhere else was a full opportunity afforded of seeing what the freedom of the individual could accomplish in the art of growing rich. The first field ever offered on which the experiment could have been fairly tried was this continent. It was blessed with the greatest variety of soil and climate, with the finest ports and harbors, with the greatest extent of inland navigation, with the richest supplies of metals, of any country in the world, and had a population singularly daring, hardy, ingenious, and self-reliant, untrammelled by feudal traditions, and with the love of industry and honor of industry instilled into them with their mothers' milk. In fact this continent seemed made, and its population born, for the display, for the first time in the history of the world, of the free use of all the human faculties, for the submission of all the problems of life, social, moral, political, and economical, to the individual judgment. The opportunity was allowed to slip away; the old European path was entered upon under the influence of the old mediæval motives; — the belief that gold was the only wealth; that in trading with the foreigner, unless you sold him more in specie value than he sold you, you lost by the transaction; that, diversity of industry being necessary to sound progress, the diversity of individual taste, bent, and capacity could not be depended upon to produce it; that, manufactures being necessary

to make the nation independent of foreigners in time of war, individual energy and sagacity could not be depended on to create them; that a hundred men assembled in Washington, chosen by the chances of a ballot, knew best how each citizen ought to invest his capital; and so on, through the whole weary round of mediæval fallacies.

The result was, that the policy of building up manufactures, that is, of forcing capital and industry into channels into which they did not naturally flow, by granting partial monopolies, or offering bounties, was deliberately resorted to, in close imitation of European models, until manufactures on a large scale were forced rapidly into existence, and society in most of the large towns of the East brought back to the European standard, — divided largely into two classes, — the one great capitalists, the other day-laborers, living from hand to mouth, thousands of them dependent for "their bread and butter," as the phrase goes, upon the will of one person, and condemned to mechanical occupations in which they have no interest, and for wages which are little more than sufficient to support a somewhat cheerless and hopeless life. Agriculture has in this way been destroyed in some of the Eastern States, and, what is worse, so has commerce. Touching the effects of protection on New England, Mr. Atkinson says, in the admirable pamphlet the title of which stands at the head of this article: —

"I think Boston to-day affords a good illustration of the evils of protection. The conditions of soil, climate, and coast indicated maritime pursuits as the province of New England men; and she engaged in them chiefly until the South forced a protective tariff upon the country. As this destroyed commerce, New England developed textile manufactures before their time, and then, becoming converted to the doctrine of protection, continued to foster them by the same process. The result is, that a large amount of the capital, and a large amount of the business capacity of Boston, which should have been applied to railroads, steamships, and commerce, has gone into manufactures; consequently Boston commerce declines, and young men emigrate. Commerce would have employed the young men at home, or in voyages ending at home; but textile manufactures employ only a few treasurers, agents, or commission merchants, and a very large

force of operatives or laborers. There are too many young men for the number of places equal to their capacity, and they must migrate. I think the population of New England has not been improved by this forced establishment of textile manufactures."

The school of protectionists, of which Mr. Henry C. Carey is the chief, have been betrayed, by their servile swallowing of European ideas, into the assumption that it is necessarily a misfortune for a nation to be exclusively or in the main engaged in agricultural pursuits. This theory is based mainly on the comparisons which are to be found in most European works on social science between the town and country population, — a comparison which, as far as regards intelligence, alertness, acuteness, and receptivity, is undoubtedly unfavorable to the peasant. But then it is constantly forgotten that the European peasant is the product of one thousand years of feudalism, that he has never been provided with the means of education, that, except in Switzerland and Sweden, he has never shared in the government, or had to exercise his mind with politics, and that he has always been, and still is, overpowered by the sense of his own social inferiority. The result is, that the peasant or farmer is, in nearly all European countries, a synonyme for a lout or boor, a stupid, uninteresting, and servile animal, with foresight enough to sow, and greed enough to reap, but without any of the qualities which raise a nation much above the lowest state of civilization. The American farmer has grown up under conditions so widely different, and is himself so different, that generalizations about the industrial or social value of agriculture, based on European facts, are really of no value whatever to the American legislator. There has never existed, and does not now exist, a community so far advanced both politically and socially, so well adapted for progress of all kinds, presenting so sure a foundation for a government, and offering so fair a promise of lasting order and prosperity, as New England when it was almost wholly agricultural. We believe that there is not now, and will not be until the manufacturing industry has undergone a vast transformation, — a greater one than we look for in our time, or even in this age, — so good a school as a farming community, tolerably thickly settled, and supplied as no farming

community out of America has ever been with the means of education, for the cultivation of that stern, simple, enduring, self-reliant, self-respecting type of character, which must, after all, form the basis of any nation which seeks to do great things, or leave a shining mark in history. Town populations are quick in conception, and quick in action; but, as town populations now are, or are likely to be, for the support of a political system against the cankers of corruption and of delusion and the blandishments of oligarchy or despotism, and against disasters and dangers of all sorts, give us farmers who have been bred under it, and have learned to love it. In the three great revolutions which have perhaps done most for the preservation of political liberty in the modern world,— that of 1642 in England, and those of 1776 and 1860 in this country, — it is the agricultural population which has supplied the good cause with its stoutest, most enduring, and in fact, one might almost say, its only defenders; and the reason we take to be this, — that, whatever contrivances for the improvement of human character social or industrial science may still have in reserve, nothing has as yet been devised which gives the average man so strong a sense of his own dignity, so deep an interest in the welfare of his country, as the possession of land. It is essential to the success of a democratic government, not only that the people be educated and intelligent and equal before the law, but that the great body of individuals be so situated that they can in all things act freely on their own opinions, that they be under no restraint except that of public opinion, and that they be entirely exempt from the sense of dependence or of social inferiority, and from all but ordinary anxiety as to the future. Now no man whose bread and that of his children are dependent on the will of any other man, or who has no interest in his work except to please an employer, fulfils these conditions; a farmer of his own land does fulfil them. He is the only man, as society is at present constituted in almost all civilized countries, who can be said to be really master of himself. He is the only man to whom the smiles and frowns of every other man are of little consequence; and what is of more importance, his calling, unlike the artisan's, is one which requires the constant exer-

cise of all his faculties. He has a great variety of affairs to manage, calculations to make, and contingencies to provide for; in other words, he has his fortune completely in his own hands. His affairs, we admit, are not complicated, nor need his calculations be very abstruse, and his mind is apt to work slowly. The mechanic of the larger towns is pretty sure to have a readier wit and greater play of mind. But states are not made or saved either by ready wits or quickness of apprehension. They are built up and preserved by character, by devotion to great principles, by readiness to make great sacrifices, by independence, by courage, by the wide diffusion of the love of property and of order, by simplicity of manners, and by industry; and for these things, we repeat, we must in America, as manufacturing industry is now organized, look, not to great towns, but to the country. Freedom is a sober-suited goddess, and, as far as the world has yet gone, has shown a greater predilection for fields than for what are called, in the cant of our day, "the busy hives of industry." She has, it is true, revealed herself in great splendor in many of the most famous forums of the world, and has made many cities powerful and glorious; but her stay in streets has always been short. The only men who have succeeded in securing her favor and protection for a long line of descendants have been the farmers who for her sake held their ground at Morgarten and Granson, or charged behind Cromwell at Naseby.

Had individuals in America been left to their own devices in the matter of building up manufactures, it is possible the gross production of the country in many branches would have been less than it is now; but it is very certain that American society would have been in a healthier condition, and American industry based on a surer and more lasting foundation. An agricultural population, such as that of the Northern States sixty years ago, was sure not to confine itself to one field of enterprise exclusively. Enterprise and activity and restlessness and ingenuity, love of work and love of trying all kinds of work, were as marked features of the national character then as they are now. The American population could boast of much greater superiority to the European population than it can now.

There was sure, therefore, to have been a constant overflow from the farms of the most quick-witted, sharp-sighted, and enterprising men of the community for the creation of manufactures. They would have toiled, contrived, invented, copied, until they had brought into requisition and turned to account, one by one, all the resources of the country, — all its advantages over other countries in climate, soil, water-power, minerals, or mental or moral force; and whatever manufactures they built up would have been built up forever. They would have needed no hot-house legislation to save them. They would have flourished as naturally, and could have been counted on with as much certainty, as the wheat crop or the corn crop; and instead of being a constant source of uncertainty and anxiety and legislative corruption, as manufactures are now, they would have been one of the mainstays of our social and political system. Says Mr. Atkinson: "The most firmly established manufactures in the United States are those which have never been protected to any extent; — such as the various manufactures of wood; of boots and shoes; of heavy machinery, such as locomotives; and, above all, of agricultural implements and tools, of clothing, of sewing-machines, and so on, to the extent of the larger part of our home manufactures, some of which have grown up in spite of heavy duties on the raw materials of which they are composed." Moreover, — and this is what most concerns us in the present discussion, — they would have been built upon the American plan by men of education and intelligence and self-respect, accustomed to co-operation, to self-reliance, and to frugality, and the workmen would have compared even more favorably with our present manufacturing population than the Lowell operatives of thirty years ago with the Lowell operatives of to-day. American manufactures would then, in short, have been legitimate offshoots of American agriculture; would have grown, as it grew, in just and true relations to it; would have absorbed steadily and comfortably its surplus population; and the American ideas of man's capacity and value and needs would have reigned in the regulation of the new industry.

Our material progress, perhaps, would have been slower. When the rush of foreign immigrants began, in 1846, they

would not have found huge factories yawning for them in every direction, and great capitalists ready to enlist them in regiments to do their bidding and wait on their will. They would have been forced into betaking themselves to agriculture, the great source of the national wealth; and on farms they would have acquired the habits and learned the lessons which have made America a great nation, but which these newcomers, we fear, will be very long in learning in the streets of factory towns in which they now swarm, and in which no intelligent man can deny that they are rapidly reproducing the social diseases which are threatening the very life of more than one European state, and notably that worst of all diseases, the accumulation of large masses of capital in few hands, and the reduction of the rest of the population to servile dependence on its possessors. How much manufacturers make in a year, is but a secondary consideration for Americans. The great question for the American politician is, how are the results of production distributed. It is on the distribution of wealth, far more than on its increase, that the happiness and prosperity and liberty of states depend. Under the hiring system which now prevails, not only are large masses of the population kept in political and social dependence on a comparatively few individuals, but the faculties of workingmen are only partially brought into play; and thus the producing power of the country is seriously diminished. Of course, the ingenuity and industry and other good qualities of the laborer are in any Christian and civilized community more or less tried, no matter under what system he works. The reputation of doing good work, and the chance of promotion or increase of wages as a consequence of doing good work, are prizes which are offered in societies in which the laborer is free; but the influence of these prizes on the mass of men is, after all, only very feeble. There is really very little in the present industrial *régime* to stimulate the intelligence, excite the ambition, and sweeten the toil of ordinary mortals. The work is, after all, another man's work; the gain is to be his, and the honor of success is to be his too; and the natural result is, that the great object of the laborer, in nearly all the trades, — the matter which most occupies the thoughts of all but a few *âmes*

d'élite, as the French have so happily called them, who are to be found in every calling, — is getting to be every day more and more, not how to display most skill or diligence, but how to give least labor in return for fixed wages. This is to-day the great problem of the workingman's life.

Of the loss of productive power caused by this state of things little need be said. It can scarcely be over-estimated, although of course it would be impossible to form any estimate of it whatever. There is no such force in industry as the zeal, the eagerness, of workers. Its presence or absence often makes all the difference between national decline and prosperity, between national greatness and national weakness. The states most blessed in soil and station and numbers have been ruined for want of it; as, for instance, Spain, and Turkey, and the Southern States of the Union. Some of the smallest and least blessed by nature — as, for instance, Holland and New England — have achieved fame and power and wealth through the possession of it. The natural resources of the United States, and the natural energy of the people, — energy which is born with them, which the political institutions foster, and of which they are not likely ever to rid themselves, — are such that there is not the least probability that they will not be three hundred years hence, as they are now, a growing and thriving nation. But the great body of the people may be then, as they are now, even in the most favored country of the world, not poor in the European sense of the word, but so poor that their lives shall be over-laborious, their means of self-improvement small, their enjoyments and even their comforts scanty, and by far the greater part of their most elevating desires and aspirations unsatisfied. Mr. Atkinson obtained some statistics from Deputy-Commissioner Harland touching the number of persons in the United States paying income-tax, or, in other words, having an income of over six hundred dollars a year, in 1866; from which it appears that not over half a million out of a population of thirty-six millions have more than enough to support a family in the plainest way; of course, of these a large number must find it difficult to make ends meet at all. As long as America, although the richest country in the world, and that which presents fewest inequalities of fortune, has

this story to tell, it can hardly be said that it does not need to produce more rapidly, or in greater abundance. It cannot produce too rapidly, or in too great abundance, provided the result be well distributed; and we ought never to be content with our rate of production as long as the condition of the great body of the people is such that not only the comforts, but a fair share of the luxuries of life, of books, leisure, and means of culture, are beyond their reach. But this state of things neither this nor any other country will ever reach until the whole energies of the working population are enlisted in their work, — until, in short, it is made their own work, by their sharing in the profits of it.

The average man working for wages has only half his faculties brought into play. He has nothing to gain by extraordinary diligence, — very little to gain by extraordinary skill. His honesty even, or faithfulness, brings him no material reward. For foresight or calculation he has no need whatever, except for such small uses as provision for sickness and old age. In the causes, processes, contingencies, by which his fate is really determined, he takes absolutely no interest. Over the whole field of industry in which he is a laborer, he never raises his eyes. He works like a mole, in the darkness and underground, while his employer is playing above his head the game of speculation on which his children's bread depends. A reckless, extravagant, or incompetent employer of labor absolutely holds the comfort and subsistence of hundreds or thousands in his hands, and, under the present system, they can neither understand nor criticise his course. When he fails, or over-trades, they find themselves beggared or stinted, and that is all they know. Artillery horses do not stand more helplessly in the rear of their guns to be pelted by the pitiless fire of the enemy, than the working classes in the battle of industry behind the great manufacturing chiefs. If all goes well, they drag the cannon forward to fresh positions and fresh triumphs in a glorious gallop; if things go wrong, they leave their bones on the ground, but why and wherefore they cannot tell. A striking illustration of their ignorance of the things of all others which it most concerns them to understand — the causes of production and the relations of production to

wages — has just been afforded in the eight-hour agitation. A vast number even of the most intelligent joined in it, and carry it on to this hour, in the belief that an act of the legislature can secure a workingman the same amount of the results of labor in return for less labor.

This is a state of things which no thinking man can contemplate without concern. If the protectionist policy is persisted in, the process of assimilating American society to that of Europe must go on. The accumulation of capital in the hands of comparatively few individuals and corporations must continue and increase. Larger and larger masses of the population must every year be reduced to the condition of day-laborers, living from hand to mouth on fixed wages, catching — through dependence for their bread on the good-will of employers, and through long subjection to factory discipline and long exemption from the higher and more ennobling anxieties of life — the servile tone and servile way of thinking, and, what is worse than all, learning to consider themselves a class apart, with rights and interests opposed to or different from those of the rest of the community. This last-named tendency has already begun to influence political contests, and, if we are not greatly mistaken, its worst results are yet to be seen. To enumerate at length the dangers to republican government which may spring from this state of things would need an article to itself; but we believe that there are very few readers of the Review who cannot readily picture them without aid from us.

There is, of course, no use in lamentation over the mistakes of the past, unless it helps us in regulating our policy in the future. We cannot go back and undo the work of the last sixty years. We cannot restore American society as it was at the beginning of the century, and cannot be sure that it would be desirable to do so even if we could. But we can avoid perseverance in error; we can recognize in legislation the cardinal idea of the American system, that the great end of political institutions, the great end of all laws and ordinances, is not the accumulation of wealth simply, or the manufacture of cotton or of iron, but the development of the individual man; and that the individual man is best developed by being supplied with the means of education, and secured in the

enjoyment of the fruits of his industry, and then let alone. Granting all that can be said in favor of diversity of industry, or independence of foreigners, we still maintain that there can be no useful diversity of industry which is not produced simply by diversity of individual taste, capacity, and ambition, left to work freely; and no real independence of foreigners which is not the result simply and solely of native superiority either in energy or industry or inventiveness or in natural advantages.

This, however, is not enough, although it is all that can be done by legislation. We need besides this, to deliver us from the dangers to which the traditions of feudalism and the forcing system have exposed us, the elevation of the working classes from the condition of hired laborers, toiling without other aim than to do as little as possible, and without other reward than fixed weekly wages, into that of partners dependent for the amount of their compensation on the amount of their *immediate* production, and stimulated by self-interest into the utmost diligence and carefulness, and into the study and comprehension of the whole industrial process, — of the laws which regulate the relations of labor and capital, production and distribution, — or, in other words, into playing in society the part of men, and not of machines. This cannot be done by legislation. It must be left to the workingmen and their employers. If capitalists are wise, they will do all they can to hasten it; and if the workingmen are wise, they will give up following after politicians, and meet the capitalists in a spirit of frankness and considerateness and independence. But we trust that in their own interest, as in that of the country, they will never cease agitating and combining until the *régime* of wages, or, as we might perhaps better call it, the servile *régime*, has passed away as completely as slavery or serfdom, and until in no free country shall any men be found in the condition of mere hirelings, except those whom vice or misconduct or ignorance or want of self-restraint renders unfit for association with the honest and intelligent and self-denying.

Art. VII. — On the Testimony of Language respecting the Unity of the Human Race.

The results of the scientific inquiry of the present century have given a new aspect to all questions connected with the history of man. The grounds upon which these were formerly argued have been fully recognized as insufficient, since the revelations which geology and zoölogy and ethnology — and we might even add astronomy — have made respecting our globe and its various inhabitants. The perceived difficulty of the problem has been vastly heightened, while at the same time hopes of its final solution have been inspired, — hopes which it must be left for the future to realize or disappoint. The futility of relying upon any single kind of evidence has been well established. Men see that only the combination of all attainable testimony, from whatever source, — if even that, — is going to be sufficient to settle satisfactorily the points under discussion. Meantime, research is pushed in every direction, and controversy runs high, few being willing to wait until preliminaries are definitely settled before hastening onward to final conclusions. One of the most remote questions, that of the descent of all mankind from a single pair, is not only debated with a liveliness often rising to acrimony and violence, but is pronounced insoluble, or solved, and solved affirmatively or negatively, according to the previous opinions and prepossessions, the degree of knowledge, or the varying temperament, of the disputants. As in all matters of ethnology, so in this, the testimony of language is constantly appealed to, and confidently claimed as determining the controversy, now on this side, now on that. Considering, then, the interest of the theme, and the unsettled condition of general opinion with regard to it, we think it cannot be without use to enter into a special consideration of the attitude which linguistic science occupies toward it, and of the nature and degree of the light which we may expect to see cast upon it from researches into the history of language.

One of the first endeavors of the historical science of language is to make a genetic classification of human languages.

It strives to group together, and to hold apart from others, those tongues which show signs of having descended, by the ordinary and still subsisting processes of linguistic tradition, from a common ancestor. Such a classification is made necessary by the comparative method of research, upon which the science mainly relies for its valuable results. To set side by side parts of words, and words, and classes of words, and whole dialects, which were once the same, but have been made to differ from one another by the forces which are ever at work producing the changes of speech, and from their resemblances and differences to infer the nature and mode of action of those forces, — this is the principal occupation of the modern linguistic scholar; and from it he gets his more familiar title of "comparative philologist." The investigation of any given dialect, if rightly pursued, begins with the thorough and penetrating study of that dialect itself, and, from it as a centre, works gradually outward, embracing first its own slightly varying dialects, then extending to the other members of the group to which it belongs, then taking in a wider reach of connections; and so on, until all trustworthy indications of relationship are found to fail; — nor, indeed, stopping even there, since the comparative method, in its broadest application, includes the diverse as well as the accordant, and makes the whole sum of the phenomena of speech contribute to the full understanding of each separate phenomenon.

Thus, for example, our own English has had a long and important history of change and development upon its own ground, since it was separated from all the other Germanic dialects; of which history its present condition is the immediate product, and which is abundantly illustrated in a long series of contemporary documents, and in a variety of extant dialectic forms subsisting alongside the cultivated and lettered dialect, and so nearly resembling it as to constitute but one language with it, — one language in the only sense in which we can speak of unity of language, namely, that its speakers, whatever their differences of idiom, can converse intelligently together on subjects of the most ordinary and general interest. We know by historical evidence that the English is not indigenous in England, but was imported into the island,

some fourteen centuries ago, from the neighboring shores of Germany. We are not surprised, then, to find still occupying those shores a group of languages which, though so unlike our own that we cannot converse with the men who use them, yet show signs in every part of their grammars and vocabularies of being its kindred: we do not even feel tempted to resist the conclusion that our English had once a common life with the languages referred to. By this we mean that, at some time in the past, the ancestors of their speakers and our own ancestors formed a single community, speaking one tongue together, even as the inhabitants of Britain or of the United States do now; and that the resemblances of our present dialects are the result of a traditional transmission of the usages of that community; while our differences of speech are the effect of the discordant and divergent growth of the language employed by the different parts of the ancient community, now long separated from one another. But the group of Low-German dialects, as they are called, filling the northern shores and lowlands of Holland and Germany, shows hardly less unequivocal tokens of a like relationship with the High-German languages of Middle and Southern Germany (whereof the literary German is the principal representative), with the Scandinavian tongues of Denmark, Sweden, Norway, and Iceland, and with the long-since extinct language of the Goths, of which scanty remains are saved to us in fragments of the Bible version of Bishop Ulfilas, leader of the Goths of Mœsia in the fourth century. On comparing together all this wide range of diverse tongues, we find their discordances more numerous and prominent, and their resemblances less abundant and conspicuous, than in the narrow group of Low-German idioms; but, for all that, our conclusion is not less certain than before. There must have once existed a single Germanic language, of which all these are the altered, modernized, and diversified representatives; they constitute a single body of genealogically related forms of speech.

The great Germanic family, however, no more stands isolated in Europe than does any one of the Low-German idioms in Germany. Comparison of it with its neighbors on every side brings to light such correspondences between its usages and

materials and theirs, that we can explain them only by supposing a common tradition from a single, though much remoter, community and speech. Co-ordinate with the group of Germanic languages, as equally with them branches of a vaster family, are several other groups. There are, first, the Slavonic languages, in Southern Russia and the neighboring provinces of the German and Turkish empires; chief among them are the Old Bulgarian or Church Slavic, the Russian, the Servian, and the Polish and Bohemian. With these are most nearly allied (though more often ranked as a separate branch) a little knot of dialects belonging to insignificant peoples along the Baltic, — the Lithuanian, Lettish, and Old Prussian, — all of them precious in the eyes of the comparative philologist on account of the exceptional primitiveness of many of their words and forms. Next comes the Celtic branch, once covering with its languages a notable portion of Southern and Central Europe, now lurking in dialects of little importance, and probably doomed to speedy extinction, in the roughest and most inaccessible corners of its former domain, — in the highlands of Scotland and Wales, in a part of Ireland, and on the promontory of Brittany. It was mainly the Latin which extended itself at the expense of the Celtic; and the descendants of the Latin, the highly cultivated tongues of Italy, France, and the Spanish peninsula, with the insignificant *patois* of the Roumansh and Wallachian peasant, now make up the great Romanic branch, — the modern successor of the old Italic group, composed of the Latin and its neighbors and kindred in Italy, the Oscan, Umbrian, and others. Nearly related to the Latin, also, is the Greek, whose spread beyond its ancient limits and whose present extent fall wonderfully short of those of the Latin, notwithstanding its unequalled merits as a language, and the superior cultivation and the colonial and commercial activity of those who spoke it of old. It simply occupies the Greek peninsula, with the isles and shores of the Ægean and the encircling coasts of Asia Minor. Still farther eastward, on the elevated plateau of Iran and around its borders, lies the widely extended Persian or Iranian branch; including the ancient tongues of Persia and Bactria, and the modern Persian in all its various dialects, embracing also such outlying members as

the Armenian, the Kurdish, the Afghan, and the Ossetic in the Caucasus. One more step brings us into India, where the ancient Sanskrit, by far the oldest of all the tongues we have hitherto mentioned, along with its earlier and later descendants and kinsfolk, still filling the northern and sprinkling the southern portions of the country, composes the last branch of the family we are seeking to establish.

To the whole immense family we give the name of "Indo-European," from its two extreme members. This is the early name, which has the best right to be maintained in prevailing usage. The designation "Aryan" has been winning much currency of late, but it is a part of an objectionable nomenclature, and had better be restricted to the joint Indo-Persian branch, to which it more properly belongs. The separation of the two members of this branch took place in times only just before the dawn of history, when the Sanskrit-speaking tribes made their way out of Bactria into Northwestern India through the passes of the Hindu-Koh; and both still continue to call themselves *arya*. As a national appellation, the name is unknown farther westward.

The evidence which proves the coherence of the branches, and their unity as a family, is of the most abundant and satisfactory character. A part of it is not less palpable and unequivocal than that which demonstrates the relationship of the Germanic dialects; much more is so hidden under the disguises wrought by thousands of years of discordant growth, that it is discoverable only by the keen and practised eye of the comparative philologist, though to him just as clear and undeniable as the other. It pervades every part of their structure. It appears not in certain classes of words only, such as might be made over into the keeping of one tribe by another which should teach it a higher wisdom and superior arts of life; it is even most plainly to be read among the numerals, the personal pronouns, the names of consanguinity,—parts of the vocabulary which no race ever borrowed from another into which it was not incorporated as an integral part of the same community. It appears not only in fully developed words, not only in ultimate radical elements, but in the whole apparatus of grammatical expression,—in prefixes and suffixes,

in modes of conjugation and declension. Its manifestations are fundamental, and overlaid by the differences; not imposed upon the latter superficially, as by an external influence.

One more bond of unity connects the Indo-European languages; they are morphologically akin, alike in the most general and essential features of their linguistic structure. Amid infinite differences of detail, they present, when compared with other families, a fundamental accordance in their apprehension of the relations to be expressed in language, and in their application of means to their expression. They designate relations by separate elements, appended to a central or radical element, and these relational or formative elements are mainly suffixes, not prefixes. They possess, further, a peculiar aptitude for so combining the parts of which their words are composed as to make of them in each case an integral whole. This last is usually reckoned as their highest characteristic, in virtue of which they are to be styled "inflective," and ranked at the head of all the modes of human speech. But the ground of their superiority is to be sought rather in the totality of their structure, in its style and in the measure and harmony of the parts, than in any rule of construction, — in the result reached, rather than in the means of its attainment. Each language is the work of the race that speaks it, not less than is the national art of each race; and it could not well be that the speech of that portion of mankind which has proved itself to be, upon the whole, more highly and harmoniously gifted than any other, should not partake of the same pre-eminence.

While the seven great branches which we have described are thus incontestably related to each other, the limits of the family are nevertheless not yet strictly drawn. Other tongues may possibly yet be proved to exhibit sufficient, though more scanty and obscure, traces of the same derivation. There is one European language, the Albanian, representing the ancient Illyrian, whose right to be ranked as an Indo-European dialect is still under discussion, and bids fair to be established.

The conspicuous importance of this family, and its value as an illustration and example of linguistic classification, have led us to describe its constitution with much more fulness than can be afforded to the other families.

Second only to the Indo-European family in every claim to interest is the Semitic. Its branches fill the great peninsula of Arabia, and the neighboring parts of both Asia and Africa. The northern or Aramaic includes the languages of Syria and Assyria; the central, or Canaanitic, is composed of the Hebrew and Phœnician, with the slightly differing Punic of Carthage; the southern, or Arabic, for its chief member has the literary Arabic, with which are allied various other dialects of the peninsula; some of these, as the Himyaritic of the southwestern province, being of a markedly distinct character, more closely akin with the Ethiopic and Amharic, languages of Abyssinia, — a country which doubtless received its Semitic population by colony across the strait of Babelmandeb. Among these languages, the Mohammedan propagandism has given a wonderful extension, in comparatively modern times, to the Arabic, making it almost the rival of the Latin in geographical range.

The Semitic family, as thus constituted, is rather a knot of nearly related dialects than a family of independent and widely separated branches, like the Indo-European. The correspondence of its members, both in material and in style of fabric, is very close. Its structure, moreover, offers more exceptional and peculiar features than are elsewhere to be found in all human language. With rare exceptions, its roots contain three consonants, no more and no less, and may even be said to be composed of these alone, since the vowels with which they are united have the office of formative elements, determining grammatical relations. The radical idea depends only upon the consonants which the form contains, and their vocalization performs the part which in other languages is borne by affixes. The phenomenon is analogous with that presented in such words of our own tongue as *man* and *men*, *sit* and *set*, *sing* and *sang;* but in these we can show the difference of vowel to have been originally euphonic, brought about by the influence of external formative elements which have since been lost, while in the Semitic words no such explanation is possible, — the mode of formation there appears to our analysis to be original and primitive. If, then, on account of the internal flexion of their roots, the Semitic languages are ranked with the Indo-European as "inflective," this inclu-

sion in one morphological class does not in the least imply any genetic connection between the two families.

The limits of Semitic speech are much more a matter of dispute than those of Indo-European. Some scholars would attach to the family a considerable body of languages in Northern and Central Africa, which others regard as entirely independent of it. The dispute must be decided by the results of later and fuller investigation.

One of the African tongues sometimes claimed to be akin with the Semitic is the Egyptian, in its two forms as the old Egyptian of the hieroglyphic monuments and the more modern Coptic. It possesses none of the distinctive features of Semitic speech, as these have been above set forth, but exhibits an exceedingly simple structure, with the scantiest possible inflectional apparatus for the distinction of the parts of speech and the expression of relations. Its connection with the Semitic family is therefore asserted to lie entirely back of the peculiar development of the latter. That such a connection is possible may not be utterly denied; but it is in a very high degree improbable, and certainly not to be credited upon any evidence as yet brought forward. The Egyptian is also, with more plausibility, made the head of an African family, styled the Hamitic, comprising the Libyan or Berber dialects, a part of the Abyssinian (chief among them the Galla), and, strangely enough, the speech of the degraded Hottentot and Bushman tribes in the extreme south.

The next family which we have to notice is the Altaic or Scythian. It occupies, with its five great branches, an immense territory in Europe and Asia, stretching along almost the whole northern shore, from Norway nearly to Behring's Straits, and, in Asia especially, spreading far to the south also. Among European languages, it includes those of the Lapps and Finns in the northwest, of the Hungarians on the southeastern border of Germany, and of a number of obscure tribes which reach out into the interior of Russia from the Southern Ural; all these, with their relatives in and beyond the Ural, compose the Ugrian or Finno-Hungarian branch. The second branch, the Samoyed, likewise extends into Europe, along the bleak shores of the Northern Ocean, but is mainly Siberian.

The third, or Turkish branch, has a somewhat precarious footing on the European side of the Bosphorus, but fills Asia Minor and a vast tract eastward, clear to the heart of the Asiatic continent; while one of its members, the Yakut, stretches far to the northeast, even to the mouth of the Lena. Eastward from the Turkish tribes lie the Mongols, who, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, made their power felt and their name dreaded through nearly the whole of Asia and Europe; and beyond their northeastern frontier are to be found the Manchus, little known to us save as the invaders and conquerors of China two hundred years ago, and the present possessors of what little power and splendor yet attach to its imperial throne.

The linguistic tie which binds together the members of this wide-extended family is a far less distinct and certain one than has been shown to exist between the branches of Indo-European or of Semitic speech. It consists less in the traceable coincidences of words and forms than in a correspondence of the style of structure. The various Scythian dialects are all "agglutinative," as it is called; that is to say, they append every formative element less closely to the radical, retaining too distinct a consciousness of its independent origin and office. Their sense of the unity of the word, and of its integrity as sign of the idea which it represents, is somewhat defective. This of itself would be a very insufficient ground on which to rest a belief in the common origin of these tongues, since agglutination is a general characteristic of the great majority of human dialects, and its modes and degrees are of the widest variety. They do, however, present certain points of agreement in the style of their agglutination, sufficiently striking, perhaps, to prove, when taken in connection with the scanty discoverable traces of common roots and common inflections, the genetic relationship of at least the Ugrian, Samoyed, and Turkish branches. It seems to be conceded that no satisfactory evidences of material agreement are to be pointed out between these and the Mongol and Manchu branches; and the structure of the two latter is also so much more meagre than that of the rest, that it is safest to regard the family as of doubtful limits until after more mature investi-

gation. It is hardly necessary to say further that the classification which combines all these and most of the other languages of Asia and of the Pacific into one huge mass, calling it "Turanian," and assigning it the agglutinative structure as its sole and sufficient characteristic, is wholly unscientific and untrustworthy. The original association of the name "Turanian" with such a classification is reason enough why it should be strictly rejected from the vocabulary of linguistic ethnology.

As further investigation may reduce the present accepted limits of the Scythian family, so it may also considerably extend them. The group which they are most likely to be hereafter made to include is that of the so-called Dravidian languages of Southern India, belonging to the races which our own kindred dispossessed by their invasion and conquest of the North. Their chief is the Tamil. Then there are the dialects of the peninsulas and islands of Northeastern Asia, respecting which not enough is known at present to determine the question of their relationship with one another or with any recognized family. The only one among them which possesses importance is the Japanese. Once more, in the border-lands between the central plateau of Asia and the peninsulas of India and Farther India is a chaos of varying dialects, some of which seem to form a transition step between a rudely agglutinative and a monosyllabic structure, while others are distinctly of the one or of the other class. A part of these may yet be proved to be of Scythian kindred.

The southeastern corner of the continent, including China and Farther India, is occupied by languages which are strictly monosyllabic. They appear to have remained in the condition which *a priori* reasoning and induction from the facts of language alike show to have been the forerunner of both agglutinative and inflective speech, without ever having made that combination of words, with final reduction of one of them to a purely formal significance, whereby has been produced the grammatical apparatus of other tongues. Their words are roots, variously combined into phrases, sometimes assuming a relational value, like our auxiliaries and particles of various kinds, sometimes forming combinations analogous with our compound words, but yet never losing their individuality and

independence. The Chinese itself, especially in its ancient literary style, offers the purest known type of the monosyllabic or "isolating" structure, as it is also incomparably the most important, the most cultivated, and the highest in developed capacity in the family. Here, again, the family tie is mainly a morphological one; the material differences of the Siamese and Burmese, for instance, from one another and from the Chinese, are too great to allow of their being proved related by correspondences of words. But the structural accordance is in this case, evidently, a pretty sure sign of genetic connection; finding all the monosyllabic languages in the world crowded together in one corner of a single continent, we can hardly help pronouncing them descendants of a common original.

The islands of the Pacific and Indian Oceans, from Madagascar to Easter Island, from New Zealand to Formosa, are mainly filled with the distinctly related dialects of a single family, the Malay-Polynesian, — languages of exceedingly simple phonetic structure, of very scanty grammar, and of resources in every way limited. Within their wide territory, however, are also included the Melanesian family, belonging to the black or *negrito* races, the Alfora of Australia, and perhaps other independent groups, as yet undetermined. Unlike the other languages we have thus far considered, these rude dialects tend to the use of prefixes more than of suffixes.

The same peculiarity is in a yet higher degree characteristic of the South African family, which fills all the southern half of that great continent. Their words and forms, instead of exhibiting an accordance of termination, like Latin and Greek, correspond at the beginning, by the use of the same or related prefixes. The other African tongues (excepting those of which we have before spoken) are hitherto less distinctly classified, and their kind and degree of relationship undetermined.

There remains, of the families of first rank, only a single other to be noticed; namely, the one (if, indeed, it be but one) whose dialects cover the continent of America. The present prevailing belief is, that all the aboriginal American tongues, from the Arctic Ocean to Cape Horn, may be ranked as ultimately related; but it is a belief held provisionally rather than with full confidence, and which may be overthrown by the

results of future researches. It avowedly rests, not upon the possession by all these dialects of a common fund of material, but upon morphological correspondences alone. They are divided into a considerable number of groups, which, though the cohesion of their own members is sufficiently clear, do not present with one another more verbal correspondences than could be fully accounted for as the result of accident. But the exceptionally changeful character of American languages is fully recognized; the processes of linguistic destruction and new creation are seen to go on in many of them at a rate unknown elsewhere; and there is no impassable obstacle, at least, in the way of our supposing that they may preserve in the general plan of their structure signs of an ultimate identity which decay and fresh growth have caused to be no longer traceable in their material. Their general characteristic is, that they are more or less "polysynthetic" or "incorporative"; they tend to the piling up of the members of the sentence within the fabric of the verb, — to the fusion of the whole sentence together, as it were, into a single word. Whether this tendency be sufficiently distinctive in its character, and clearly enough marked amid the very great differences of structure which distinguish the American idioms, to be relied on as sufficient proof of their unity, must, as we have said, be left to be settled when the science of language shall be further perfected.

A single European language, the only one which we have left as yet unclassified, also shares a polysynthetic character, but develops it in quite a different form. This language is the Basque, descended from the ancient Iberian, and now occupying a narrow district in the Pyrenees, at the western end of the border between France and Spain. It is invested with no slight degree of interest by the possibility that it is the solitary relic of some widely extended family which occupied a greater or less part of Southern Europe before the intrusion of the Indo-European races. So far as is yet known, it stands entirely isolated, with neither nearer nor more distant traceable relatives in all the earth. Another such isolated dialect is the Etruscan, now long since extinguished by the spread of the Latin; and others are already known, or may yet be discovered, in other parts of the world.

This brief review of the scheme of genetic classification of human tongues, as thus far established by linguistic scholars, and of the grounds upon which it is founded, was necessary in order to prepare the way for an intelligent examination of our main subject. We are now prepared to inquire, What is the ultimate scope and bearing of the division into families? Does it separate human language into branches which must have been independent from the very beginning? Does linguistic science merely fail to find hitherto any bond of connection between the families, or does it see the impossibility of ever discovering any, or does it even perceive that no such bond can ever have existed? These are questions to which, as we think, it will not be difficult to find tolerably satisfactory replies, though they may not be altogether of a nature to gratify the eager seeker after categorical knowledge respecting the beginnings of human history.

To show, in the first place, that linguistic science can never assert the non-existence of an historical tie through all human language, and can, therefore, never claim to prove the ultimate variety of human races, will be no long or difficult task. That science regards language as something which has grown up, in the manner of an institution, out of weak and scanty beginnings; it is a development from germs; it started with simple roots, of brief shape and rude content, by the combinations of which both parts of speech and grammatical forms came later into being. The whole process has everywhere gone on under the control of the same forces which are even now active in every part of all human tongues. Language has been, and is still, in a state of incessant change, undergoing adaptation to the varying needs of its speakers, representing their varying knowledge and insight, worn out and renewed in obedience to impulses acting in their minds. We see at work among us and around us all the causes which bring about the divergence into dialects of what was once a homogeneous tongue, and the continually increasing difference of these dialects; we can read their effect in the whole recorded history of language; and we infer still further, that no small part of all the existing discordances of speech among men are the result, not of original diversity, but of discordant growth. But we cannot

presume to set any limits to the extent to which languages once the same may have grown apart from one another. If English, Scottish, Dutch, and Frisian are so unlike one another as they are, simply because the peoples that speak them, having once formed parts of a single community, have now for a long time been separate communities; if English, German, Icelandic, and Gothic are still more unlike, merely by reason of a similar separation of yet longer continuance; if, once more, the vastly greater dissimilarity of English, Welsh, Russian, Persian, and Hindustani demands for its sufficient explanation only a greater prolongation of action, and perhaps an intensified activity, of the same differentiating causes, — then no linguist, surely, may ever venture to assert that even the widest and deepest differences which keep apart English, Arabic, Turkish, Hawaiian, and Cherokee must be of a fundamentally different character, absolutely ultimate and underived. It matters not how small an angle two lines starting from the same point may make with one another; if followed far enough, their extremities will come to be so far apart that no aids to vision will enable the observer to see the one from the other. What opinion we may hold respecting the origin of the first germs of speech is here of no consequence. If we suppose them to have been miraculously created and placed in the mouths of the first ancestors of men, still nothing in the character of their existing descendants would justify us in assuming that different sets of them must have been imparted to different pairs, or groups, of ancestors. And the case is yet clearer, if we take the other view, if we hold the roots to have been originated by the same agency which has brought about their later combinations and mutations, — by men, namely, using legitimately and naturally the faculties with which they have been endowed, under the guidance of the instincts and impulses implanted in them. This is the doctrine toward which linguistic students are almost irresistibly borne as the result of their investigations, and it implies such conditions in the earliest stages of language-making as would exclude all dogmatic assertion of necessary resemblances in later language. For, in the first place, it is impossible to say how long a time the race may have required for its emergence from a state of

mutism, how slow of elaboration may have been even the earliest imperfect germs of speech, and, again, how long all human language may have remained nearly stationary in this its inceptive stage, and to what transformation its material may have been subjected before the production of grammatical forms began. Certainly, it is entirely conceivable that the human race, being one, should have parted into disjoined and thenceforth disconnected tribes before the formation of any language which was so far developed, and of so fixed forms, that its fragments could be traced in the later dialects of the sundered portions.

These obvious possibilities forbid the linguist to claim that he can prove from the facts of language the variety of origin of the human species. Among all the known and the imaginable forms of speech, present and past, there are no discordances which are not, to his apprehension, reconcilable with the hypothesis of the unity of race, — allowing the truth of that view of the nature and history of speech which is forced upon him by his researches into its structure. No one, upon the ground of linguistic investigations alone, will ever be able to bear competent witness against the descent of all mankind from a single pair.

That no one, upon the same grounds, can ever bear witness in favor of such descent is, we think, equally demonstrable, although not by so simple and direct an argument, and although, for that reason, general opinion may fairly continue at variance upon the point for some time to come, until more of the fundamental facts and principles of linguistic science shall have been firmly established and universally accepted than is the case at present. We have here no theoretic impossibility to rely on,—no direct inference from necessary conditions, cutting off all controversy. As the linguist is compelled to allow that a unique race may have parted into branches before the development of abiding germs of speech, so he must also admit the possibility (even excluding the supposition of an immediate miraculous communication of a language possessing some degree of development) that the race may have clung together so long, or the growth of its speech have been so rapid, that, even prior to its earliest separation, a common dialect had been elaborated,

the traces of which no lapse of time, with all its accompanying changes, could entirely obliterate. Nay, he was bound to keep that possibility distinctly before his mind in all his researches, to cherish the hope of making language prove community of blood in all the members of the human family, until conscientious study should show the hope to be groundless. The question was one of fact, of what existing and accessible testimony was competent to prove: it was to be settled only by investigation. But we confidently claim that investigation, limited as its range and penetration have hitherto confessedly been, has already put us in condition to declare the evidence incompetent, and the thesis incapable of proof.

The genetical classification, as we have drawn it out above, represents the utmost that linguistic scholars have yet been able to do in the way of tracing out affinities among human languages. The limits of each family are extended as widely as the examined evidences permit. This might, however, be thought to be merely provisional, the work of linguistic science in its first stage of activity, and likely one day to be perfected by the demonstration that the families are but branches of a vaster family, — just as, for instance, Germanic, Slavonic, and Celtic languages, once deemed irreconcilably diverse, have been demonstrated to be descendants of one stock. But there are insuperable difficulties, already clearly to be perceived, lying in the way of such an extension and perfection of the classification.

It will be noticed that the unity of the established families of language rests either upon a combination of material and morphological correspondences, or upon morphological alone. No family exhibits a correspondence of material along with a fundamental diversity of fabric. That is to say, the families are composed of those dialects which show traceable evidences of a common historic development; which appear to have grown together out of the radical stage, unless, as in the case of the monosyllabic family, they have together remained stationary in that stage; which possess, at least in part, the same grammatical structure. Accordance in respect to the ultimate basis of the structure, the radical germs themselves, has not been made a fruitful ground of classification. Nay, it even appears that style of fabric is in some cases more persistent than mate-

rial; since several of the families — as the monosyllabic, the American, the Scythian — are held together only by a morphological tie, their material concordances being too scanty and doubtful to prove anything. How, then, are we to proceed to combine the families together into one, when we have no longer morphological resemblances to depend upon, but must content ourselves with material alone? We know that the monosyllabic, agglutinative, and inflective structures represent three successive stages in the progressive development of human speech, — stages which are all illustrated in the history of our own family, since this started from monosyllabic roots, and has reached no inflective forms except through the medium of agglutination. We may regard, then, the Chinese, Scythian, and Indo-European as theoretically possible grades of the same linguistic history, the Chinese having failed of all growth, and the Scythian having remained fixed in the intermediate grade; but when we come to attempt the conversion of this theoretic possibility into a demonstrated fact, we are balked by the imperfection of speech as an historical record, — an imperfection growing out of its inherent changefulness. The words and forms of the Scythian languages have altered so much since the separation of the great branches, that they are no longer to be satisfactorily identified with one another; and even if we suppose (what is not, perhaps, impossible) that the progress of research will later render possible such identifications, we are not at all authorized to presume that the yet further identifications with Indo-European words and forms are within our reach. Suppose, however, for the sake of the argument, that these have been reached: we then have still left the necessity of finding analogues for them among the materials of the Chinese, which are no developed forms, but roots only, and roots which have been subjected to such variation that their correspondences are insufficient to prove the ultimate relationship of the Chinese with the other monosyllabic languages of Southeastern Asia, its next of kin! Surely, this is such an accumulation of difficulties as creates an impassable barrier in the way of the linguistic investigator. And it is not alone when the Chinese is brought in as one of the terms of the comparison, that it is necessary to go back to ultimate roots for matter to compare.

The whole structure of many of the families is so diverse, that we see clearly the impossibility of their having shared the same history since their development of forms and parts of speech began. The agglutination of the Polynesian or South African languages, or the polysynthesis of the Basque or American, does not constitute even a possible middle step between monosyllabism and Indo-European inflection; all these are developments in quite other directions. Indeed, the same is true of Semitic inflection, the nearest neighbor and morphological analogue of our own speech; the whole system of Semitic grammar, its varying vocalization of triliteral consonantal roots, is so unlike that of any other family, that there can be no thought of connecting the one with the other. Until we can get behind these apparently ultimate characteristics, can show the Semitic roots themselves to be a development out of something simpler and more analogous with the radical germs of the other divisions of human speech, all thought of proving Semitic language akin with the rest, or with any of them, must be abandoned.

Coincidences of ultimate radicals, then, are the only hope of him who would prove all human languages related. But to give the investigation this form is, as we have already in part shown, equivalent to abandoning it as hopeless. To trace out the roots of any given family, in their primitive form and meaning, is a task whose gravity the profoundest investigators of language are best able to appreciate. There is no living and growing tongue whose stores of expression are not constantly undergoing enrichment by the addition of new apparent roots, of various derivation, which, having been once brought in, and mobilized by combination with the inflectional apparatus which the language possesses, are thenceforth unrecognizable as modern intruders. Thus, our *count*, from which we form *counts*, *counted*, *counting*, *counter*, and so on, looks as ancient and genuine as *help*, from which come *helps*, *helped*, *helping*, and *helper;* but we happen to know, by historical evidence, that *help* is older than the very earliest separation of the Germanic languages, at least, while *count*, coming through the French *compter* from the Latin *computare*, is a very late immigrant into our speech. Of the same age as *count*, and of equally unsuspicious seeming, are *preach* from *predicare*, *vend* from

venumdare, *blame* from Greek *blasphēmein*, and a host of others. It is only historical evidence, such as the comparison of kindred and older dialects, that enables us in any tongue to separate and distinguish the newer and older formations. This evidence we happen to have in exceptional abundance in the Indo-European family; the great variety of its recorded dialects, and the high antiquity of some among them, enable us to follow out, to a noteworthy extent, their historic growth. Yet even here, but for the remarkable character of the Sanskrit, its wonderful conservation of original form and meaning, our knowledge of that stage in our language out of which its present grammatical structure is a development would be both scanty and doubtful. And what, after all, is the result we have reached by the aid of all these special facilities? We are able to set up a list of radicals which we can claim to have constituted the nuclei of the Indo-European vocabulary during the period of its unity; and we have at the same time traced the formative elements which are combined with them so nearly back into the independent roots out of which they grew, that we are confident of being not far from the primitive stage, confident that the radicals we find are at least in part those which were anterior to grammatical development, and that in part they are analogous with the latter. The scholar who asserts more than this, who sets up any given list as absolutely primitive, is far more bold than prudent. Many of the accepted Indo-European roots have an aspect which is very far from primitive, and of some we are sure that they are products of processes of development. There is *man*, 'think,' for instance, which, in such derivatives as Latin *men-s*, *me-min-i*, *mon-eo*, Greek *menos*, *man-tis*, Lithuanian *men-û*, Gothic *man*, German *meinen*, our *I mean*, approves itself as a common Indo-European possession, but which is fully recognized as a secondary form of the root *mā*, possessing the physical significance of 'making' or of 'measuring.' Some linguistic scholars go much further than others in their attempts at analyzing the roots of our family, and referring them to simpler elements. There are those who are unwilling to believe that any absolutely original root can have ended otherwise than with a vowel, or begun with more than a single consonant, and who therefore pronounce all

apparent radicals not conforming with this norm to be the product of composition, or of fusion with formative syllables. Without entering into any inquiry as to the justice of such extreme views, or criticising the work of the root-analysts, we may at any rate concede that the results of growth are to be seen among even the earliest traceable historical roots, and that our search after the absolutely original in the speech of our ancestors is a task of the most obscure and difficult character.

As soon as we leave the languages of our own connection, and take up those for which the recorded means of historical research are less ample, our quest for ultimate roots becomes yet more hopeless. Who shall be so sanguine as to expect ever to discover, for example, amid the blind confusion of the Melanesian, the African, or the American dialects, — in which dissolution and reconstruction go on with such abnormal rapidity that, as it is said, a language changes past intelligence in two or three generations, and in a few hundred years may lose nearly all traceable remains of its former substance, — the radical elements which have lain at the basis of their common development? Yet this is what has to be accomplished by him who would prove the unity of human speech. There are not a few philologists (and among them some whose opinions are worthy of high respect) who hold that correspondences enough have been found between Indo-European and Semitic roots to prove the ultimate connection of the two families; but the number is yet greater of those who think that such persons have under-estimated the difficulty of the task they have undertaken, and satisfied themselves with superficial resemblances which a fuller knowledge will show to be illusive; that the conclusion they have reached is by no means strictly linguistic, but founded in no small part on considerations of another character, — as upon the geographical neighborhood of the peoples speaking these two classes of languages, their resemblance in physical structure and mental capacity, their position as the two foremost white races, joint leaders in the world's history, and an apparent likeness between the traditions handed down by some nations of each respecting their earliest homes and fates; and that, if the same correspondences were found to exist, along with the same differ-

ences, between our languages and those of some congeries of Polynesian or African tribes, they would at once be dismissed as of no value or account. But as regards the point now under discussion, the admission of a genetic tie between these two families, or even between these and the Egyptian, the Scythian, and the Chinese, would make no manner of difference: there would still remain the impossibility of extending a like tie to the other great families.

If, indeed, the material of language were of such a nature as to bear the utmost refinement of analysis, we might hope that, by bringing to bear upon it an ever more acute and skilled attention, we should be able to make it yield up more and more of the secrets of its origin and history. The simple constituents of material substances are discoverable by the chemist's art, no matter how complicated the combinations into which they enter; and he devises from time to time some new means, like the spectral analysis, which enables him to test their presence with a delicacy and certainty before unknown. But with the subject of the linguist's labors the case is very different; a limit, fixed by natural and necessary conditions, is very soon reached, beyond which acuteness and skill are of no further avail. And, in at least a part of the existing classification of languages, this limit has been reached. A brief exposition will, we think, make this clear to the apprehension of all.

Processes of differentiation and dissimilation are constantly at work in every part of language, altering both the form and the meaning of its constituent words. The degree of alteration which they may effect, and the variety of their results, are practically as well as theoretically unlimited. They can bring utter apparent diversity out of original identity; they can impress an apparent likeness upon original diversity. Hence the difficulties which beset etymological science, its abuse by the unlearned and incautious, the frequent seeming arbitrariness and violence of its procedures, even in skilled and scientific hands. Voltaire's witty and oft-quoted saying, that, in etymologizing, the vowels are of no account at all, and the consonants of very little (to which he might have added, that the meaning is equally a matter of indifference),

was true enough as regarded the science of his day; but we must also confess that it is not without a certain applicability to that of our own times. Even modern etymology acknowledges that two words can hardly be so different in form or in significance, or in both, that there is not a possibility of their being proved descendants of the same word; any sound, any shade of idea, may pass by successive changes into any other. The difference (and it is an immense one) between the old haphazard style of etymologizing and the modern scientific method lies chiefly in this, that the latter, while allowing everything to be theoretically possible, accepts nothing as real which is not proved such by sufficient evidence; it brings to bear upon each individual case a wide circle of related facts; it imposes upon the student the necessity of extended comparison and cautious deduction; it requires of him that he be careful to inform himself, as thoroughly as circumstances allow, respecting the history of every word with which he deals.

Two opposing possibilities, therefore, trouble the etymologist's researches, and cast doubt upon his conclusions. On the one hand, forms apparently unconnected may turn out to be transformations of the same original; since, for example, the French *évêque* and the English *bishop*, words which have not a single sound or letter in common, are yet both descended, and within no very long time, from the Greek word *episkopos*, 'overseer';* since our *alms* comes from the Greek *eleēmosunē;* since our *sister* and the Persian *khāhar* are the same word; since the Latin *filius* has become in Spanish *hijo* (pronounced *ee-'ho*); and so on. On the other hand (what is of yet more important bearing upon the topic we are considering), he must always be mindful that an apparent coincidence between words which he is comparing may be accidental and superficial only, hiding an utter historic diversity. How easy it is for words of different origin to arrive at a final identity of form, as the result of their phonetic changes, is made evident enough by

* *Évêque*, earlier *evesque, evesc*, represents the syllables *episk-*, while *bishop*, earlier *biskop*, represents the syllables *-piskop-*. Each has saved, and still accents, the accented syllable of the original; but the French, whose words are prevailingly accented on the final, has dropped off all that followed it; while the Germanic tongues, accenting usually the penult in words of this structure, has retained the succeeding syllable.

the numerous homonymes, words pronounced alike but having a different derivation and meaning, which our own language contains; see, for instance, our various *found*'s, and *sound*'s, and *meet*'s, and *to*'s, and *cleave*'s, and *page*'s. Such fortuitous coincidences are not less liable to occur between the vocables of different tongues than between those of the same tongue. And it is by no means infrequently the case, that, along with a coincidence, or a new correspondence, or a remoter analogy of sound, there is also an analogy or correspondence or coincidence of meaning, — one so nearly resembling that which would be the natural effect of a genetic relationship between the two words compared, as to give us an impression that they must be related, when in fact they have nothing to do with one another. Resemblances of this sort, of every degree of closeness, do actually appear in abundance among languages related and unrelated, demonstrably as the result of accident alone, being mistaken for evidences of historical connection only by incompetent or heedless inquirers.

Thus, to cite but an example or two, an enterprising etymologist, turning over the pages of his Hebrew lexicon, discovers that the Hebrew root *kophar* means 'cover,' and he is at once struck with this plain proof of the original identity of Hebrew and English; whereas, if he only looks a little into the history of the English word, he finds that it comes through the Old French *covrir*, from the Latin *coöperire*, made up of *con* and *operire;* which latter is gotten, by two or three steps of derivation and composition, from a root *par*, 'pass': and this puts upon him the necessity, either of giving up his fancied identification, or of showing it to be probable, or at least possible, that the Hebrew word descended, through a like succession of steps, from a like original. Another word-genealogist finds that *lars* in ancient Etruscan meant 'a chief, a head man,' and he parades it as an evidence that the Etruscan was, after all, an Indo-European language; for is not *lars* clearly the same word with the Scottish *laird*, our *lord?* He is simply regardless of the fact that *laird* and *lord* are the altered modern representatives of the Anglo-Saxon *hlaford*, with which *lars* obviously has as little to do as with *brigadier-general* or *deputy-sheriff*. A Polynesian scholar, intent on

proving that South-Sea-Islanders and Indo-Europeans are tribes of the same lineage, points out the almost exact coincidence of the Polynesian *mata* and the Modern Greek *mati*, both signifying 'eye'; which is just as sensible as if he were to compare a (hypothetical) Polynesian *busa*, 'a four-wheeled vehicle,' with our '*bus* (for *omnibus*); for *mati* in Greek is abbreviated from *ommation*, diminutive of *omma*, 'eye,' and has lost its originally significant part, the syllable *om*, representing the root *op*, 'see.'

The fact is well established, that there are no two languages upon the face of the earth, of however discordant origin, between whose vocabularies may not be drawn out, by diligent search, a goodly number of these false analogies of both form and meaning, seeming indications of relationship, which a little historical knowledge, when it is to be had, at once shows to be delusive, and which have no title to be regarded as otherwise than delusive, even if we have not the means of proving their falsity. Hence the evidences of linguistic connection are essentially cumulative in their character. The first processes of comparison by which it is sought to establish the position and relations of an unclassed language are tentative merely; the value of the resemblances they bring to light is for a time questionable. With every new analogy which the linguist's researches elicit, his confidence in the genuineness of those already found is increased. And when, examining each separate fact in all the light that he can cast upon it, from sources near and distant, he has at length fully satisfied himself that two tongues are fundamentally related, their whole mutual aspect is thereby modified; he becomes expectant of signs of relationship everywhere, and looks for them in phenomena which would not otherwise attract his attention for a moment. When, on the contrary, an orderly and thorough examination, proceeding from the nearer to the remoter connections, has demonstrated the position of two languages in two diverse families, the weight of historic probability is shifted to the other scale, and makes directly against the interpretation of their surface resemblances as the effect of anything but accident or borrowing. It is only necessary to cast out of sight general considerations like these, and to assume liberally such

phonetic transitions, and transitions of meaning, as have been proved to occur somewhere else in the vast round of human speech, and we may find half the vocabulary of any given tongue hidden in that of any other.

Dean Swift has ridiculed the folly which amuses itself with this sort of etymologizing, in a well-known caricature, wherein he derives the names of ancient classic worthies from honest modern English elements, explaining *Achilles* as 'a kill-ease,' *Hector* as 'hacked-tore,' *Alexander the Great* as 'all eggs under the grate!' and so on. This is sufficiently absurd; and yet, save that its absurdity is made more palpable to us by being put into terms of languages which we know well, it is hardly worse than what has been done, and is still done, in all soberness, by men pretending to the name of linguistic scholars. It exemplifies only a somewhat unscrupulous application of the principle that a verbal resemblance is a verbal resemblance, no matter where it occurs, and proves just as much in one case as in another. It is even now possible for a student to take the vocabulary of an African language, and sit deliberately down to see what words of the various other languages known to him he can explain out of it, producing a batch of atrocious identifications whereof the following are specimens:* *abetele*, 'a begging beforehand' (defined by the comparer himself as composed of *a*, formative prefix, *be*, 'beg,' and *tele*, 'previously'), and German *betteln*, 'beg' (from the simpler root *bit*, *bet*, our 'bid'); *idaro*, 'that which becomes collected into a mass,' and English *dross; basile*, 'landlord' (*ba* for *oba*, 'master,' *si*, 'of,' and *ile*, 'land'), and Greek *basileus*, 'king'! And the comparer, who is a profound mathematician, and specially versed in the doctrine of chances, gravely informs us that the calculated chances against the merely accidental character of the last coincidence are "at least a hundred million to one"! More than one unsound linguist has misled himself and others by calculating, in the strictest accordance with mathematical rules, how many thousand or million chances there are against the same word's meaning the same thing in two different and unconnected languages.

* See Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, of Philadelphia, Vol. XIII. (1865), p. 45, *seq.*

The calculation is futile, and its result a fallacy. The indications of linguistic relationship are not to be reduced to precise mathematical expression. If words were wholly independent entities, instead of belonging to families of connected derivatives; if they were of such precise constitution and application as so many chemical formulas; if the things they designated were distinct and separate individualities, like fixed stars, or mineral species, or geographical localities, — then the calculation of chances would be in place respecting them. But no one of these things is true. Linguistic correspondences are not determined by identities or close resemblances of form combined with identities or close resemblances of meaning; forms may differ as much as *évêque* and *bishop*, or *hijo* and *filius;* meanings may differ as much as *become*, 'come to be,' *become*, 'suit,' and German *bekommen*, 'get,' or as *candid* and *candidate;* form and meaning may differ together to any extent, and yet the words may be one and the same. Not agreement, but such accordance, or discordance, as is proved by supporting facts to have its ground in original identity, makes satisfactory evidence of common descent in language.

The wide prevalence of accidental analogies, phonetic and significant, between words historically unrelated, is sufficiently and strikingly attested by the thousands and tens of thousands of false etymologies with which all linguistic literature, ancient and modern, teems; the majority of which, perhaps, have a greater *prima facie* plausibility than some of those which we have cited, or than numberless others of the true etymologies established, upon sufficient evidence, by the scientific student of language. It is little to say that nearly every word of every known language would be found to admit of a false derivation, which, if outside appearances only were regarded, and all historical investigation ruled out, would average as good in seeming as its real derivation.

This, then, is the grand practical difficulty in the way of him who would push to the very extreme, back into the obscurities of its earliest stage of growth, his analysis and identification of the elements of language. With every remove from the period of common unity of two languages, a part of the evidence which should demonstrate that unity is obliterated or

obscured; until finally the inherited points of resemblance between them are not enough to create a reasonable presumption in favor of their own historic reality, — they are not to be distinguished from the possible effects of chance. That is to say, there may be two related tongues, the genuine signs of whose relationship shall be less apparent than the merely accidental and delusive; or than those of the latter class which may be traced out between two other tongues which derive themselves from independent origins. Of course, when this point is reached, linguistic testimony fails us; it no longer has force to prove anything to our satisfaction. And it is actually reached long before we come to holding together and comparing the material of the families of language most diverse from one another.

For these reasons it is that the comparison of roots is not likely to lead to any satisfactory results, even in the most favorable cases, and cannot possibly be made fruitful of valuable and trustworthy conclusions through the whole body of human language. Apparent resemblances between apparent roots of the different families are, indeed, to be discovered, and we may expect to see them hunted up and paraded for a long time to come by uncritical and unsound linguists; but they are, and will continue to be, wholly worthless, mere rubbish heaped up in the pathway of science by its false sectaries. Modern philology, notwithstanding its immense advance within the past few years, furnishes no means of research which may not be turned to false uses, and made to yield false results, in unskilful and careless hands. It supplies nothing which can make up for the lack of sound learning and critical judgment. An immense waste of human industry and ingenuity in this department of endeavor is due to the neglect of two fundamental principles, at which we hinted in the outset, — that it is impossible to make a trustworthy comparison of two languages or groups without a like profound knowledge of both; and that no language can be profitably compared with others which stand, or are presumed to stand, in a more distant relationship with it, until each has been first compared with its own nearer of kin.

Our general conclusion, which may be looked upon as incon-

trovertibly established, is this: if the tribes of men are of different parentage, their languages could not be expected to be more unlike than they in fact are; while, on the other hand, if all mankind are of one blood, their tongues need not be more alike than we actually find them to be. The evidence of language can never guide us to any positive conclusion respecting the specific unity or diversity of human races.

This is not an acknowledgment which any linguistic student likes to make; and it may seem to some to savor of precipitation on the part of him who makes it, of a lack of faith in the future of his science, — a science which, although it has already accomplished so much, has yet confessedly only begun its career. But, on the one hand, the truth is far more valuable to every real student than the credit or interest of his own special department of inquiry; and, on the other hand, that the science is able to set its own limit in this direction is an honorable indication of the command it has already won of the material of historic inquiry with which it undertakes to deal, of the definiteness of its methods, and of the certainty which may be expected to characterize the affirmative conclusions it shall reach. Whether physical ethnology, when it shall have attained the same degree of development, will not be brought to the same acknowledgment of incompetence, is at present very doubtful. Happily, the question in dispute is one of little practical consequence; the brotherhood of men, the obligation of mutual justice and mutual kindness, rests upon the possession of a common nature and a common destiny, not upon the tie of a fleshly relationship. Those who would justify their oppression of a whole race of their fellow-beings by an alleged proof of its descent from other ancestors than their own, are not less perverse — more so they could not well be — than those who would sanctify it as the execution of a curse pronounced by an angry patriarch, after a fit of intoxication, upon a part of his own offspring. It is as shameful to attempt to press science as religion into the service of organized injustice.

ART. VIII.—*Histoire des Idées Morales et Politiques en France au XVIII^me^ Siècle.* Par M. JULES BARNI, Professeur à l'Académie de Genève. Tome II. Paris. 1867.

"WE have had the great professor and founder of the philosophy of Vanity in England. As I had good opportunities of knowing his proceedings almost from day to day, he left no doubt in my mind that he entertained no principle either to influence his heart or to guide his understanding but vanity; with this vice he was possessed to a degree little short of madness. Benevolence to the whole species, and want of feeling for every individual with whom the professors come in contact, form the character of the new philosophy. Setting up for an unsocial independence, this their hero of vanity refuses the just price of common labor, as well as the tribute which opulence owes to genius, and which, when paid, honors the giver and the receiver, and then pleads his beggary as an excuse for his crimes. He melts with tenderness for those only who touch him by the remotest relation, and then, without one natural pang, casts away, as a sort of offal and excrement, the spawn of his disgustful amours, and sends his children to the hospital of foundlings. The bear loves, licks, and forms her young; but bears are not philosophers."

This was Burke's opinion of the only contemporary who can be said to rival him in fervid and sustained eloquence, to surpass him in grace and persuasiveness of style. Perhaps we should have been more thankful to him if he had left us instead a record of those "proceedings almost from day to day" which he had such "good opportunities of knowing," but it probably never entered his head that posterity might care as much about the doings of the citizen of Geneva as about the sayings of even a British Right Honorable. Vanity eludes recognition by its victims in more shapes, and more pleasing, than any other passion, and perhaps had Mr. Burke been able imaginatively to translate Swiss Jean Jacques into Irish Edmund, he would have found no juster equivalent for the obnoxious trisyllable than "righteous self-esteem." For Burke was himself also, in the subtler sense of the word, a sentimentalist, that is, a man

who took what would now be called an æsthetic view of morals and politics. No man who ever wrote English, except perhaps Mr. Ruskin, more habitually mistook his own personal likes and dislikes, tastes and distastes, for general principles, and this, it may be suspected, is the secret of all merely eloquent writing. He hints at madness as an explanation of Rousseau, and it is curious enough that Mr. Buckle was fain to explain *him* in the same way. It is not, we confess, a solution that we find very satisfactory in this latter case. His fury against the French Revolution was nothing more than was natural to a desperate man in self-defence. It was his own life, or, at least, all that made life dear to him, that was in danger. He had all that abstract political wisdom which may be naturally secreted from a magnanimous nature and a sensitive temperament, absolutely none of that rough-and-tumble kind which is so needful for the conduct of affairs. Fastidiousness is only another form of egotism; and all men who know not where to look for truth save in the narrow well of self will find their own image at the bottom, and mistake it for what they are seeking. Burke's hatred of Rousseau was genuine and instinctive. It was so genuine and so instinctive as no hatred can be but that of self, of our own weaknesses as we see them in another man. But there was also something deeper in it than this. There was mixed with it the natural dread in the political diviner of the political logician,—in the empirical, of the theoretic statesman. Burke, confounding the idea of society with the form of it then existing, would have preserved that as the only specific against anarchy. Rousseau, assuming that society as it then existed was but another name for anarchy, would have reconstituted it on an ideal basis. The one has left behind him some of the profoundest aphorisms of political wisdom; the other, some of the clearest principles of political science. The one, clinging to Divine right, found in the fact that things were, a reason that they ought to be; the other, aiming to solve the problem of the Divine order, would deduce from that abstraction alone the claim of anything to be at all. There seems a mere oppugnancy of nature between the two, and yet both were, in different ways, the dupes of their own imaginations.

Now let us hear the opinion of a philosopher who *was* a bear,

whether bears be philosophers or not. Boswell had a genuine relish for what was superior in any way, from genius to claret, and of course he did not let Rousseau escape him. "One evening at the Mitre, Johnson said sarcastically to me, 'It seems, sir, you have kept very good company abroad, — Rousseau and Wilkes!' I answered with a smile, 'My dear sir, you don't call Rousseau bad company; do you really think *him* a bad man?' JOHNSON. 'Sir, if you are talking jestingly of this, I don't talk with you. If you mean to be serious, I think him one of the worst of men, a rascal who ought to be hunted out of society, as he has been. Three or four nations have expelled him, and it is a shame that he is protected in this country. Rousseau, sir, is a very bad man. I would sooner sign a sentence for his transportation, than that of any felon who has gone from the Old Bailey these many years. Yes, I should like to have him work in the plantations.'" *We* were the plantations then, and Rousseau was destined to work there in another and much more wonderful fashion than the gruff old Ursa Major imagined. However, there is always a refreshing heartiness in his growl, a masculine bass with no snarl in it. The Doctor's logic is of that fine old crusted Port sort, the native manufacture of the British conservative mind. Three or four nations *have*, therefore England ought. A few years later, had the Doctor been living, if three or four nations had treated their kings as France did hers, would he have thought the *ergo* a very stringent one for England?

Mr. Burke, who could speak with studied respect of the Prince of Wales, and of his vices with that charity which thinketh no evil and can afford to think no evil of so important a living member of the British Constitution, surely could have had no unmixed moral repugnance for Rousseau's "disgustful amours." It was because they were *his* that they were so loathsome. Mr. Burke was a snob, though an inspired one. Dr. Johnson, the friend of that wretchedest of lewd fellows, Richard Savage, and of that gay man about town, Topham Beauclerk, — himself sprung from an amour that would have been disgustful had it not been royal, — must also have felt something more in respect of Rousseau than the mere repugnance of virtue for vice. We must sometimes allow to personal temperament

its right of peremptory challenge. Johnson had not that fine sensitiveness to the political atmosphere which made Burke presageful of coming tempest, but both of them felt that there was something dangerous in this man. Their dislike has in it somewhat of the energy of fear. Neither of them had the same feeling toward Voltaire, the man of supreme talent, but both felt that what Rousseau was possessed by was genius, with its terrible force either to attract or repel.

> "By the pricking of my thumbs,
> Something wicked this way comes."

Burke and Johnson were both of them sincere men, both of them men of character as well as of intellectual force; and we cite their opinions of Rousseau with the respect which is due to an honest conviction which has apparent grounds for its adoption, whether we agree with it or no. But it strikes us as a little singular that one whose life was so full of moral inconsistency, whose character is so contemptible in many ways, in some we might almost say so revolting, should yet have exercised so deep and lasting an influence, and on minds so various, should still be an object of minute and earnest discussion, — that he should have had such vigor in his intellectual loins as to have been the father of Chateaubriand, Byron, Lamartine, George Sand, and many more in literature, in politics of Jefferson and Thomas Paine, — that the spots he had haunted should draw pilgrims so unlike as Gibbon and Napoleon, nay, should draw them still after the lapse of near a century. Surely there must have been a basis of sincerity in this man seldom matched, if it can prevail against so many reasons for repugnance, aversion, and even disgust. He could not have been the mere sentimentalist and rhetorician for which the rough-and-ready understanding would at first glance be inclined to condemn him. In a certain sense he was both of these, but he was something more. It will bring us a little nearer the point we are aiming at if we quote one other and more recent English opinion of him.

Mr. Thomas Moore, returning pleasantly in a travelling-carriage from a trip to Italy, in which he had never forgotten the poetical shop at home, but had carefully noted down all the pretty images that occurred to him for future use, — Mr.

Thomas Moore, on his way back from a visit to his noble friend Byron, at Venice, who had there been leading a life so gross as to be talked about, even amid the crash of Napoleon's fall, and who was just writing "Don Juan" for the improvement of the world, — Mr. Thomas Moore, fresh from the reading of Byron's Memoirs, which were so scandalous that, by some hocus-pocus, three thousand guineas found their way into his own pocket afterward for consenting to suppress them, — Mr. Thomas Moore, the *ci-devant* friend of the Prince Regent, and the author of Little's Poems, among other objects of pilgrimage, visits *Les Charmettes*, where Rousseau had lived with Madame de Warens. So good an opportunity for occasional verses was not to be lost, so good a text for a little virtuous moralizing not to be thrown away; and accordingly Mr. Moore pours out several pages of octosyllabic disgust at the sensuality of the dead man of genius. There was no horror for Byron. Toward him all was suavity and decorous *bienséance*. That lively sense of benefits to be received made the Irish Anacreon wink with both his little eyes. In the judgment of a liberal like Mr. Moore, were not the errors of a lord excusable? But with poor Rousseau the case was very different. The son of a watchmaker, an outcast from boyhood up, always on the perilous edge of poverty, — what right had he to indulge himself in any immoralities? So it is always with the sentimentalists. It is never the thing in itself that is bad or good, but the thing in its relation to some conventional and mostly selfish standard. Moore could be a moralist, in this case, without any trouble, and with the advantage of winning Lord Lansdowne's approval; he could write some graceful verses which everybody would buy, and for the rest it is not hard to be a stoic in eight-syllable measure and a travelling-carriage. The next dinner at Bowood will taste none the worse. Accordingly he speaks of

> "The mire, the strife
> And vanities of this man's life,
> Who more than all that e'er have glowed
> With fancy's flame (and it was his
> In fullest warmth and radiance) showed
> What an impostor Genius is;

How, with that strong mimetic art
Which forms its life and soul, it takes
All shapes of thought, all hues of heart,
Nor feels itself one throb it wakes;
How, like a gem, its light may shine,
O'er the dark path by mortals trod,
Itself as mean a worm the while
As crawls at midnight o'er the sod;

. . . . .

How, with the pencil hardly dry
From coloring up such scenes of love
And beauty as make young hearts sigh,
And dream and think through heaven they rove," &c., &c.

Very spirited, is it not? One has only to overlook a little threadbareness in the similes, and it is very good oratorical verse. But would we believe in it, we must never read Mr. Moore's own journal, and find out how thin a piece of veneering his own life was, — how he lived in sham till his very nature had become subdued to it, till he could persuade himself that a sham could be written into a reality, and actually made experiment thereof in his Diary.

One verse in this diatribe deserves a special comment, —

"What an impostor Genius is!"

In two respects there is nothing to be objected to in it. It is of eight syllables, and "is" rhymes unexceptionably with "his." But is there the least filament of truth in it? We venture to assert, not the least. It was not Rousseau's genius that was an impostor. It was the one thing in him that was always true. We grant that, in allowing that a man has genius. Talent is that which is in a man's power; genius is that in whose power a man is. That is the very difference between them. We might turn the tables on Moore, the man of talent, and say truly enough, What an impostor talent is! Moore talks of the mimetic power with a total misapprehension of what it really is. The mimetic power had nothing whatever to do with the affair. Rousseau had none of it: Shakespeare had it in excess; but what difference would it make in our judgment of Hamlet or Othello if a manuscript of Shakespeare's memoirs should turn up, and we should find out that he had been a pitiful fellow? None in the world; for he is not a pro-

fessed moralist, and his life does not give the warrant to his words. But if Demosthenes, after all his Philippics, throws away his shield and runs, we feel the contemptibleness of the contradiction. With genius itself we never find any fault. It would be an over-nicety that would do that. We do not get invited to nectar and ambrosia so often that we think of grumbling and saying we have better at home. No; the same genius that mastered him who wrote the poem masters us in reading it, and we care for nothing outside the poem itself. How the author lived, what he wore, how he looked, — all that is mere gossip, about which we need not trouble ourselves. Whatever he was or did, somehow or other God let him be worthy to write *this*, and that is enough for us. We forgive everything to the genius; we are inexorable to the man. Shakespeare, Goethe, Burns, — what have their biographies to do with us? Genius is not a question of character. It may be sordid, like the lamp of Aladdin, in its externals; what care we, while the touch of it builds palaces for us, makes us rich as only men in dream-land are rich, and lords to the utmost bound of imagination? So, when people talk of the ungrateful way in which the world treats its geniuses, they speak unwisely. There is no work of genius which has not been the delight of mankind, no word of genius to which the human heart and soul have not, sooner or later, responded. But the man whom the genius takes possession of for its pen, for its trowel, for its pencil, for its chisel, *him* the world treats according to his deserts. Does Burns drink? It sets him to gauging casks of gin. For, remember, it is not to the practical world that the genius appeals; it *is* the practical world which judges of the man's fitness for its uses, and has a right so to judge. No amount of patronage could have made distilled liquors less toothsome to Robbie Burns, as no amount of them could make a Burns of the Ettrick Shepherd.

There is an old story in the *Gesta Romanorum* of a priest who was found fault with by one of his parishioners because his life was in painful discordance with his teaching. So one day he takes his critic out to a stream, and, giving him to drink of it, asks him if he does not find it sweet and pure water. The parishioner, having answered that it was, is taken

to the source, and finds that what had so refreshed him flowed from between the jaws of a dead dog. "Let this teach thee," said the priest, "that the very best doctrine may take its rise in a very impure and disgustful spring, and that excellent morals may be taught by a man who has no morals at all." It is easy enough to see the fallacy here. Had the man known beforehand from what a carrion fountain-head the stream issued, he could not have drunk of it without loathing. Had the priest merely bidden him to *look* at the stream and see how beautiful it was, instead of tasting it, it would have been quite another matter. And this is precisely the difference between what appeals to our æsthetic and to our moral sense, between what is judged of by the taste and the conscience.

It is when the sentimentalist turns preacher of morals that we investigate his character, and are justified in so doing. He may express as many and as delicate shades of feeling as he likes, — for this the sensibility of his organization perfectly fits him, no other person could do it so well, — but the moment he undertakes to establish his feeling as a rule of conduct, we ask at once how far are his own life and deed in accordance with what he preaches? For every man feels instinctively that all the beautiful sentiments in the world weigh less than a single lovely action; and that while tenderness of feeling and susceptibility to generous emotions are accidents of temperament, goodness is an achievement of the will and a quality of the life. Fine words, says our homely old proverb, butter no parsnips; and if the question be how to render those vegetables palatable, an ounce of butter would be worth more than all the orations of Cicero. The only conclusive evidence of a man's sincerity is that he give *himself* for a principle. Words, money, all things else, are comparatively easy to give away; but when a man makes a gift of his daily life and practice, it is plain that the truth, whatever it may be, has taken possession of him. From that sincerity his words gain the force and pertinency of deeds, and his money is no longer the pale drudge 'twixt man and man, but, by a beautiful magic, what erewhile bore the image and superscription of Cæsar seems now to bear the image and superscription of God. It is thus that there is a genius for goodness, for magnanimity,

for self-sacrifice, as well as for creative art; and it is thus that by a more refined sort of Platonism the Infinite Beauty dwells in and shapes to its own likeness the soul which gives it body and individuality. But when Moore charges genius with being an impostor, the confusion of his ideas is pitiable. There is nothing so true, so sincere, so downright and forthright, as genius. It is always truer than the man himself is, greater than he. If Shakespeare the man had been as marvellous a creature as the genius that wrote his plays, that genius so comprehensive in its intelligence, so wise even in its play, that its clowns are moralists and philosophers, so penetrative that a single one of its phrases reveals to us the secret of our own character, would his contemporaries have left us so wholly without record of him as they have done, distinguishing him in no wise from his fellow-players?

Rousseau no doubt was weak, nay, more than that, was sometimes despicable, but yet is not fairly to be reckoned among the herd of sentimentalists. It is shocking that a man whose preaching made it fashionable for women of rank to nurse their own children should have sent his own, as soon as born, to the foundling hospital, still more shocking that, in a note to his *Discours sur l'Inégalité*, he should speak of this crime as one of the consequences of our social system. But for all that, there was a faith and an ardor of conviction in him that distinguish him from most of the writers of his time. Nor were his practice and his preaching always inconsistent. He contrived to pay regularly, whatever his own circumstances were, a pension of one hundred *livres* a year to a maternal aunt who had been kind to him in childhood. Nor was his asceticism a sham. He might have turned his gift into laced coats and *châteaux* as easily as Voltaire, had he not held it too sacred to be bartered away in any such losing exchange.

But what is worthy of especial remark is this, — that in nearly all that he wrote his leading object was the good of his kind, and that through all the vicissitudes of a life which illness, sensibility of temperament, and the approaches of insanity rendered wretched, — the associate of infidels, the foundling child, as it were, of an age without belief, least of all in itself, — he professed and evidently felt deeply a faith in the

goodness both of man and of God. There is no such thing as scoffing in his writings. On the other hand, there is no stereotyped morality. He does not ignore the existence of scepticism; he recognizes its existence in his own nature, meets it frankly face to face, and makes it confess that there are things in the teaching of Christ that are deeper than its doubt. The influence of his early education at Geneva is apparent here. An intellect so acute as his, trained in the school of Calvin in a republic where theological discussion was as much the amusement of the people as the opera was at Paris, could not fail to be a good logician. He had the fortitude to follow his logic wherever it led him. If the very impressibility of character which quickened his perception of the beauties of nature, and made him alive to the charm of music and musical expression, prevented him from being in the highest sense an original writer, and if his ideas were mostly suggested to him by books, yet the clearness, consecutiveness, and eloquence with which he stated and enforced them made them his own. There was at least that original fire in him which could fuse them and run them in a novel mould. His power lay in this very ability of manipulating the thoughts of others. Fond of paradox he doubtless was, but he had a way of putting things that arrested attention and excited thought.

It was, perhaps, this very sensibility to the surrounding atmosphere of feeling and speculation, which made Rousseau more directly influential on contemporary thought (or perhaps we should say sentiment) than any writer of his time. And this is rarely consistent with enduring greatness in literature. It forces us to remember, against our will, the oratorical character of his works. They were all pleas, and he a great advocate, with Europe in the jury-box. Enthusiasm begets enthusiasm, eloquence produces conviction for the moment, but it is only by truth to nature and the everlasting intuitions of mankind that those abiding influences are won that enlarge from generation to generation. Rousseau was in many respects — as great pleaders always are — a man of the day, who must needs become a mere name to posterity, yet he could not but have had in him some not inconsiderable share of that principle by which man eternizes himself. For it is only to such that the night

cometh not in which no man shall work, and he is still operative both in politics and literature by the principles he formulated or the emotions to which he gave a voice so piercing and so sympathetic.

In judging Rousseau, it would be unfair not to take note of the malarious atmosphere in which he grew up. The constitution of his mind was thus early infected with a feverish taint that made him shiveringly sensitive to a temperature which hardier natures found bracing. To him this rough world was but too literally a rack. Good-humored Mother Nature commonly imbeds the nerves of her children in a padding of self-conceit that serves as a buffer against the ordinary shocks to which even a life of routine is liable, and it would seem at first sight as if Rousseau had been better cared for than usual in this regard. But as his self-conceit was enormous, so was the reaction from it proportionate, and the fretting suspiciousness of temper, sure mark of an unsound mind, which rendered him incapable of intimate friendship, while passionately longing for it, became inevitably, when turned inward, a tormenting self-distrust. To dwell in unrealities is the doom of the sentimentalist; but it should not be forgotten that the same fitful intensity of emotion which makes them real as the means of elation, gives them substance also for torture. Too irritably jealous to endure the rude society of men, he steeped his senses in the enervating incense that women are only too ready to burn. If their friendship be a safeguard to the other sex, their homage is fatal to all but the strongest, and Rousseau was weak by inheritance and early training. His father was one of those feeble creatures for whom a fine phrase could always satisfactorily fill the void that non-performance leaves behind it. If he neglected duty, he made up for it by that cultivation of the finer sentiments of our common nature which waters flowers of speech with the brineless tears of a flabby remorse, without one fibre of resolve in it, and which impoverishes the character in proportion as it enriches the vocabulary. He was a very Apicius in that digestible kind of woe which makes no man leaner, and had a favorite receipt for cooking you up a sorrow *à la douleur inassouvie* that had just enough delicious sharpness in it to bring

tears into the eyes by tickling the palate. "When he said to me, 'Jean Jacques, let us speak of thy mother,' I said to him, 'Well, father, we are going to weep, then?' and this word alone drew tears from him. 'Ah!' said he, groaning, 'give her back to me, console me for her, fill the void she has left in my soul!'" Alas! in such cases, the void she leaves is only that she found. The grief that seeks any other than its own society will erelong want an object. This admirable parent allowed his son to become an outcast at sixteen, without any attempt to reclaim him, in order to enjoy unmolested a petty inheritance to which the boy was entitled in right of his mother. "This conduct," Rousseau tells us, "of a father whose tenderness and virtue were so well known to me, caused me to make reflections on myself which have not a little contributed to make my heart sound. I drew from it this great maxim of morals, the only one perhaps serviceable in practice, to avoid situations which put our duties in opposition to our interest, and which show us our own advantage in the wrong of another, sure that in such situations, *however sincere may be one's love of virtue*, it sooner or later grows weak without our perceiving it, *and that we become unjust and wicked in action without having ceased to be just and good in soul.*"

This maxim may do for that "fugitive and cloistered virtue, unexercised and unbreathed, that never sallies out and seeks its adversary," which Milton could not praise, — that is, for a manhood whose distinction it is not to be manly, — but it is chiefly worth notice as being the characteristic doctrine of sentimentalism. This disjoining of deed from will, of practice from theory, is to put asunder what God has joined by an indissoluble sacrament. The soul must be tainted before the action becomes corrupt; and there is no self-delusion more fatal than that which makes the conscience dreamy with the anodyne of lofty sentiments, while the life is grovelling and sensual, — witness Coleridge. In his case we feel something like disgust. But where, as in his son Hartley, there is hereditary infirmity, where the man sees the principle that might rescue him slip from the clutch of a nerveless will, like a rope through the fingers of a drowning man, and the confession of faith is the moan of despair, there is room for no harsher feeling than

pity. Rousseau showed through life a singular proneness for being convinced by his own eloquence; he was always his own first convert; and this reconciles his power as a writer with his weakness as a man. He and all like him mistake emotion for conviction, velleity for resolve, the brief eddy of sentiment for the midcurrent of ever-gathering faith in duty that draws to itself all the affluents of conscience and will, and gives continuity of purpose to life. They are like men who love the stimulus of being under conviction, as it is called, who, forever getting religion, never get capital enough to retire upon and spend for their own need and the common service.

The sentimentalist is the spiritual hypochondriac, with whom fancies become facts, while facts are a discomfort because they will not be evaporated into fancy. In his eyes, Theory is too fine a dame to confess even a country-cousinship with coarse-handed Practice, whose homely ways would disconcert her artificial world. The very susceptibility that makes him quick to feel, makes him also incapable of deep and durable feeling. He loves to think he suffers, and keeps a pet sorrow, a blue-devil familiar, that goes with him everywhere, like Paracelsus's black dog. He takes good care, however, that it shall not be the true sulphurous article that sometimes takes a fancy to fly away with his conjurer. René says, "In my madness I had gone so far as even to wish I might experience a misfortune, so that my suffering might at least have a real object." But no; selfishness is only active egotism, and there is nothing and nobody, with a single exception, which this sort of creature will not sacrifice, rather than give any other than an imaginary pang to his idol. Vicarious pain he is not unwilling to endure, nay, will even commit suicide by proxy, like the German poet who let his wife kill herself to give him a sensation. Had young Jerusalem been anything like Goethe's portrait of him in Werther, he would have taken very good care not to blow out the brains which he would have thought only too precious. Real sorrows are uncomfortable things, but purely æsthetic ones are by no means unpleasant, and we have always fancied the handsome young Wolfgang writing those distracted letters to Auguste Stolberg with a looking-glass in front of him to give back an image of his desolation, and finding it rather

pleasant than otherwise to shed the tear of sympathy with self that would seem so bitter to his fair correspondent. The tears that have real salt in them will keep; they are the difficult, manly tears that are shed in secret; but the pathos soon evaporates from that fresh-water with which a man can bedew a dead donkey in public, while his wife is having a good cry over his neglect of her at home. We do not think the worse of Goethe for hypothetically desolating himself in the fashion aforesaid, for with many constitutions it is as purely natural a crisis as dentition, which the stronger worry through, and turn out very sensible, agreeable fellows. But where there is an arrest of development, and the heartbreak of the patient is audibly prolonged through life, we have a spectacle which the toughest heart would wish to get as far away from as possible.

We would not be supposed to overlook the distinction, too often lost sight of, between sentimentalism and sentiment, the latter being a very excellent thing in its way, as genuine things are apt to be. Sentiment is intellectualized emotion, emotion precipitated, as it were, in pretty crystals by the fancy. This is the delightful staple of the poets of social life like Horace and Béranger, or Thackeray, when he too rarely played with verse. It puts into words for us that decorous average of feeling to the expression of which society can consent without danger of being indiscreetly moved. It is excellent for people who are willing to save their souls alive to any extent that shall not be discomposing. It is even satisfying till some deeper experience has given us a hunger which what we so glibly call "the world" cannot sate, just as a water-ice is nourishment enough to a man who has had his dinner. It is the sufficing lyrical interpreter of those lighter hours that should make part of every healthy man's day, and is noxious only when it palls men's appetite for the truly profound poetry which is very passion of very soul sobered by afterthought and embodied in eternal types by imagination. True sentiment is emotion ripened by a slow ferment of the mind and qualified to an agreeable temperance by that taste which is the conscience of polite society. But the sentimentalist always insists on taking his emotion neat, and, as his sense gradually deadens to the stimulus, increases his dose till he ends in a kind of

moral deliquium. At first the debaucher, he becomes at last the victim of his sensations.

Among the ancients we find no trace of sentimentalism. Their masculine mood both of body and mind left no room for it, and hence the bracing quality of their literature compared with that of recent times, its tonic property, that seems almost too astringent to palates relaxed by a daintier diet. The first great example of the degenerate modern tendency was Petrarch, who may be said to have given it impulse and direction. A more perfect specimen of the type has not since appeared. An intellectual voluptuary, a moral *dilettante*, the first instance of that character, since too common, the gentleman in search of a sensation, seeking a solitude at Vaucluse because it made him more likely to be in demand at Avignon, praising philosophic poverty with a sharp eye to the next rich benefice in the gift of his patron, commending a good life but careful first of a good living, happy only in seclusion but making a dangerous journey to enjoy the theatrical show of a coronation in the Capitol, cherishing a fruitless passion which broke his heart three or four times a year and yet could not make an end of him till he had reached the ripe age of seventy and survived his mistress a quarter of a century, — surely a more exquisite perfection of inconsistency would be hard to find.

When Petrarch returned from his journey into the North of Europe in 1332, he balanced the books of his unrequited passion, and, finding that he had now been in love seven years, thought the time had at last come to call deliberately on Death. Had Death taken him at his word, he would have protested that he was only in fun. For we find him always taking good care of an excellent constitution, avoiding the plague with commendable assiduity, and in the very year when he declares it absolutely essential to his peace of mind to die for good and all, taking refuge in the fortress of Capranica, from a wholesome dread of having his throat cut by robbers. There is such a difference between dying in a sonnet with a cambric handkerchief at one's eyes, and the prosaic reality of demise certified in the parish register! Practically it is inconvenient to be dead. Among other things, it puts an end to the manufacture of sonnets. But there seems to

have been an excellent understanding between Petrarch and Death, for he was brought to that grisly monarch's door so often, that, otherwise, nothing short of a miracle or the nine lives of that animal whom love also makes lyrical could have saved him. "I consent," he cries, "to live and die in Africa among its serpents, upon Caucasus, or Atlas, if, while I live, to breathe a pure air, and after my death a little corner of earth where to bestow my body, may be allowed me. This is all I ask, but this I cannot obtain. Doomed always to wander, and to be a stranger everywhere, O Fortune, Fortune, fix me at last to some one spot! I do not covet thy favors. Let me enjoy a tranquil poverty, let me pass in this retreat the few days that remain to me!" The pathetic stop of Petrarch's poetical organ was one he could pull out at pleasure, — and indeed we soon learn to distrust literary tears, as the cheap subterfuge for want of real feeling with natures of this quality. Solitude with him was but the pseudonyme of notoriety. Poverty was the archdeaconry of Parma, with other ecclesiastical pickings. During his retreat at Vaucluse, in the very height of that divine sonneteering love of Laura, of that sensitive purity which called Avignon Babylon, and rebuked the sinfulness of Clement, he was himself begetting that kind of children which we spell with a *b*. We believe that, if Messer Francesco had been present when the woman was taken in adultery, he would have flung the first stone without the slightest feeling of inconsistency, nay, with a sublime sense of virtue. The truth is, that it made very little difference to him what sort of proper sentiment he expressed, provided he could do it elegantly and with unction.

Would any one feel the difference between his faint abstractions and the Platonism of a powerful nature fitted alike for the withdrawal of ideal contemplation and for breasting the storms of life, — would any one know how wide a depth divides a noble friendship based on sympathy of pursuit and aspiration, on that mutual help which souls capable of self-sustainment are the readiest to give or to take, and a simulated passion, true neither to the spiritual nor the sensual part of man, — let him compare the sonnets of Petrarch with those which Michel Angelo addressed to Vittoria Colonna. In them the airiest pinnacles of

sentiment and speculation are buttressed with solid masonwork of thought, and of an actual, not fancied experience, and the depth of feeling is measured by the sobriety and reserve of expression, while in Petrarch's all ingenuousness is frittered away into ingenuity. Both are cold, but the coldness of the one is self-restraint, while the other chills with pretence of warmth. In Michel Angelo's, you feel the great architect; in Petrarch's, the artist who can best realize his conception in the limits of a cherry-stone. And yet this man influenced literature longer and more widely than almost any other in modern times. So great is the charm of elegance, so unreal is the larger part of what is written!

Certainly we do not mean to say that a work of art should be looked at by the light of the artist's biography, or measured by our standard of his character. Nor do we reckon what was genuine in Petrarch — his love of letters, his refinement, his skill in the superficial graces of language, that rhetorical art by which the music of words supplants their meaning, and the verse moulds the thought instead of being plastic to it — after any such fashion. We have no ambition for that character of *valet de chambre* which is said to disenchant the most heroic figures into mere every-day personages, for it implies a mean soul no less than a servile condition. But we have a right to demand a certain amount of reality, however small, in the emotion of a man who makes it his business to endeavor at exciting our own. We have a privilege of nature to shiver before a painted flame, how cunningly soever the colors be laid on. Yet our love of minute biographical detail, our desire to make ourselves spies upon the men of the past, seems so much of an instinct in us, that we must look for the spring of it in human nature, and that somewhat deeper than mere curiosity or love of gossip. It would seem to arise from what must be considered on the whole a creditable feeling, namely, that we value character more than any amount of talent,—the skill to be something, above that of doing anything but the best of its kind. The highest creative genius, and that only, is privileged from arrest by this personality, for there the thing produced is altogether disengaged from the producer. But in natures incapable of this escape from themselves, the author is in-

evitably mixed with his work, and we have a feeling that the amount of his sterling character is the security for the notes he issues. Especially we feel so when truth to self, which is always self-forgetful, and not truth to nature, makes an essential part of the value of what is offered us; as where a man undertakes to narrate personal experience or to enforce a dogma. This is particularly true as respects sentimentalists, because of their intrusive self-consciousness; for there is no more universal characteristic of human nature than the instinct of men to apologize to themselves for themselves, and to justify personal failings by generalizing them into universal laws. A man would be the keenest devil's advocate against himself, were it not that he has always taken a retaining fee for the defence; for we think that the indirect and mostly unconscious pleas in abatement which we read between the lines in the works of many authors are oftener written to set themselves right in their own eyes than in those of the world. And in the real life of the sentimentalist it is the same. He is under the wretched necessity of keeping up, at least in public, the character he has assumed, till he at last reaches that last shift of bankrupt self-respect, to play the hypocrite with himself. Lamartine, after passing round the hat in Europe and America, takes to his bed from wounded pride when the French Senate votes him a subsidy, and sheds tears of humiliation. Ideally, he resents it; in practical coin, he will accept the shame without a wry face.

George Sand, speaking of Rousseau's "Confessions," says that an autobiographer always makes himself the hero of his own novel, and cannot help idealizing, even if he would. But the weak point of all sentimentalists is that they always have been, and always continue under every conceivable circumstance to be, their own ideals, whether they are writing their own lives or no. Rousseau opens his book with the statement: "I am not made like any of those I have seen; I venture to believe myself unlike any that exists. If I am not worth more, at least I am different." O exquisite cunning of self-flattery! It is this very imagined difference that makes us worth more in our own foolish sight. For while all men are apt to think, or to persuade themselves that they think, all

other men their accomplices in vice or weakness, they are not difficult of belief that they are singular in any quality or talent on which they hug themselves. More than this; people who are truly original are the last to find it out, for the moment we become conscious of a virtue it has left us or is getting ready to go. Originality does not consist in a fidgety assertion of self-hood, but in the faculty of getting rid of it altogether, that the truer genius of the man, which commerces with universal nature and with other souls through a common sympathy with that, may take all his powers wholly to itself, — and the truly original man could no more be jealous of his peculiar gift, than the grass could take credit to itself for being green. What is the reason that all children are geniuses, (though they contrive so soon to outgrow that dangerous quality,) except that they never cross-examine themselves on the subject? The moment that process begins, their speech loses its gift of unexpectedness, and they become as tediously impertinent as the rest of us.

If there never was any one like him, if he constituted a genus in himself, to what end write confessions in which no other human being could ever be in a condition to take the least possible interest? All men are interested in Montaigne in proportion as all men find more of themselves in him, and all men see but one image in the glass which the greatest of poets holds up to nature, an image which at once startles and charms them with its familiarity. Fabulists always endow their animals with the passions and desires of men. But if an ox could dictate his confessions, what glimmer of understanding should we find in those bovine confidences, unless on some theory of pre-existence, some blank misgiving of a creature moving about in worlds not realized? The truth is, that we recognize the common humanity of Rousseau in the very weakness that betrayed him into this conceit of himself; we find he is just like the rest of us in this very assumption of essential difference, for among all animals man is the only one who tries to pass for more than he is, and so involves himself in the condemnation of seeming less.

But it would be sheer waste of time to hunt Rousseau through all his doublings of inconsistency, and run him to earth in every new paradox. His first two books attacked, one of

them literature, and the other society. But this did not prevent him from being diligent with his pen, nor from availing himself of his credit with persons who enjoyed all the advantages of that inequality whose evils he had so pointedly exposed. Indeed, it is curious how little practical communism there has been, how few professors it has had who would not have gained by a general dividend. It is perhaps no frantic effort of generosity in a philosopher with ten crowns in his pocket when he offers to make common stock with a neighbor who has ten thousand of yearly income, nor is it an uncommon thing to see such theories knocked clean out of a man's head by the descent of a thumping legacy. But, consistent or not, Rousseau remains permanently interesting as the highest and most perfect type of the sentimentalist of genius. His was perhaps the acutest mind that was ever mated with an organization so diseased, the brain most far-reaching in speculation that ever kept itself steady and worked out its problems amid such disordered tumult of the nerves. His letter to the Archbishop of Paris, admirable for its lucid power and soberness of tone, and his *Rousseau juge de Jean Jacques*, which no man can read and believe him to have been sane, show him to us in his strength and weakness, and give us a more charitable, let us hope therefore a truer, notion of him than his own apology for himself. That he was a man of genius appears unmistakably in his impressibility by the deeper meaning of the epoch in which he lived. Before an eruption, clouds steeped through and through with electric life gather over the crater, as if in sympathy and expectation. As the mountain heaves and cracks, these vapory masses are seamed with fire, as if they felt and answered the dumb agony that is struggling for utterance below. Just such flashes of eager sympathetic fire break continually from the cloudy volumes of Rousseau, the result at once and the warning of that convulsion of which Paris was to be the crater and all Europe to feel the spasm. There are symptoms enough elsewhere of that want of faith in the existing order which made the Revolution inevitable,—even so shallow an observer as Horace Walpole could forebode it as early as 1765,—but Rousseau more than all others is the unconscious expression of the groping after something radically new, the instinct

for a change that should be organic and pervade every fibre of the social and political body. Freedom of thought owes far more to the jester Voltaire, who also had his solid kernel of earnest, than to the sombre Genevese, whose earnestness is of the deadly kind. Yet, for good or evil, the latter was the father of modern democracy, and without him our Declaration of Independence would have wanted some of those sentences in which the immemorial longings of the poor and the dreams of solitary enthusiasts were at last affirmed as axioms in the manifesto of a nation, so that all the world might hear.

Though Rousseau, like many other fanatics, had a remarkable vein of common sense in him, (witness his remarks on duelling, on landscape-gardening, on French poetry, and much of his thought on education,) we cannot trace many practical results to his teaching, least of all in politics. For the great difficulty with his system, if system it may be called, is, that, while it professes to follow nature, it not only assumes as a starting-point that the individual man may be made over again, but proceeds to the conclusion that man himself, that human nature, must be made over again, and governments remodelled on a purely theoretic basis. But when something like an experiment in this direction was made in 1789, not only did it fail as regarded man in general, but even as regards the particular variety of man that inhabited France. The Revolution accomplished many changes, and beneficent ones, but it left France peopled, not by a new race without traditions, but by Frenchmen. Still, there could not but be a wonderful force in the words of a man who, above all others, had the secret of making abstractions glow with his own fervor; and his ideas — dispersed now in the atmosphere of thought — have influenced, perhaps still continue to influence, speculative minds, which prefer swift and sure generalization to hesitating and doubtful experience.

Rousseau has, in one respect, been utterly misrepresented and misunderstood. Even Chateaubriand most unfilially classes him and Voltaire together. It appears to us that the inmost core of his being was religious. Had he remained in the Catholic Church, he might have been a saint. Had he come earlier, he might have founded an order. His was pre-

cisely the nature on which religious enthusiasm takes the strongest hold, — a temperament which finds a sensuous delight in spiritual things, and satisfies its craving for excitement with celestial debauch. He had not the iron temper of a great reformer and organizer like Knox, who, true Scotchman that he was, found a way to weld this world and the other together in a cast-iron creed; but he had as much as any man ever had that gift of a great preacher to make the oratorical fervor which persuades himself while it lasts into the abiding conviction of his hearers. That very persuasion of his that the soul could remain pure while the life was corrupt, is not unexampled among men who have left holier names than he. His "Confessions," also, would assign him to that class with whom the religious sentiment is strong, and the moral nature weak. They are apt to believe that they may, as special pleaders say, confess and avoid. Hawthorne has admirably illustrated this in the penance of Mr. Dimmesdale. With all the soil that is upon Rousseau, we cannot help looking on him as one capable beyond any in his generation of being divinely possessed; and if it happened otherwise, when we remember the much that hindered and the little that helped in a life and time like his, we shall be much readier to pity than to condemn. It was his very fitness for being something better that makes him able to shock us so with what in too many respects he unhappily was. Less gifted, he had been less hardly judged. More than any other of the sentimentalists, except possibly Sterne, he had in him a staple of sincerity. Compared with Chateaubriand, he is honesty, compared with Lamartine, he is manliness itself. His nearest congener in our own tongue is Cowper.

In the whole school there is a sickly taint. The strongest mark which Rousseau has left upon literature is a sensibility to the picturesque in Nature, not with Nature as a strengthener and consoler, a wholesome tonic for a mind ill at ease with itself, but with Nature as a kind of feminine echo to the mood, flattering it with sympathy rather than correcting it with rebuke or lifting it away from its unmanly depression, as in the wholesomer fellow-feeling of Wordsworth. They seek in her an accessory, and not a reproof. It is less a sympathy with Nature than a sympathy with ourselves as we compel her to reflect

us. It is solitude, Nature for her estrangement from man, not for her companionship with him, — it is desolation and ruin, Nature as she has triumphed over man, — with which this order of mind seeks communion and in which it finds solace. It is with the hostile and destructive power of matter, and not with the spirit of life and renewal that dwells in it, that they ally themselves. And in human character it is the same. St. Preux, René, Werther, Manfred, Quasimodo, they are all anomalies, distortions, ruins, — so much easier is it to caricature life from our own sickly conception of it, than to paint it in its noble simplicity ; so much cheaper is unreality than truth.

Every man is conscious that he leads two lives, — the one trivial and ordinary, the other sacred and recluse ; one which he carries to society and the dinner-table, the other in which his youth and aspiration survive for him, and which is a confidence between himself and God. Both may be equally sincere, and there need be no contradiction between them, any more than in a healthy man between soul and body. If the higher life be real and earnest, its result, whether in literature or affairs, will be real and earnest too. But no man can produce great things who is not thoroughly sincere in dealing with himself, who would not exchange the finest show for the poorest reality, who does not so love his work that he is not only glad to give himself for it, but finds rather a gain than a sacrifice in the surrender. The sentimentalist does not think of what he does so much as of what the world will think of what he does. He translates should into would, looks upon the spheres of duty and beauty as alien to each other, and can never learn how life rounds itself to a noble completeness between these two opposite but mutually sustaining poles of what we long for and what we must.

Did Rousseau, then, lead a life of this quality ? Perhaps, when we consider the contrast which every man who looks backward must feel between the life he planned and the life which circumstance within him and without him has made for him, we should rather ask, Was this the life he meant to lead ? Perhaps, when we take into account his faculty of self-deception, — it may be no greater than our own, — we should ask, Was this the life he believed he led ? Have we any right to judge

this man after our blunt English fashion, and condemn him, as we are wont to do, on the finding of a jury of average householders? Is French reality precisely our reality? Could we tolerate tragedy in rhymed alexandrines, instead of blank verse? The whole life of Rousseau is pitched on this heroic key, and for the most trivial occasion he must be ready with the sublime sentiments that are supposed to suit him rather than it. It is one of the most curious features of the sentimental ailment, that, while it shuns the contact of men, it courts publicity. In proportion as solitude and communion with self lead the sentimentalist to exaggerate the importance of his own personality, he comes to think that the least event connected with it is of consequence to his fellow-men. If he change his shirt, he would have mankind aware of it. Victor Hugo, the greatest living representative of the class, considers it necessary to let the world know by letter from time to time his opinions on every conceivable subject about which it is not asked nor is of the least value unless we concede to him an immediate inspiration. We men of colder blood, in whom self-consciousness takes the form of pride, and who have deified *mauvaise honte* as if our defect were our virtue, find it especially hard to understand that artistic impulse of more southern races to *pose* themselves properly on every occasion, and not even to die without some tribute of deference to the taste of the world they are leaving. Was not even mighty Cæsar's last thought of his drapery? Let us not condemn Rousseau for what seems to us the indecent exposure of himself in his "Confessions."

Those who allow an oratorical and purely conventional side disconnected with our private understanding of the facts, and to life, in which everything has a parliamentary sense wholly where truth is made subservient to the momentary exigencies of eloquence, should be charitable to Rousseau. While we encourage a distinction which establishes two kinds of truth, one for the world, and another for the conscience, while we take pleasure in a kind of speech that has no relation to the real thought of speaker or hearer, but to the rostrum only, we must not be hasty to condemn a sentimentalism which we do our best to foster. We listen in public with the gravity of augurs to what we smile at when we meet a brother adept. France is the na-

tive land of eulogy, of truth padded out to the size and shape demanded by *comme-il-faut*. The French Academy has, perhaps, done more harm by the vogue it has given to this style, than it has done good by its literary purism, for the best purity of a language depends on the limpidity of its source in veracity of thought. Rousseau was in many respects a typical Frenchman, and it is not to be wondered at if he too often fell in with the fashion of saying what was expected of him and what he thought due to the situation, rather than what would have been true to his inmost consciousness. Perhaps we should allow something also to the influence of a Calvinistic training, which certainly helps men who have the least natural tendency towards it to set faith above works, and to persuade themselves of the efficacy of an inward grace to effect an outward and visible defection from it.

As the sentimentalist always takes a fanciful, sometimes an unreal, life for an ideal one, it would be too much to say that Rousseau was a man of earnest convictions. But he was a man of fitfully intense ones, as suited so mobile a temperament, and his writings, more than those of any other of his tribe, carry with them that persuasion that was in him while he wrote. In them at least he is as consistent as a man who admits new ideas can ever be. The children of his brain he never abandoned, but clung to them with paternal fidelity. Intellectually he was true and fearless; constitutionally, timid, contradictory, and weak; but never, if we understand him rightly, false. He was a little too credulous of sonorous sentiment, but he was never, like Chateaubriand or Lamartine, the lackey of fine phrases. If, as some fanciful physiologists have assumed, there be a masculine and feminine lobe of the brain, it would seem that in men of sentimental turn the masculine half fell in love with and made an idol of the other, obeying and admiring all the pretty whims of this *folle du logis*. In Rousseau the mistress had some noble elements of character, and less taint of the *demi-monde* than is visible in more recent cases of the same illicit relation.

Art. IX. — CRITICAL NOTICES.

1. — *Inquiry into the Origin and Course of Political Parties in the United States.* By the late Ex-President Martin Van Buren. Edited by his Sons. New York: Hurd and Houghton. 1867. 8vo. pp. ix., 436.

Every manifestation of filial affection is entitled to respectful mention, when it is necessary to mention it at all; and as Mr. Van Buren's sons were led to send this work to the press by regard for their father's memory, we presume it will be respectfully received by their countrymen, though its intrinsic value is by no means great. Mr. Van Buren never held office after his forced retirement from the Presidency in 1841; but for many years after that date he continued to be an active politician, and by his labors he made a permanent impression on his country's history. He lived under dominion of the delusion that he was entitled to a second Presidential term, and that it was his business to destroy any Democratic statesman who should prevent his receiving a second nomination from the Democratic party. During the three years that followed his defeat, a majority of the members of his party favored his nomination for the election of 1844 – 45, and that nomination he would have received but for the success of an intrigue which placed General Jackson, much against the General's wish and intent, in apparent opposition to him. The Democratic National Convention of 1844 contained a majority of "Van Buren men"; but their opponents, favored by the existence of the "two-thirds rule," were enabled to throw him out, and to give the nomination to Mr. Polk. It had been the purpose of those Democrats who took the lead in breaking down Mr. Van Buren to place General Cass in nomination; but they were defeated, in their turn, by the friends of the ex-President, who had sufficient strength to say who should not be the candidate. Mr. Van Buren was inclined to oppose Mr. Polk; but he could not carry his partisans that length, and the Tennesseean was elected, with memorable effect on the country's fortunes; for the revival of the pro-slavery agitation is directly traceable to the result of the Presidential contest of 1844, and that led to secession and civil war, and to the abolition of slavery. Mr. Van Buren was still "kept before the people," and expected to receive the Democratic nomination in 1848. He was again disappointed, and his disappointment was greater than it had been in 1844, as General Cass was put in nomination, — a plan, which had been formed by the late Senator Douglas, to bring forward a new man, fail-

ing to meet with favor. The course of Mr. Van Buren was characteristic. Though he had been conspicuous as a pro-slavery man, he accepted the nomination of the "Barnburners" of New York for the Presidency, in the expectation of thereby getting that of the Free-Soilers. His expectation was well founded. He received the Free-Soil nomination; and in that way he succeeded in defeating the Democrats in the States of New York and Pennsylvania, which proved decisive on the result of the contest, and fatal to the hopes of General Cass. So many of our elections have been decided with direct reference to the hate felt by this or that eminent politician for some rival in his own party, that Mr. Van Buren's conduct surprised no one, though he was the first ex-President of the United States who stooped to the ignoble part of Loredano, in order that he might be able to say, with the Italian, that he had obtained payment from an enemy.

After 1848 Mr. Van Buren saw that his public career was at an end. It is not probable that he could have obtained the Democratic nomination in 1852, even had he supported General Cass four years earlier, as parties seldom have much respect for expended men; but his conduct in 1848 had embittered the majority of his old supporters, and forced upon him a real retirement, as the decision of the people eight years before had compelled him to leave the White House. He sought forgiveness from those he had offended, and was allowed gradually to creep back into the Democratic fold, to which even repentant deserters were welcomed, because of the losses it had sustained in consequence of Democratic devotion to the interests of slavery, which became painfully conspicuous after the inauguration of President Pierce. He was of those Democrats who supported the administrations of Pierce and Buchanan in their pro-slavery policy, and thus condemned his own conduct in 1848. But the leisure that was his he bestowed, for the most part, on his memoirs. He began to write in 1853, and was engaged on the work when death overtook him, in the summer of 1862. The book was left incomplete, closing with the year 1833 – 34, when the writer was Vice-President of the United States. The fragment was placed by his sons in the hands of Mr. Charles H. Hunt, author of the "Life of Edward Livingston," and who is now engaged on a biography of Mr. Van Buren. They retained the manuscript of the "Inquiry," and have published it separately. The author began it as an episode, and, as the sons say, it grew on his hands "to such proportions as to seem to stand more properly as a distinct production; and although, like the principal work, incomplete, it had been, nevertheless, carried forward to the point, chronologically speaking, that had been proposed, and that was, in fact, its natural termination." They think highly of

the "Inquiry," and they have performed a pious duty in causing it to be published; but they will find few men to read it, and of those who read it but a very small number will be influenced by anything that is contained in its dull, dry pages. They say that "the subject is of peculiar interest at this time when, our country having suffered the rude shock and disorder of civil war, and our free and popular institutions having sustained with admirable firmness and substantial triumph a more fearful trial than any to which they had before been subjected, the sacred and momentous duty is devolved on patriots and good citizens throughout our borders to reconstruct whatever valuable parts have been thrown down, to restore what may have been injured or defaced in our political system, and in the principles on which it rests; and the occasion seems auspicious for recalling the attention of our people to the study of the lives and doctrines, the grounds and motives of action, of the great men by whom the foundations of their government were laid." Certainly it is the duty of all who take part in the work of reconstructing the Union to refer to the past for instruction; but they should refer to it also for warning; and we are convinced that the American people will find very little in the history of that party which it is the purpose of Mr. Van Buren's "Inquiry" to glorify, that will commend itself for imitation. The early triumph and long ascendency of that party led to a civil war of proportions so great, that we must go back to Roman history to find anything with which justly to compare it; and this was deliberately brought about by the calm action of men who prided themselves on being the genuine successors of other men whose theory and practice are the special objects of Mr. Van Buren's eulogy, and to whom his sons would have the nation look for instruction in the work of restoring the law's supremacy. In other words, the people are blandly advised to seek materials for the work of reconstruction in a magazine crowded with destructive agencies; they are to organize anarchy, and make it permanent.

The purpose which Mr. Van Buren had in view in writing the "Inquiry" is to show that Alexander Hamilton was the evil genius of the American Union, and that Thomas Jefferson baffled him, and saved the Republic. This is the old, old story, that has been told over and over again by ten thousand partisan writers and orators during the last sixty years, till everybody has become tired of it, including even all Democrats whose memories do not take them back to the contest of 1800. It differs from the ordinary versions of the story only in the coloring matter employed. Mr. Van Buren was a gentleman, and he was a practised statesman; and as a gentleman he was above the use

of that political slang to which most Democratic writers have resorted when speaking of Hamilton's labors and intentions; and as a statesman familiar with men and affairs, he was aware that Hamilton's motives, admitting them to have been unsound, could not have been low or selfish. Hence his "Inquiry," in respect to manner, is not offensive. We cannot recall a single ungentlemanly expression in its entire course. He does justice to Hamilton's talents, to his personal disinterestedness, and to his intentions. In this consists the solitary great merit of the work: it states the old Democratic view of the early political history of the country in dignified though heavy language, the reading of which creates no disgust. We dissent from his opinions, we think he is often wrong in his facts, and we are confident his conclusions are erroneous; but we readily admit that he treats his political foes with the most polished courtesy, and that, apparently, he is sincerely anxious to state the truth — as he understands it. It will be understood that he is a more dangerous enemy of correct political principles than if he had written of them and their supporters with that coarseness which ever carries with it its own correction. But no danger need be apprehended from this work, because it is destitute of all the elements of popularity. It was said of President Van Buren's Messages, that they were read by few, and admired by none; and of his "Inquiry" the same remark holds good. Were it as brilliant as one of Lord Macaulay's political essays, it would be a dangerous book; but being heavy as Dr. Nares's Life of Burghley, it will have no effect on the popular mind. It will find its way into the hands of men who are curious on points of politics, and it will be consulted by those controversialists who get their facts and arguments at second-hand; but most copies of it will enjoy that unenviable repose to which election sermons and Fourth-of-July orations are doomed. Even were its style excellent, we doubt if it could become very popular, so entirely is it written in the spirit of a departed age. It is, perhaps, its greatest failing, that it is entirely destitute of anything that can be mistaken for contemporary feeling. It appears to have been written, for the most part, in 1857, but it might as well, as relates to the greater part of it, have been written in 1827; and what was lifelike in 1857 is now dead, and beyond hope of resurrection. We cannot but believe that, if Mr. Van Buren had lived till now, either he would have altered his work extensively, or have consigned it to the fire; for he could not have failed to see that it had become a modern antique through the sheer force of external circumstances. In the five years that have elapsed since the edict of emancipation was put forth, this country has gone through greater changes than could have been wrought by ordinary agencies in a century. The France of to-day

does not differ so much from the France of 1788, morally speaking, as the American Republic of 1867 differs from the American Republic of 1862, the year in which Mr. Van Buren died. We have outgrown — or rather we have overleaped — all the party truisms, for the possession of which politicians were so ready to contend even after Mr. Lincoln had been some time President, and when Mr. Davis was in the early days of his reign at Richmond; and a grave political treatise written in 1857, and which, if published in that year, would have been received as a valuable addition to our literature, is now of no more account to voters than would be the publication of the Marquess of Worcester's Century of Inventions to the world of science. It is a curiosity, like any other disinterred fossil fragment, and it can be nothing more. It illustrates the ideas of an extinct time, — a time near to us in one sense, but in every other sense almost as remote as that of the Heptarchy.

We have not the space in which to point out even the chief errors of the "Inquiry." To do that, and to show that they are errors, would require us to write a volume. Two or three of those errors, which belong to the very basis of Mr. Van Buren's general argument, may be indicated. He assumes that the Colonists — the men who founded the American world and their immediate descendants — were inclined to republicanism, and that "by far the largest portions" of them had "an insurmountable opposition to hereditary political power in any shape and under any circumstances." This is not supported by facts. The kings of Great Britain who ruled hereditarily — George II. and George III., for example — had in no part of their dominions subjects more loyal than the Americans who lived during the thirty-eight years that followed the death of George I., who had been called by Parliament to the British throne. Our predecessors had the same king as the inhabitants of England and Scotland, and they were content with him. But they did not admit that the British Parliament had the right to legislate for them in full, though they long submitted to its decrees. It was not the hereditary branch of the imperial government to which they had objections, but the elective branch, the House of Commons, which has been the ruling body in Great Britain ever since the success of the Revolutionists of 1688. It was the union of the two branches for the oppression of the Colonists that brought about the American Revolution. Had the British government borne itself toward them with ordinary fairness, the Colonists never would have aspired to national life. Had George III. been as wise a monarch as his grandfather and his great-grandfather, he might have died master of North America. Separation would have come in time; but it would have

come gradually and peacefully, as we see it is coming in the case of Canada, or in that of the Australasian colonies, which are taking initiatory steps toward a union. But the young king was mad in the medical sense, and by his insane action he hastened an event which need not have happened in his time; and he was compelled, according to his own showing, to lay a dishonored head on his pillow, because he had lost his American provinces, — he who was born a gentleman! The Colonies seem to have been singularly free from republicanism, if attachment to an hereditary chief-magistrate can be taken as evidence on the point. That republican feeling rapidly developed itself after the troubles with England began was natural, for discontent could develop itself in no other direction. That a republican polity was established here when the Revolution became armed was inevitable. It was that or nothing. A despotism was out of the question; and there was a total absence of all the material from which a constitutional monarchy either grows or is systematically formed. There could have been a king chosen, had the people sought for one; but whence could a nobility have been drawn? We say nothing of the strongly defined social distinctions that existed in the Colonial age, for they are as apt to exist in republics as under monarchies.

Another of Mr. Van Buren's errors is his assumption that the triumph of the Democratic party in this country, and its long ascendency, were due to the action of the agricultural interest, the farmers and planters, who feared that liberty would be lost, should the rule of the Federalists be continued. "A great preponderance of the landed interest in every part of the country," he says, sustained "the old Republican party," and enabled it to prevent the re-election of John Adams to the Presidency. Now nothing can be more satisfactorily established than this fact, that Mr. Adams was defeated through the result of a local election in a place that had the least pretensions to an agricultural character of any in the United States. The Presidential election of 1800 – 1801 depended for its decision on the vote of the State of New York; and the Electors being chosen by the Legislature, the contest was narrowed down to the result of the contest for members to the House of Assembly in New York City. Through the exertions of Aaron Burr, the Democratic candidates were chosen; and in consequence of this victory in a great commercial town, the Democrats obtained the votes of the twelve New York Electors. This secured seventy-three votes for Mr. Jefferson in the Electoral Colleges, leaving but sixty-five for Mr. Adams. New York City was at that time the first commercial place in the country, having sixty thousand inhabitants. Philadelphia had a larger population, but it was inferior to New York

as a mart, and less under the dominion of commercial influences. Thus the Democratic or old Republican party owed its first great victory to the political action of a mercantile community. There were few manufactures in the country at that time, agriculture and commerce all but monopolizing the attention of active and industrious men; and as the North was then full of farmers, and most of its votes were given for Mr. Adams, we see no reason for supposing that Mr. Jefferson owed his election to the attachment of the agricultural interest. It can with no show of fairness be pretended that New England and New Jersey, which gave their forty-six electoral votes for Mr. Adams, were less pronouncedly agricultural communities than Virginia, the Carolinas, Georgia, and Kentucky, which gave forty-five votes for Mr. Jefferson. The votes of Pennsylvania were almost equally divided, — eight being given for Mr. Jefferson, and seven for Mr. Adams. Maryland's votes were equally divided, five to five. And while Tennessee gave her three votes for Mr. Jefferson, Delaware gave her three for Mr. Adams. So far as appears, the various interests of the country were not far from unequally represented by the two parties that then contended for supremacy. The division of parties was, judging from the sources of their respective electoral votes, rather of a sectional character than one of interests, — more than four fifths of the votes given for Mr. Adams being from Northern States, and more than two thirds of those given for Mr. Jefferson being from Southern States. We have dwelt on this point because nothing is more common than to hear it said, or to find it stated in books, that victory in the decisive contest between the old Republicans and the Federalists was won by the former through the favor of the agricultural interest, — a statement without any foundation in the comprehensive sense in which it is made.

If we look at the details of the contested elections since that of 1800, we shall not find that the agricultural interest has extended an undivided support to the Democratic party. Mr. Van Buren might have found in the history of his own State, and in his own history, facts that are fatally adverse to his claim of a necessary connection between farming and attachment to Democratic party politics. As New York's territory was settled, the number of farmers there greatly increased, and so did the number of anti-Democratic voters. The new counties, "Western New York," became noted for their unflinching hostility to Democratic politics. The country "West of the Bridge" gave prodigious majorities against Democratic candidates, and it was relied upon to outvote the older part of the State, which was favorable to Democracy. It did so on more than one occasion. Mr. Van Buren lost the electoral vote of his own State in 1840, because Western New York

was opposed to his re-election. Since that time we have seen great Democratic majorities in New York City rendered unavailable through the heavy anti-Democratic majorities cast by the agricultural counties of the western part of the State. No longer ago than last year the Democrats were beaten in the State of New York through the hostility felt for their opinions by the agriculturists, while the city of New York voted for them by a majority that was counted by tens of thousands. They relied, indeed, upon their strength in the city to effect their restoration in the State; and they were bitterly disappointed when they found that their urban masses were not able, though voting early and voting often, to out-count the honest farming population.

Yet a third error in the "Inquiry" is the assertion that there has been no material modification of the character and principles of parties in this country. The old Republican or Democratic party has undergone various modifications of a very radical character. In about a dozen years after the election of Mr. Jefferson to the Presidency, it had adopted most of the Hamiltonian theories, and its practices were in accordance therewith. It created a second national bank, and one of far greater proportions than that the creation of which had so alarmed the old Republicans a quarter of a century earlier. It became a protectionist party, and forced the manufacturing system on reluctant New England. It created an enormous national debt. It favored internal improvements. It created a navy, built fortifications, and kept up a standing army in time of peace. These were the very things which the Jeffersonian Republicans most condemned when the Federalists were in office, and yet the men who were most conspicuous in effecting changes so sweeping were all Jeffersonian Republicans. The administration of Mr. Monroe would have commanded the support of Alexander Hamilton himself. When Mr. Jefferson saw what was going on at Washington under the third President in succession of that Virginian line which he had himself founded, he must have thought that the time for the correction of his remark, that all Americans were Republicans *and* Federalists, had come, and that all Americans were nothing but Federalists. The "era of good feeling" came about as a matter of course; for the Republicans had possession of the government, and the Federalists had possession of the Republican party. The late Mr. J. Q. Adams used to say that the party in opposition was a Republican (or Democratic) party, and the party in power a Federal party, which is the most rational explanation of the matter that ever has been given. The country ever has been governed in accordance with Federal principles; and every opposition party we have known has avowed principles not unlike to those which found favor with Jefferson and John

Taylor of Caroline seventy years since. The sentiments avowed by the Hartford Conventionists might be incorporated into the "platform" of a Democratic national convention this year without one man in a hundred being aware of their origin, while all Democrats would subscribe to them so long as they should be in ignorance of their source. Much has been said of the strong centralizing tendencies of the existing government as controlled by Congress; but it is not more centralizing than was the administration of Mr. Monroe, of which Mr. Calhoun, Mr. Crawford, and Mr. Wirt were members, — and they were Jeffersonian Republicans. The occurrence of the civil war may have accelerated the development of centralizing principles in this our day, as the occurrence of the second war with England accelerated it half a century since. But if the second development takes place under an anti-Democratic ascendency, the first happened when the Democratic party was supreme, and master of all the land.

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2. — *Letter of the Hon. Hugh McCulloch, Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, to William Gray and others of Boston, May* 22, 1867. Boston Daily Advertiser, May 28, 1867.

It often happens that the unofficial writings of public men assume the importance of state papers. A few weeks ago, after the miscarriage of some liberal amendment to the Reform Bill, a private note of Mr. Gladstone, addressed to one of his supporters, was construed into a personal abdication of the leadership of the great Liberal party of England. Mr. McCulloch's recent letter, declining the honor of a public dinner tendered to him by certain citizens of Boston, has even higher claim to an official character than the familiar talk which he addressed to his neighbors at Fort Wayne in the autumn of 1865. That speech was made and accepted as a declaration of the principles on which the new Secretary proposed to carry on the finances of the country. Having come into office in March, he could make no official report till December. He therefore seized an earlier opportunity to speak to the country through his more immediate constituents. Since that time the Fort Wayne speech has been more often quoted and referred to than any of Mr. McCulloch's official papers. Cabinet ministers in this country, having no seats in Congress such as British ministers have in Parliament, seldom get a chance to speak officially, so that they are forced to seize upon any chance occasion which presents itself to get their views and purposes before the country.

At the present time, when so much depends on the management of

the finances, it is very necessary that there should be a good understanding between the Secretary of the Treasury and the business public. To a large degree he holds their destinies in his hands, and they have a right to know how he intends to deal with them. What he proposes to do in reference to the currency, as to funding his short-time obligations, and as to the disposition of gold and other funds in the treasury, should be foreshadowed as long beforehand as the Secretary himself can clearly see.

In his late letter Mr. McCulloch gives us to understand that the monthly statement for the rest of the present and the early part of the next fiscal year (that is, during the summer and autumn now upon us) will not be as satisfactory as they have been for many months past.*

"The donations or bounties to soldiers, preparations for a threatening Indian war, even if the war itself should be avoided, and very liberal appropriations of a miscellaneous character, will cause unusually heavy drafts to be made upon the treasury; while, on the other hand, the general failure of the wheat crop and the partial failure of the corn crop last year, slow progress in the restoration of the Southern States to their proper relations with the Federal government, the dulness of trade throughout the country, — partly the result of a decrease of production, and partly the natural reaction which always follows periods of excitement and speculation, — together with reduced taxes, will very considerably affect our revenues. This combination of adverse circumstances may retard a return to specie payments, and, with large issues of bonds to be made to the Pacific Railroad and its branches or divisions, will prevent for a brief season a reduction of the public debt, and may even render a temporary increase of it unavoidable; but it will not weaken my faith in our ability to move on again in the right direction at an early day. On the contrary, I believe that this check to our progress will lead to improvements in our revenue laws, and to an increase of efficiency in their execution, hasten the representation in Congress of the Southern States, and secure greater economy in all branches of the public service."

This is a timely warning against the dangers of extravagance. The ease with which money has been raised by taxation since the war

* The public debt reached its maximum on the 31st of August, 1865, when it amounted to $2,757,803,000. On the 1st of June, 1867, it had been reduced to $2,515,616,000, — a decline of $242,187,000 in a period of twenty-one months; an average of more than eleven and a half millions a month. Since October 31, 1866, the reduction has been $35,809,000, or at the rate of a little over five millions a month. But these payments do not by any means show the magnitude of the work accomplished by the Treasury Department. One of the most uncomfortable features of the debt at the close of the war was the large amount of it unfunded, — being either due at short dates or on demand. In the twelve months ending with June 1, 1867, the amount of this class of debt either paid off or funded into long bonds was more than $527,000,000. Of this amount $167,000,000 were temporary loans, and $28,000,000 greenbacks.

ended, and the vigor with which we have grappled with the public debt, have led to wild and dangerous notions, both in Congress and among the people, as to the extent and availability of our resources. Every day's delay in the passage of bounty bills, and of laws appropriating money to great schemes of internal improvement, helps to open the eyes of the people to the folly and danger of adding to the public debt. The business of the latter years of the war and of the first year of peace was so profitable, that it was an easy matter to pay the taxes; but during the last year it cannot be doubted that many branches of business paid taxes, not from income, but from capital. Such a state of things, if continued, is fatal to the industry involved, and is calculated to awaken the liveliest anxiety. It is just as dangerous for a nation as it is for an individual to consume its substance; and no kind of business which is of a beneficial character, and is suitable to the country, should be permitted to be paralyzed by taxation. The present system of internal taxes is not only burdensome in its rates, but vexatious by the constant repetition of them in the successive processes of production. Although large reductions and simplifications have been made from the crude and wholesale taxes imposed during the war, these must be still further reduced before business can recover a healthy tone.

Added to this inherent difficulty, there has been a variety of untoward circumstances helping to prostrate the industry of the country during the last year. A short cotton crop left the South poorer at the end of the year than at the beginning. They had, therefore, very little to begin the new year with; while the heavy decline in cotton discouraged immigration and the introduction of capital from the North. Southern planting has settled down upon the conditions of an ordinary business, with the speculative element eliminated. In the West the wheat crop was also a failure; and thus another great customer of the Atlantic and Middle States has been restricted in its means of buying. In New England and Pennsylvania, the high cost of production, and the limited and slackening demand for products, have made nearly every class of manufacture unremunerative. The woollen trade, especially, has suffered largely in consequence of our production, during the war, both in goods and machinery. Trade languishes; and commerce and transportation, whether by land or water, find no employment in the absence of production.

In this state of things there is much feverishness in business circles, and, though money is abundant, there is great caution exercised in the investment of it, and a general distrust of credit. Some apprehensions have been felt that the summer would not pass over without a crisis. But convulsions in business, as well as in the human system, come from

fear, and not from exhaustion. Crises, according to Dr. Juglar, result from the abuse of high health, and not from a low state of the system. The most serious danger of a crisis is when the opportunities for profitable investment are so numerous that they are permitted to absorb too much of the working capital of a country. At present there is no lack of working capital, while few industries are profitable enough to attract it, and of money, such as it is, there is abundance. Foreign indebtedness exists almost wholly in the form of Federal bonds, and the extent of domestic credits is very limited. The country is, therefore, neither sufficiently active nor sufficiently in debt to make a general failure probable. It waits and watches; waits for an abundant harvest and a new cotton crop, waits for the remoter remedy of action by Congress in the tax laws, and watches anxiously every movement of the financial machinery of the government. There was never so much financial speculation in the newspapers, never so much financial talk in the streets, the railway cars, and other places of casual meeting. In truth, there are now no questions really so interesting to the whole body of the people as those which relate to the currency, to taxation, and to the policy of the Treasury Department. It may be judged, therefore, with what eagerness the writers of money articles and the frequenters of the exchange have seized upon Mr. McCulloch's letter. It produced a sensible impression on stocks, and was a welcome boon to that class of operators who live by weaving new and intricate combinations, and generally by financial hocus-pocus. On the whole, the bulls have been able to make the most out of it. It is regarded as a favorable feature in the stock market that the public debt is not likely to be reduced as rapidly as heretofore, and that there is to be no considerable reduction of the currency for some months to come. As the circumstances which make this modification of Mr. McCulloch's plans necessary for the time grow out of the unprosperous condition of the country, it is difficult to see how any of the stocks which are dealt in on the exchange — all of them, except the public debt, being the representatives of some industrial interest — can be benefited thereby, and not injured. But it only goes to show how much more the price of stocks depends on the state of the money market than on the condition of industry.

A leading purpose of Mr. McCulloch's letter is to explain why he has not reduced the currency, as he is authorized to do under the law of Congress. The reasons which he assigns are:— (1.) That the majority of Congress was opposed to it, and that, as finance minister, he is especially dependent on them. In reference to this point, it seems to us the Secretary's deference to the opinions of Congress comes a little

late. If he had been more considerate of their opinions on political questions a year ago, they would have paid more deference to his financial counsels during the last session. It will be glory enough for Mr. McCulloch if he can, in his four years' management, fund the public debt, make some sensible progress in its reduction, and bring us back to specie payments. He is a cabinet minister, it is true, and in that capacity one of the advisers of the President; but his chief business is with the treasury, and when he accepted office he did so as the peculiar minister of the House of Representatives. Sir Robert Peel abandoned his party that he might carry the repeal of the corn laws. Could not Mr. McCulloch have managed to avoid a quarrel with Congress, when the good of the country so much required harmony and hearty co-operation between them?

The other reasons which he assigns are: — (2.) That, in the present feverish temper of business circles, with much prevalent misconception of the true function and working of the currency, any considerable reduction of it would increase the distrust, and possibly precipitate disaster. (3.) That the payment of the compound-interest notes falling due this year demanded his first attention, and would in itself operate as a contraction of the currency. These notes are largely held by banks, as a part of their necessary reserve of legal-tender notes. When they are withdrawn, it will be necessary to hold greenbacks in place of them, and thus the effect on the circulation will be the same as withdrawing so many greenbacks. (4.) That, while so many real and grave causes exist to embarrass the business of the country, he does not feel willing to make the contraction of the currency a stalking-horse to cover up the real evils, and prevent the application of appropriate remedies.

We think, in all these excuses, the Secretary betrays a consciousness of impaired influence, both with Congress and the people. We do not think, however, that he has the least reason to distrust his power over the people. The very signatures to the letter inviting him to Boston are a proof that we are right in this opinion; for probably a large majority of the signers have not agreed with Mr. McCulloch's political views. While he may err in particular measures, we believe the Secretary's general line of policy is eminently wise, and so plain as to be understood and approved by all disinterested people; — to fund the debt first, because, as an old banker, he cannot sleep quietly with a debt impending which he is not prepared to pay; to bring us back to specie payments; and then to establish a steady scheme of liquidation, so that the current idea now prevailing in the country, that the debt is not to be a permanent burden, but to be paid in one or two generations, may

never be abandoned; and combined with these measures, and as accessory to all of them, a better revenue system, which shall tax the people without overburdening them. Of some of these measures we shall speak in noticing other publications.

The concluding passages of the letter aver the confidence of the Secretary in the correctness of his past measures, and his purpose to adhere to the same policy in future; through which he feels sure that he can bring the country out of present shadows into the sunlight of prosperity. They are as follows: —

"I am as much persuaded as ever of the importance of an early return to specie payments, and of a reduction of the currency, as a means of checking extravagance and speculation, and of increasing production, without which all efforts to restore permanently the specie standard will be ineffectual. What the country needs, in order that specie payments may be resumed and maintained, and real prosperity secured, is an increase of industry, and a restoration of our former habits of economy. As a people, among ourselves, we must earn more and spend less. In our trade with foreign nations, we must sell more or buy less. Any different prescription for existing financial evils is, in my judgment, quackery. That contraction will tend to bring about this desirable condition of things, I have never doubted. . . . . It has been my constant aim so to manage the national finances as to aid in bringing the country to a healthy financial condition, without being subjected to the severe disasters which many judicious persons have supposed a large debt, and the derangement of business, and the diminution of industry, occasioned by the war and a redundant currency, would render inevitable. My faith that this can be accomplished is unshaken. The causes which are now operating against us are exceptional and temporary. . . . . The people are beginning again to comprehend this important truth, which seems to have been disregarded for some years past, that prosperity is the result of labor; that industry and economy are indispensable to national, as well as to individual wealth. I shall be grievously disappointed if another year does not witness a large increase of industry, of enterprise, and of revenue, decided progress toward a resumption of specie payments, and a steady reduction of the public debt."

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3. — *On the Collection of Revenue.* By Edward Atkinson. Boston: A. Williams & Co. May, 1867.

This is a valuable contribution to the free-trade side of the revenue controversy now going on in the United States; more valuable, in one respect, than the elaborate treatises of Professor Perry and Mr. Amasa Walker, since the author is a practical manufacturer, and his branch of business — cotton-spinning — is one of those which, in the past, have especially demanded and received the benefits of a protective tariff.

Professor Perry, on the contrary, writes from the closet, with no experience of business, and only such knowledge as is derived from books. Having to teach political economy as a science, it is not unnatural that he seeks his inspiration in the works of those English and French masters who have made the most valuable contributions to its literature; nor that, having begun by adopting their principles of free trade, he should afterwards endeavor to apply them to the experience of this country. What we conceive to be the error of Professor Perry and of the writers of his school is, that they treat political economy as an exact science, as unbending in its applications as the formulas of mathematics. In the practical statesman, however, who has to make laws in harmony with it, it falls far short of these conditions. While he is willing to recognize free trade, for example, as the abstract principle and the ultimately attainable good of civilization and commercial intercourse, he also perceives that it is subject to great diversities of application, having regard to national position and circumstances, — that it is so clearly allied with political institutions and social conditions as to make it extremely difficult to fix its exact boundaries. It is because economical writers so often disregard these differences of national condition, and endeavor to make all nations fill the Procrustean bed which is presented by their philosophy, that mere men of business deny altogether its authority, and fall into the opposite error of supposing that there is no philosophy of business, as there is admittedly a philosophy of morals and a philosophy of politics. Mr. Amasa Walker writes from a different stand-point. Though he now occupies the lecturer's chair in one of our leading colleges, he did not learn his political economy there. His early and middle life was spent in business. But, as we explained in our January number, when noticing his "Science of Wealth," he probably owes his free-trade opinions to political and to personal accidents. He was a Democrat long before he could have thought anything about political economy; and because the seat of Democratic supremacy was in the agricultural South and West, while that of the Whigs was in the manufacturing States of the North and East, free trade was the not unnatural outgrowth of local and political antagonisms. But, besides this, Mr. Walker was a shoe manufacturer, and his business never required the fostering care of legislation; and it is not unreasonable to suppose that the early managers of this business may have looked with some jealousy upon the superior wealth and influence of the cotton manufacturers, who so long controlled the industry and politics of New England.

Mr. Atkinson was, however, bred in the opposite school. He was educated in the faith of Mr. Webster and the Whig party of Massachu-

setts, and he served his apprenticeship in cotton-spinning at a time when the necessity of a protective tariff was an axiom both of his profession and of his party. What, then, has brought him out of darkness into his present light? In this case, again, we think the conversion is historical rather than logical. We do not for a moment doubt the sincerity of Mr. Atkinson's convictions, any more than we doubt the sincerity of Mr. Amasa Walker or Professor Perry; but it may help us to put a just value on their opinions, if we know how they arrived at them. Long anterior to the war, it had been discovered that, in the manufacture of coarse cotton, we could compete with England, and even supplant her in the markets of South America, China, and her own East Indian colonies. When this point had been reached, there was obviously no further need of a protective tariff on that class of goods; and little by little, by more intelligent and diligent service, and by swifter and better machinery, we were overcoming the advantage which Europe still enjoys, in cheaper capital and more abundant labor, in the production of all classes of cotton fabrics. The cotton manufacturers of New England had, therefore, before the war, passed into the category of low-tariff men, which is the first step in the natural progress towards free trade. This was before we had any excise laws, when cotton, coal, oil, and starch were untaxed raw materials, and when there was no monthly tax on sales, and no periodical tithing of profits and dividends. But the war put an entirely new face on this business. Its first effect was not merely to put an end to the creation of new spindles, but to close many of the existing mills. This, added to the sudden rise of the raw material caused by the cotton famine, and the corresponding advance of goods, gave prodigious profits to those mills which had great stocks of cotton when the war began, or which bought and worked it up on an advancing market. The whole cotton interest of New England could well afford to let the mills lie idle for the next five years, so great were the profits during the war. But it is quite a different matter to run these mills on a declining market, with a scale of wages which it is hard to reduce without driving the laborers to a strike, and which is yet much higher than the manufacturer can afford to pay, with constantly recurring taxes, and with a piling up of goods which nobody will buy beyond his barest wants, in the hope of seeing them still lower. If Mr. Atkinson could live and thrive under a low tariff, how is he helped by a high one, which entails a corresponding scale of inland taxes? Can we wonder that he now expresses himself in these terms?

"As some surprise has been expressed that these views should emanate from a manufacturer of cotton goods, I will add that I believe a gradual and judi-

cious reduction of the duties upon foreign commodities, in the manner proposed, — *of course preceded by an entire abolition of the internal taxes upon manufactures*, — will result in a more permanent and uniform condition of prosperity in the manufacture of textile fabrics, as well as of all other commodities, than we have ever yet enjoyed."

We are not prepared to deny the justice of this conclusion as applied to Mr. Atkinson's own business, and the same may probably be said of most of the established industries of the country. But from this it by no means follows, as a necessary conclusion, that protection was never necessary, and that the whole past theory of our legislation is a mistake. Because his ankles are now strong, he despises crutches, and thinks if the doctors had let him alone he could have run a race with the older boys earlier and better than he has been able to do. This may possibly be true, and we are willing to admit that there is much danger of permanent lameness by too long refusing to trust the ankles with the weight which they must ultimately bear. We cannot but distrust, however, this *ex post facto* reasoning, which would reconstruct the past on principles which seem to us to owe their present pertinency to new elements which have entered into our national condition. Is it proved by Mr. Atkinson's experience that protection was never necessary to cotton-spinners, and that it is not necessary still to certain industries? We do not propose to follow him through the *a priori* reasonings which lead him to this conclusion, for to do so would be to write a criticism of Adam Smith and Bastiat and Professor Perry. We simply say that, taking lessons out of history, there is no national experience which convicts the American people of error in following their traditional policy of protection. The example of Great Britain is not in point; for, as Mr. Bigelow most clearly established in his book on the tariff, published in 1860, the free-trade measures of Great Britain were based on principles of the purest selfishness. In repealing the customs duties on foreign manufactures, England sacrificed nothing, for the revenue derived from them hardly paid the cost of collection. They were the chrysalis shell which was no longer needed to protect the expanding life of her manufactures, and which must be broken before she could expand her wings for a flight over the whole world. The essence of British free trade lay not in the repeal of duties on foreign manufactures, but on foreign cotton, foreign corn, and the commerce of foreign ships. All these repeals were necessary to cheapen the cost of those articles which she produces for the consumption of other nations, and on which her prosperity, both as a manufacturing and as a commercial people, wholly depends. By these measures she did not open her home markets more freely to competitors,

but more effectually closed them, by reducing the cost of production to so low a point as to make competition on her own soil impossible. In the single article of silk, where France had great natural as well as acquired advantages over her, she retained the duty on the foreign manufacture; and it continued as high as fifteen per cent up to the French treaty of 1860, when it had to yield to the superior influence of iron and coal, and submit to a prospective repeal. Great Britain has a small territory and a dense population, too poor to consume the products of her industry. Hence she has to depend on foreign markets. Her insular position, and the commercial supremacy to which it has given rise, have made her the great broker of the world, — doing everybody's business, and taking commissions from every other nation. The first study of the British government is to foster British trade, and this is especially the guiding principle of its diplomacy.

It is a noteworthy fact, however, that, with all an Englishman's loyalty to home ideas, and in the expatriated Englishman it rises to the height of a fanaticism, the British colonies have uniformly resisted free trade with the mother country. The Economist tried to account for this, a few years ago, by saying that there was "something or other in the English mind, — a want, perhaps, of sympathy with the special difficulties of other nations," (which we conceive to be a delicate way of expresssing a selfish indifference to and disregard of the interests of other nations,) — "which prohibits its favorite ideas from spreading." So that although "a partial advance towards a sound policy has been made in France, under the influence of the Emperor, in America, the Canadas, Australia, and the Anglo-Saxon colonies, the belief in protection seems to have acquired a new and stronger vitality." But in analyzing the cause of this belief, the writer is compelled to admit that "the primary axiom of free trade is not, for colonies, a pleasant one. That axiom declares it advantageous for every country to produce those things for which it has special natural advantages. The axiom prevents waste of power, but, as applied to our colonies, it also produces *sameness of occupation*." Therefore it is, that the colony of Victoria elects a protectionist Parliament, for says the Australian, "Though we may be richer by digging gold and keeping shop, we prefer a varied society, even if comparatively poor, to a simple society, even if comparatively rich." Now this reasoning applied with even greater force to the early condition of the United States, and it is measurably applicable still. Not only was it important to secure variety of occupation for the sake of its civilizing influence on a young society, but it was indispensable, also, to secure the power and habit of self-dependence for a young and rising nation. The same instincts which, accord-

ing to John Stuart Mill, justified Great Britain in building up her mercantile marine, as against the Dutch, by the Navigation Laws, justified the United States in fostering her infant manufactures and her struggling iron trade by a protective tariff. Where would the nation have been in the late war if it had depended on Europe for iron ships, or for the varied products of our textile manufacture? How much easier it would have been to strangle the nation, as European governments would have rejoiced to do, if we had been tied to them by such humiliating conditions! Nor, in this connection, shall we forbear to quote that broader justification of a protective policy, which Mr. Mill admits to exist, "in a new country, as a means of naturalizing a branch of industry in itself suited to the country, but which would be unable to establish itself there without some form of temporary assistance from the state." We are willing to limit the right of protection to such industries; for we admit the impolicy of fostering those which are against nature, and which, being essentially exotic, can never become rooted in our soil, or bear the rigors of our climate. But this cannot be said of any of the leading industries of America hitherto protected. What can be more perfectly "suited to the country" than the development of the mines which so richly underlie the surface of our continent, — than to convert the native iron into machinery to manufacture the native wool, — than to spin the cotton for which, in its native state, the world has depended chiefly on ourselves? Mr. Mill has, it is true, recently denied the applicability of his exception to the present condition of our protected industries; but he does not recall the principle involved in it, though he has been freely criticised by his followers in England for ever admitting it. The application of the principle is for us to make, and no foreign author or statesman can possibly decide for us in this matter so wisely as we can decide ourselves.

We differ, therefore, with Mr. Atkinson, because he denies that protection was ever necessary to the United States, or has ever done any good here. He has fallen into the common error of treating the world as though it was one nation, and not a competing family of nations; as if it enjoyed equal laws and a common civilization, instead of representing all degrees of liberty and despotism in government, and of intelligence and barbarism in society. Mr. Mill admits the actual refracting influence on his favorite science, when he says, "There can be no doubt that, in the present state of international morality, a people cannot, any more than an individual, be blamed for not starving itself to feed others."

But in spite of this radical difference, we find more to praise than to object to in Mr. Atkinson's essay. It is a desultory paper, without much

logical order or cohesion of parts; but it discusses a great many of the current questions about revenue and taxation and the currency in a direct and practical way, which is well calculated to arrest attention and carry influence. The old distinction between protection for the sake of protection, and protection as incident to revenue, is not likely to recur with the present state of necessary taxation. Any tariff which is agreed upon will necessarily be predicated upon revenue; but within the limits of a revenue tariff there is wide room for that incidental protection which is claimed by the several industries. No protectionist will dare to ask more than this, but even this is much more than Mr. Atkinson and the free-traders are disposed to grant. He would bring us as speedily as possible into the English system of raising revenue from a few articles of large consumption, such as tea, coffee, wine, spirits, beer, tobacco, sugar, spices, stamps, licenses, &c.; while he would repeal all custom duties on other foreign articles, and all inland taxes on such as are of home production. He does not advocate any sudden or violent change, but would shape the future revenue policy of the country from a free-trade rather than a protectionist stand-point. We believe that it is possible to obtain all the revenue which the country needs from the sources which Mr. Atkinson points out; indeed, we get almost enough from these sources already, and it would require a very slight modification of existing laws to get the rest. It is certainly desirable to get rid of most of the inland taxes which now hamper our productive industry. The system is complicated, irritating, wasteful of money, and corrupting of morals. No other legacy of the war is fraught with such danger to the independence of our people and the integrity of our political system. The reform must begin with a wider discrimination in the objects taxed. Abstract justice or perfect equality in the treatment of individuals is not to be attained. The nation as a whole is to be taxed, and, as Mr. Atkinson justly says, "the problem is so to levy the taxes as not to impede production." We would not, of course, countenance class legislation; but in any system of taxation special regard must be had to its effect upon the poorer and most laborious classes. We must fight against the tendency to social degradation, which in older countries is the curse of highly taxed industry. Even England is greatly oppressed by this cause, and her domestic tranquillity imperilled; we should be ruined by it. Taxes on realized property must necessarily be heavy. Incomes, licenses, stamps, legacies and successions, tea, sugar, all intoxicating beverages, and tobacco, may be taxed without impeding production. As the excise is diminished, customs duties may well decline without injury to the manufacturer, for his relative condition will not change. There is another tax, however, which

should not be forgotten in the repeal of customs duties, — that of a depreciated currency. It is now one of the heaviest which the country has to bear, and it is worse than any other, because it is latent, and to the common eye appears like a blessing rather than a curse. It is eminently the poor man's tax, for it depresses the purchasing power of his wages, while it exaggerates the cost of his living. The capitalist, on the contrary, gets a temporary benefit from it. It is this inexplicable discord between apparently high wages and positively increasing poverty which is now fermenting strife between employers and workmen, leading to strikes and eight-hour laws. We must return to specie payments before a lower tariff is possible; for the present scale of duties is not sufficient to prevent the foreigner from bringing goods to our market at a great profit, as he sells at paper prices, and turns the proceeds into gold at a price relatively much lower than that of his commodity. Nor must we suddenly abandon protection for its own sake. Congress must look to it that industries are not enfeebled by too long nursing; and as fast as each can fairly stand alone, the crutches must be taken away, and given, if need be, to some feebler child, which cannot walk alone; and this process must be steadily and judiciously pursued till as a nation we shall no longer fear the freest competition. This is protection justifying itself in the past, but looking and moving towards free trade in the future; and this we conceive to be the doctrince and the policy of the American people.

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4. — *Das Militärsanitätswesen der Vereinigten Staaten von Nord Amerika während des letzten Krieges, nebst Schilderungen von Land und Leuten.* [*The Military Sanitary History of the United States of North America during the last War, with Descriptions of Country and People.*] By Dr. H. von Hawronitz, Imperial Russian Privy Councillor and General Sanitary Inspector of the Imperial Navy. Stuttgart: G. Weise. 1866. pp. 350.

The Russo-American alliance is cemented by Mr. Seward's last performance. It was preceded by a series of mutual bowings and scrapings, of which Mr. Fox's visit was an example of our way of doing it, and Dr. Hawronitz's book is an instance of their manner of meeting it. Nothing could be more gratifying to the impartial American mind, with its wholesome love of sharp criticism and its modest self-abnegation, than the lavish praise which the Russian Doctor has poured over us. Sent here, as he tells us in his Dedication to the Grand Duke Constantine, by that great personage, this volume is the

report of his researches primarily into the business which gives the book its title, and then into the prominent features of the country, as they were developed in a visit of four months, from May 26 to September 15, 1865. The preliminary sketches treat of the modern military sanitary system, the North and the South, the army, its ordnance, the staff, the quartermaster's department, the sanitary, or, as we should call it, medical and surgical service, ambulance and hospital organization, with a full description, in detail, of the principal temporary military hospitals in Washington, Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York. There is a full chapter devoted to the Army Laboratory in Philadelphia, which was, no doubt, supplied by some of the officials connected with it; and it is a fair specimen of the sort of information supplied to foreigners, for Dr. Hawronitz was undoubtedly led to believe that the Army Laboratory was an important auxiliary to the army medical service, when in point of fact it was a mere apothecary shop, where the preparations procured for the army from our own chemical laboratories, and in lavish and most injudicious proportions from foreign manufacturers, were "put up" in the absurd and extravagant manner prescribed by "Army Regulations." If it were worth while, now-a-days, to write the real history of the purchases of drugs and chemicals for the army during the Rebellion, it would be found that the system, or rather want of system, which was allowed, was one of the worst abuses of the war. The general popular ignorance of the business was such as to leave the army officials in charge in comparative peace and quiet, and yet abuses as flagrant as those perpetrated in the quartermasters' and other purchases were practised, which injured the medicines needed by our army and our own chemical manufactures. Dr. Hawronitz next takes up the treatment of diseases, the transportation of sick and wounded soldiers, statistics of disease and mortality, and extracts of general medical orders. The sketch of the "Sanitary Commission" is evidently inspired by official influences, for while the popular support so generously given is praised, the labors of the Commission are somewhat depreciated, in describing them as expensive and officious. The Pension Bureau, the Transportation Bureau, the Paymaster's Office, with the estimates for 1865 and 1866, are all described. Then, getting on more familiar ground, there is an account of the navy during the Rebellion, the medical service in it, and such statistics as the two subjects suggest.

The first part of the book, which gives it its running title, occupies one hundred and forty pages, and it is a clear, straight-forward, business-like statement, likely to be of use in perpetuating a fair record of the matter. The rest of the volume is devoted to a popu-

lar description of the tour made by Dr. Hawronitz in the summer of 1865. Landing at Boston, he hastened to make the best of his way southward, to see the army that still lay about Washington. His journey is made the occasion of very sensible criticism of the good and bad side of our railway system, — its cheapness and universality, as contrasted with the discomfort and danger to which the thousands of passengers silently submit themselves. Arrived in Washington on the 27th of May, there was an army without the city of 180,000 men, and a state of siege within; in spite of it, however, there was a procession of five thousand Sunday-school children, who are described in terms of glowing praise, a little heightened by the statement that they were the children of the "poorest" part of the population, — which would give Washington a greater numerical importance than the census returns. The next procession was that of the Sixth Corps, and it is told in a way that shows what a creditable impression that body of veteran volunteer soldiers made on an experienced soldier. He notes, too, the mutual indifference of Mr. Johnson and the men for each other. The usual description of "leading features" is given. About the only noteworthy novelty is the author's invention of *Smithsonia* as the name of the Smithsonian Institute. A sketch of the lives of Grant, Sherman, Sheridan, and Farragut is given, then an account of West Point and of a visit to Richmond, — which gives occasion for a description of the closing scenes of the war, and, as a pendant, of a mysterious visit to General Lee, who made a very favorable impression on our good-natured Russian Doctor, and added to it by a regret that "his" chief medical director was out of town, — to which we may add ours, as he would, no doubt, have supplied us, through our Russian-German medium, with his account of the Confederate Army's medical history.

On his return journey, Baltimore is soon disposed of, while Philadelphia receives a very laudatory account of its institutions. The Fourth-of-July performances which he saw there do not seem to have made much impression, and he makes a fair hit of the difference between the sights as he saw them, and as he saw them described in the next day's papers. The Doctor's mistake of putting the "Park" on the Delaware will be as serious, in the eyes of a true Philadelphian, as his unhappy contrast between Washington and Jefferson Davis; but how he got the idea that the day was celebrated in honor of Washington is as hard to understand as his apparent sympathy for Davis. The description of the Hall of the Academy of Natural Sciences, as "a building of the finest style, with splendid apartments for its large collections," will hardly pass current, even with those

of its members who are praised for their unpaid devotion to science. New York is, of course, described at considerable length, and with a good deal of accurate particularity of detail, and not unfairly, as, "with the exception of perhaps a dozen buildings with some architectural beauty, bearing on every side its first characteristic, — the great trading city of the world, ... the proper place for the god Mercury to make his home; for there he is worshipped day and night, and his shrines are the famous places of the city." The account of the charitable institutions of the city is made an occasion to improve the popular European view of American civilization after this fashion. First we are told that, at Randall's Island, "the rights" of the future American citizen are respected even in the poor boy, and the consciousness of his future duties and responsibilities carefully developed; and then follows the story of a Secretary of State who visited them to tell them that he too was a "charity boy." Could this have been Mr. Memminger, once Secretary of State of the "late" Confederacy? Our author takes no end of pleasure in an account of the speech made to him by a Randall's Island boy, — evidently an emissary of Mr. Seward's, and a possible successor too, — in which he was told that the Emperor of Russia was our greatest friend, our truest ally, and our most esteemed neighbor, — compliments which we have been obliged to redeem at a pretty round sum; and they were received by three times three, banners waving and trumpets sounding, — a proceeding which might have been noticed at the reception of the "Fairmount Engine" or the "Cochituate Militia." In that case, however, we should not have had a speech thanking them in the name of the Czar of all the Russias, and a promise to report faithfully to him all the compliments of his allies of Randall's Island, — future citizens of Russian America, perhaps, — and all set down in good German. "Public Schools" and "Education" generally are followed by chapters devoted to the "greatest plagues of life," domestic servants, as a part of a chapter devoted to "Female Education," with a brief notice of female medical colleges, to which our orthodox Russian gives a very approving nod. The medical statistics of New York are followed by a "tag" about Dr. Colton's Dental Association, which looks as if the one doctor had rubbed noses with the other. Modern political affairs are a little too much for our author, who gravely assures us that "the old commandant of Fort Lafayette is the only prisoner there, for he dare not leave it lest he be arrested for his obedience to orders while the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended, as the city of New York never recognized that suspension," — which is about as odd a statement as can well be found in any book of travels, — "and therefore he would be liable to suits at law for his vio-

lation of the rights of the persons who were at various times in his custody." From militia, police, fire department, and Central Park, our author passes to an account of a "Clam-bak," or "Muschelessen," which he tells us is an inheritance from the Indian inhabitants; and a pretty savage admixture he met, — the highest military and civil officers, a Catholic bishop (!), some "berühmte Gelehrte," famous scholars, and "also some persons whose intimate acquaintance did not seem desirable"; which appears likely, from the fact that there were also police-officers present, whose attendance, however, was explained as being rather complimentary than otherwise, although, from the generous admixture of lager-beer and claret punch provided and disposed of, it might have been useful too.

The discussion of the emigration question follows a little too closely on that of the "Clam-bak" to be of much value; and his account of the summer resorts in America is a little affected by the lager-beer, or the claret punch, or both, for our Doctor gravely assures us that no mineral springs have yet been discovered except those at Saratoga, known as Congress-water. With that text, it is not surprising to learn that this water has not yet been analyzed, nor is it used or applied in any other than the traditional Indian fashion! Do the Russians perhaps apply mineral waters by Molière's favorite medical instrument, and must our visitors to Russian America take with them a supply of syringes? Niagara, Quebec, and Boston are the concluding chapters; and a hope that universal suffrage and universal amnesty may soon come to pass, with a general expression of admiration and satisfaction, bring to a close a book that has, even now, while facts and figures are all fresh, considerable value, and will be important at all times, as giving a fair notion of the results of a short journey here in eventful times.

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5. — 1. *Inaugural Address delivered to the University of St. Andrew's, February* 1, 1867. By John Stuart Mill, Rector of the University. Boston: Littell and Gay. 8vo. pp. 31.
2. *Report of the Committee on Organization, presented to the Trustees of the Cornell University, October* 21, 1866. By Andrew D. White. Albany: C. Van Benthuysen and Sons. 1867. 8vo. pp. 48.

The projects of university reform, which now so greatly interest the public mind, are beset with many and peculiar difficulties. The present academic system is not the product of an individual genius, nor

the work of a single generation; but it is the fruit of many centuries, the net result of the long-continued activity of thousands of intellects. Institutions thus embodying the combined wisdom of ages ought not to be rashly exposed to iconoclastic hands, nor thoughtlessly abandoned to that "want of experience" which "maketh apt unto innovations." Yet wherever there is life, there must also be growth and transformation. Nothing is fixed except what is dead; and even after death come the changes of decay. It is the height of absurdity to claim immutability for any social, political, or religious establishment; or to suppose that, with the rapid progress of knowledge, and the revolutions of science, our methods of instruction are to remain forever the same. Charters and endowments do not confer intellectual perpetuity; and we should deem it a great misfortune to mankind to have the highest interests of education and the chief resources of culture put into mortmain.

In Mr. Mill's Inaugural Address the proper function of a university in national education is stated with convincing force and clearness. "It is not," he says, "a place of professional education. Universities are not intended to teach the knowledge required to fit men for some special mode of gaining their livelihood. Their object is not to make skilful lawyers, or physicians, or engineers, but capable and cultivated human beings." This truth, so far from being even "tolerably well understood" in our country, is scarcely recognized. *Primus sapientiæ gradus est falsa intelligere.* The great majority of Americans have yet to take this first step, and learn "what a university is not," before they can ascend to the second step, *secundus vera cognoscere*, and obtain clear conceptions of what a university is. The popular notion makes it consist of a congeries of schools, in which law, medicine, theology, and the industrial arts are taught. These are regarded as constituting the main structure, to which classical and literary studies are only auxiliary and ornamental. This view is not only absurd as a philosophical theory, but also false as an historical fact. Logically and chronologically the Faculty of Philosophy is the basis of the university. It alone is essential and fundamental. All the other Faculties, technical and professional, are accidental and accessory. However useful they may be, they form no part of a seminary of liberal culture, although "there is something to be said for having them in the same localities, and under the same general superintendence as the establishments devoted to education properly so called." Nearly three centuries ago, Lord Bacon, who has given us the fullest and most accurate inventory of the human intellect, complained of the neglect of "these fundamental knowledges," and of the "malign aspect and influence" exerted

upon the growth of the sciences by "professory learning." In this respect, he says, men "fall into the error described in the ancient fable, in which the other parts of the body did suppose the stomach had been idle, because it neither performed the office of motion, as the limbs do, nor of sense, as the head doth; but yet, notwithstanding, it is the stomach that digesteth and distributeth to all the rest: so if any man think philosophy and universality to be idle studies, he doth not consider that all professions are from thence served and supplied." The evil of "professory learning," as understood by Lord Bacon, is by no means incident to any one department of study; it is the general evil of making education repletive instead of tonic, — of accumulating facts instead of developing faculties, — of imparting information, and cramming the memory with details, instead of stimulating the mind to thought, and thus rendering it capable of apprehending and applying principles. The aim of the university is the perfection of men as men; not their usefulness as instruments. Having this purpose in view, it necessarily embraces a wide range of subjects up to the point "where education, ceasing to be general, branches off into departments adapted to the individual's destination in life"; and there its province ends. It is the fountain from which is diffused the broad light of liberal culture to illuminate the technicalities of all special pursuits.

And here the question arises as to the best means of attaining this higher cultivation. Shall it be by classical studies, or by the so-called utilitarian studies; or, to use a wider expression, shall general education be literary or scientific? Mr. Mill regards this controversy as foolish and fruitless; as "very like a dispute whether painters should cultivate drawing or coloring; or, to use a more homely illustration, whether a tailor should make coats or trousers. Why not both?" Literature and science both belong to life; and he who is deficient in either is a poor, maimed, lop-sided fragment of humanity. Experience also proves that the man who narrows himself down to a fraction of knowledge, fashions himself as a fraction, dwarfs and perverts his mind, and by his very proficiency in small things becomes unfitted for great ones. Contracted study may insure facility and accuracy within definite limits, as constant practice may give expertness in heading or pointing pins; but in either case the minute knowledge is fatal to large views, and effectually bars the way to eminence, whether in mental or mechanical pursuits. Nor can it be urged that life is so short as to compel men to utterly neglect either of these branches of study, — to remain ignorant of the laws and properties of the physical world, or destitute of artistic taste and poetic feeling. We do not think so meanly of the human mind's capacity to learn, as such a limitation of its possibilities would imply. No education deserves

the name of *liberal* which does not combine with an accurate knowledge of the art or science to which an individual's practical energies are to be devoted, a general knowledge of all the great subjects which interest mankind. The old maxim, *In omnibus aliquid, in toto nihil*, has no meaning here. Universality, properly understood, is not synonymous with superficiality; and a man may be familiar with the *leading* principles of many sciences without being a sciolist or a smatterer. Galileo writes, in a letter to Kepler, that when he wished to show to the Florentine Professors the four satellites of Jupiter, they would look neither at them nor at the telescope, but obstinately shut their eyes to the light of truth. "These men," he adds, "think there is no truth to be sought in nature, but only in the collation of texts. How you would have laughed could you have heard them, in the presence of the Duke, endeavoring to banish the planets from the heavens by means of syllogisms and incantations!" How finely do these few words characterize that pedantic Podsnappery which, with a contemptuous flourish of the arm, clears the world of all its affronting problems! But it would be a mistake to suppose that the educational Podsnaps are to be found only among the humanists; in our day they belong chiefly to the philanthropinists, who would sweep away from the curriculum of the university whatever does not come within the range of their own narrow specialities. What Fichte, in his portraiture of the true scholar, calls intellectual integrity, is now less frequently sacrificed by a too exclusive devotion to Minerva and the Muses, than by excessive toil at the forges of Vulcan and the Cyclops. The strong pecuniary inducements which, with us, draw men prematurely into professional life, and the stimulus given to industrial arts by private and public enterprise in view of the rich but undeveloped resources of a vast continent, must have a counterbalance in humane and liberal studies, if the symmetry of our culture is not to be irremediably marred. It behooves those who watch over the higher interests of learning never to lose sight of this fact in all projects of educational reform and university organization; not to do servile homage to the spirit of the age, but to control it, giving men, as Schiller expresses it, *was sie bedürfen, nicht was sie loben*, consulting their needs rather than their desires. We would utter no word in depreciation of that ardor for practical achievement which has already wrought out such gigantic results in American life; but it must not be forgotten that there are other ingredients necessary to the perfection of individual and national character, other elements of worth in humanity, other forces and faculties which, although not convertible into direct visible uses, hold an equally important place among the agents of civilization. We are glad to see this large and philosophic conception of human culture

so strongly insisted upon by Mr. Mill, whom not even the most narrow utilitarian can accuse of want of sympathy with the practical, philanthropic, and industrial problems of the age. We trust that the weight of his great name, added to the clearness and cogency of his arguments, will exert a salutary influence upon the growth of our higher institutions of learning, and check the so rife and fatal tendency to build vast and splendid superstructures upon sandy foundations.

Mr. White's Report is, in its main features, an embodiment and specific application of the principles set forth in Mr. Mill's Inaugural Address. We have read his pamphlet with extreme gratification, and predict a rapid and permanent growth of the young institution which he has organized upon such a broad and liberal plan, and the development of which is now confided to his hands. Its nucleus was an act of Congress providing for the instruction of the "industrial classes" in agriculture and the mechanic arts; but, thanks to the munificence of Mr. Cornell and the enlightened views of President White, not only are the special objects of the original law of Congress amply secured, and the widest scope given to the purely technical branches of education, but they have also been supplemented by general courses of liberalizing studies, and the polytechnic school rounded out into the proportions of a university. The great and leading principle which Mr. White takes as his guide in the work of university organization is that "so admirably enunciated by Wilhelm von Humboldt, and elaborated by John Stuart Mill," namely, "*the absolute and essential importance of human development in its richest variety.*" Both common sense and common experience teach that the pursuit of one art or science alone, although it may be marked at first by rapid progress, soon shows that such progress is abnormal, and that, in order to insure the healthy growth and harmonious action of the intellectual powers, the mind must be tempered and enriched by varied culture. This end, Mr. White believes, will be most fully attained by allowing the student the greatest possible freedom in the choice and in the range of his studies, instead of forcing upon all alike a single traditional curriculum. Academic freedom, in the highest sense of that much-abused term, and not as the prerogative of indolence and immorality, he justly regards as essential to the fostering of any true university spirit in this country. In accordance with this idea, he has mapped out five courses of general or disciplinary instruction, and nine departments of special or technical instruction, embracing in all twenty-six professorships. Another admirable feature of his plan is the foundation of lectureships, whereby representative men in science, literature, and the arts shall visit the University at stated times, and present "a summary of the main results of their labors"; thus

keeping both faculty and students in vital connection with the great centres of thought and action in the world at large, arousing their enthusiasm, directing their energies, and checking that provincial spirit so often observable in college professors and cloistered scholars.

Mr. Mill would exclude modern languages from the university course; not because he attaches small importance to a knowledge of them, but because, owing to England's proximity to the European continent, they can be more easily acquired by intercourse with those who use them in daily life. Mr. White wisely assigns a very large place to the Romanic and the Teutonic languages and literatures, because the great majority of those who learn them must do so here. He also shows a strong predilection for the study of history, not only on account of the knowledge it imparts, but especially as a "discipline for *breadth* of mind." We are very far from ignoring the value of historical studies; but, at the same time, we are firmly convinced that mere text-book drill in the facts of history is both profitless for instruction and positively hurtful to mental power. No subject taught in the ordinary curriculum is so liable to be *droned over* as this one. What is required of an instructor in this department is to inspire his pupils with enthusiasm for the study, to direct their private reading, to introduce them to the philosophy of history, and accustom them to exercise their minds upon the facts which they have learned, to teach them the laws of historical perspective, and to call their attention to the fundamental principles of historical criticism.

Mr. White lays great stress upon physical training, and recommends that there be added to the regular standing committees of the Board of Trustees a "Committee upon Physical Culture," the duties of which, however, he does not define, unless they be to determine what degree of deterioration in bodily culture shall "subject the delinquent to deprivation of university privileges." It is no doubt true, that highly educated dyspeptics are often conquered in the battle of life by half-educated *eupeptics*. Health is absolutely essential to the highest success. Still the development of brawn is by no means "the chief end of man"; and the world's work has never been done by gladiatorial muscle. The Germans attribute their final victories over Napoleon I. to their gymnastic discipline: *Auf unsern Turnplätzen ist die Saat zu den Freiheitskriegen gepflanzt*, says Langbein. But, in our recent war, it was not those who had been most systematically trained in athletic exercises who best endured the hardships of campaigning. A virtuoso in lifting heavy weights and swinging dumb-bells is seldom good for anything else. Theocritus describes the athlete Amycus as a stalwart giant, with iron flesh, like a colossus fashioned with the hammer: —

Σαρκὶ σιδαρείῃ σφυρήλατος οἷα κολοσσός.

The muscles of his arms and back were round and full, like broad stones over which a river flows. Yet this huge mass of gnarled flesh was of no possible use in the world, and we have always felt grateful to Sir Pollux of the Argonautic expedition for terminating his existence. It is a great mistake to suppose that strength is health, or that a Samsonian development of sinew contributes to longevity. The most perfect physiological condition is not realized in the Farnese Hercules, but in the harmony of bodily vigor and spiritual energy.

These remarks upon historical study and physical culture are not to be understood as strictures on the Report, but as corrective to certain popular misconceptions which Mr. White would be the first to condemn. We sympathize with his large views on both these points, and shall watch with interest the unfolding of his magnificent plan of a university in which neither sect nor creed shall have power to repress free thought and honest inquiry, but where all the elements of scholarship and manly character shall be fitly joined together.

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6. — *Modern Inquiries: Classical, Professional, and Miscellaneous.* By Jacob Bigelow, M. D. Boston: Little, Brown, & Co. 1867. 12mo.

The Dedication of Dr. Bigelow's book is significant. It is a porch whose style of architecture is in perfect keeping with that of the edifice behind it. Dr. Bigelow, in addressing his book to Mr. George Ticknor, feelingly alludes to the ancient days when, lying on the carpet, they read Homer together, and remarks upon the signal success which has attended his friend's further pursuit of these favorite studies. He then, somewhat coolly, adds, "If I seem to be recreant to the pleasing associations of those times, it is because *I am swept along with the progress of the age*, and have become disciplined in some measure to replace *delightful visions* with more *arduous and growing realities*."

Now when an author ushers in his book with a bold conspicuous platitude concerning "the progress of the age," when he writes some such cant phrase in large capitals over the door of his literary structure, we are always instinctively put upon our guard. We pass in and explore the interior, with our eyes bent shrewdly to right and left, for we are sure that *Philistinism* is lurking somewhere to assail us. So far from weakening in us this disposition by a striking exception, Dr. Bigelow's book has only confirmed and strengthened it by a notable example.

This first bit of Philistinism, in the Dedication, is of the finest stamp.

The more we contemplate it, the more we enjoy it. How pleasant it must be for Mr. Ticknor to be so naïvely informed that he has been left behind by "the progress of the age"; and that, in learning lessons of wisdom and comfort to the soul from divine Cervantes, and other inspired but antiquated teachers of mankind, he has been merely spending his time in beholding "delightful visions"!

Delightful visions! This is the way in which, both explicitly in this notable Dedication, and implicitly elsewhere throughout his book, Dr. Bigelow characterizes the studies relating to the past. Not Homer and Cervantes only, but Dante too, we presume, and Aquinas and Plato and Aristotle and Descartes and Montaigne, can furnish us but with pleasing visions, instead of the "growing realities" which reward the student of practical, utilitarian science. The ancient Greeks were barbarians compared to us. They may have had great statesmen, mighty philosophers, inspired poets, exalted patriots; their history may abound in examples of all that mankind is accustomed to venerate and admire. But they were deprived of the comforts of life; with all their boasted poetry, philosophy, and statesmanship, they had no gas to light their streets and houses with, no cars propelled by steam or drawn by horses, no telegraphs, no chloroform, no lightning-rods! The Romans, too, were barbarians. They founded a mighty and beneficent political system, traces whereof are still among us. They elaborated a marvellous body of jurisprudence, which still regulates the civil affairs of mankind. They extinguished the antique barbarous spirit of autonomy, and brought hostile nations together in a spirit of brotherly concord, thereby paving the way for the benign influence of Christianity. But they, as well as the Greeks, their teachers, were destitute of the conveniences of modern life. Their great Emperor Augustus, who ruled the whole world, or at least, according to Seneca (*De Provid.* 4), all of it that was worth having, had no glass to his windows, and no shirt to his back! The Middle Ages, moreover, were barbarous. By means of their central institution, the Papacy, growing nations were consolidated, and popular rights first found vindication. During their long continuance, the germs of all that now make us happy and civilized were striking root. But as for real civilization, — civilization which consists not in "delightful visions," but in "growing realities," — they were no better off than classic antiquity. The first three Christian centuries, as Dr. Bigelow tells us, went steadily from bad to worse; and we are left to suppose that matters were not mended much until modern times had begun. In view of all this, our author thinks the great mystery is that mankind ever became civilized at all.

Ah! here we have it at last. Finally we are brought up cheek by

jowl with the *reductio ad absurdum* of the Doctor's whole Philistine argument. If we made no progress until modern times, how comes it that we have ever begun to advance? After having slept soundly through Greek antiquity, Roman antiquity, and mediæval antiquity, what was it that so unexpectedly awakened us? If all history previous to the introduction of the Baconian philosophy is quite profitless to us, and might as well as not be wiped out, or at least given over into the custody of dreaming scholars who have naught to do but indulge in delightful visions, what is it that has made modern history so suddenly interesting and valuable? Such questions point to the yawning abyss which Dagon and his worshippers cannot approach without danger of getting ingulfed.

According to Dr. Bigelow, we live in a busy age, and have no time to think of the past. Classical and literary studies, history, grammar, and archæology, must be left for those who can find time to waste over such trifles. Classical studies may indeed "assist to fill and to strengthen the mind," says our author (p. 87), using one of those current expressions which serve to hide the emptiness of the thought beneath. They may also impart accuracy and elegance to our modes of expression. They may enable us to write a better style; though, on second thoughts, they cannot, even thus, be of very great use to us. We don't quote from Latin and Greek authors in our public speeches or in our sermons (p. 87). If we would keep abreast of the "progress of the age," we had better let them go, and spend our brief pittance of time on "utilitarian" studies, — on studies which bridge the ocean, destroy pain, paint with the solar ray, and which are doubtless destined to do other astonishing and desirable things.

Now it is just this gross utilitarian view of the functions of scientific study which ought always and above all things to be avoided. Hipparchus, in discovering a common mode of expression for lines and angles, (for antiquity had its great utilitarian discoveries, in spite of Dr. Bigelow,) thought little of the needs of trading mariners. Lavoisier and Newton, we may rest assured, thought more of getting at the truth which lies hidden all around us in this universe, than of dye-stuffs and photography. Bacon, too, would have looked aghast at the charge that he was bringing down philosophy to be the ready handmaid of the transient needs of our bodies. Truth will never come to us unless she is sought for her own charms. Science will never prosper unless prosecuted for its own sake. We live in the midst of a magnificent, mysterious, and infinite universe. Its unchanging laws and its resistless processes we are ever yearning to discover and understand. The contemplation of it fills us with inexpressible wonder, and awakens in us

strange enthusiasm. Each of us has his theory concerning it, be it crude or refined, narrow or comprehensive; and until our theories are more or less accurately squared with the facts, we are ever restless and unsatisfied. To know the laws of nature, and to act and live in accordance with them, is the great end of human life. Just in so far as this end is attained are our minds at rest, contented, and free from perturbing delusions. Surely there is here reason enough for studying the physical sciences. Surely there is also reason enough for studying them in the fact that, by so doing, we are enabled to reason safely and accurately, in conformity to inductive canons; that we learn to distrust our hastily formed conclusions; that we become familiar with the true nature and requirements of evidence; that we are enabled to cast away from us baleful superstitions; that we are in every way fitted to perform our life's work better. All these are among the benefits conferred by the study of physical science. That classical and philological studies are incompetent, in their way, to confer similar benefits, is the pleasing delusion of those to whom classic and philologic studies are known but by hearsay. It may be safely said that the intelligent perusal of Wolf's *Prolegomena*, or of Lewis's "Astronomy of the Ancients," will train the mind to as just a reception of evidence as the study of any physical science. Talk with any well-trained physical inquirer about the credibility of the Egyptian history written by Bunsen and Lepsius, and ten to one he will be unable to follow you. Unless he has had a classical training, these subjects will lie out of his reach, — this kind of reasoning will be lost on him. And when eminent scientific writers, like Dr. Draper, make the paradoxical assertion that there is more mental training involved in the mastery of the game of chess than in the skilled perusal of all ancient literature, we may know what to expect when we come to read their historical works. We may expect to find in them a total misapprehension of antiquity, — blunders about Buddhism, blunders about Socrates, and an echoing of exploded traditions about the policy of the Roman Republic.

The arguments for the prosecution of physical and of classical studies are, therefore, at bottom identical. The utilitarian benefits conferred by physical science we are by no means disposed to underrate. We are alive to the fact that material civilization is in these days advancing with prodigious strides, to the great increase of our comfort and happiness. But the day will surely come when all our boasted civilization will appear in the eyes of posterity as crude and imperfect as the civilization of the Middle Ages now appears to us. We are not, therefore, willing to be left out of the grateful remembrance of future generations, or to be flippantly set down by them as barbarians. Great as

their achievements may be, they will owe much of their civilization to us. Great as our achievements have been, we owe much of our civilization to that distant past which Dr. Bigelow would have us desist from studying. Take away all that Greece has done for us, all that Rome has done for us, all that mediæval Catholicism has done for us, and our own attainments would make but a sorry figure. It is good for us to bear in mind what we owe to our forerunners. It is well for us in America, who have to some extent cut loose from antique traditions, to cherish retrospective studies. It is well for us, who, with the resources of a vast and thinly peopled country to develop, are never likely to neglect the useful sciences, to remember that in the study of science there is a higher object than mere utility.

Dr. Bigelow is at great pains to inform us that the morality of Homer is low, that Ulysses was a swindler, Diomed a freebooter, and Achilles a blustering savage. This is apparently alleged as an argument against the study of the classics. Now it is just this narrow view of things which marks his book with a conspicuous "note of provinciality." It is just because morality is different at different times, it is just because the ideas and customs of one age are different from those of another, that it is advantageous for us to study history and literature. Our knowledge of human nature would be inadequate, indeed, if we were to omit from our study of it everything which failed to suit our lately acquired ideas of justice and propriety. As Mr. Mill has said with vigor and truth, he who has never studied the history and literature of other times than his own, resembles the youth who has never left the paternal roof. Outside customs seem to him outlandish. Not understanding them, he thinks them either wrong or foolish. His charity, his sympathies, and his sagacity are fatally curtailed. We have still much to learn from antiquity. We have much to learn even from savages. Mr. Parkman's vivid pictures of aboriginal life in America are fraught with valuable historic lessons. From the study of many quite scandalous barbarian usages, Mr. M'Lennan, in his able treatise on "Primitive Marriage," has thrown new light upon the structure of society. And of Mr. Maine's "Ancient Law" it would be superfluous to speak.

Dr. Bigelow's medical essays are well worth reading. Many of them are excellent specimens of induction; and they show that a man may deal most admirably with his own special subject, even while writing unwisely upon foreign topics.

7. — *The English of Shakespeare; illustrated in a Philological Commentary on his Julius Cæsar.* By George L. Craik, Professor of History and of English Literature in Queen's College, Belfast. Edited from the Third Revised London Edition, by W. J. Rolfe, Master of the High School, Cambridge, Mass. Boston: Crosby and Ainsworth. 1867.

The author of this book is known to most of us by his "History of English Literature and of the English Language," which was republished in this country in 1864; and his "Pursuit of Knowledge under Difficulties" has been a favorite food for a generation of young Americans. His "Spenser and his Poetry" has also been long a hand-book with the students of that sage and serious poet, and the appreciation of it in America had led him to prepare a new edition just before he died. He had been Professor of History and of English Literature in Queen's College, Belfast, since 1849. He was born in 1799, in Fifeshire, the son of a schoolmaster, and he worked in London from 1824 to 1849. He wrote many books on a great variety of subjects, and many articles for the Penny Cyclopædia and the British Quarterlies. He was a hearty, hard-working, abounding man, — of good, sound sense, ardent love of English literature, and wide acquaintance with it, and of scholarship enough to gather interesting facts about language, without running wild after etymology and the like. He was skilful in discerning and supplying the popular needs. He has shown his skill in the title of this book, — "The English of Shakespeare." What a wealth of promise has that on the back of a volume of four hundred pages!

This book contains, as prolegomena, a brief account of Shakespeare's personal history; of his works; the sources for the text of his plays; his editors and commentators; the modern Shakespearian texts; the mechanism of English verse, and the prosody of the plays of Shakespeare; and the history of the play of "Julius Cæsar." Then follow a carefully studied text of that play; a philological commentary on it; and last, not least, a good verbal index, a look at which shows us that the notes contain discussions of some six hundred words.

The five first prolegomena are brief. Since the spelling and pronunciation of Shakespeare's name are discussed, the decisive reasons for spelling *Shakespeare* rather than *Shakspere* should have been given; we mean the fact that Shakespeare himself used it in all the books which he published, — the "Venus and Adonis," and "The Rape of Lucrece," — and that it is used in the Folio of the Plays. It is time that the printers should learn that *Shakspeare* is a blunder, or, at least, should let us say *Shakespeare* without repeated corrections of the proof.

The discussion of the prosody of Shakespeare's plays is quite full; the laws of his versification are given with more accuracy than in any other easily accessible book; and the facts here brought together are a valuable contribution to our knowledge of the language of Shakespeare, and the changes which his versification underwent at different times of his life.

The evidence in the other plays that the character of Julius Cæsar made a deep impression on Shakespeare, and that the play was long growing in his mind, is also interesting in itself; and the discussion of it here may be important as a model for similar investigations of the mind and inner life of Shakespeare. For surely we have facts before us in these plays for making out a life of Shakespeare with great certainty and minuteness, if we only had the eyes to see, and if the right method of induction were made familiar to us. It is doubtful whether any man has left us a more complete record than Shakespeare has of the subjects which occupied his mind, and of how he stood related in feeling and sympathy to all matters of human interest. But a legitimate induction is not always easy.

The text of the play of "Julius Cæsar" is good. Professor Craik has for the first time numbered the speeches for convenience of reference. This is good. We are going to study Shakespeare, and we should have texts in which the lines of the speeches more than ten lines long are also numbered. The first folio, it is well known, gives a fairly correct text, the best in the volume; and Professor Craik has been careful to preserve it for the most part. He spells and points it according to the modern English standards, and occasionally rearranges lines for the metre. He also corrects mistakes in proper names and dates. In some cases, perhaps, it would be better to retain the old spelling, and mistaken dates and names, in texts intended specially for study, and put corrections in the notes. Craik might retain *swoonded, swound,* for *swoon, swooned* (Act I. Sc. ii. 82, 83); *and* for *an* (if), (89); *I* for *aye* (54); *a-nights* for *o'nights* (65); *mettle* for *metal* (105); *a clocke* for *o'clock* (745); *vildely* for *vilely* (Act IV. Sc. iii. 574); on the same principle as he keeps *moe* for *more*. *First of March* for *ides of March* (Act II. Sc. i. 149) is in Plutarch, and more likely to be a blunder in the copy than the proof; so *fifteen days* for *fourteen days* (154), *Calphurnia* for *Calpurnia*, and the like. The disposition to stand by the original texts grows from year to year. Some of Craik's variations are plainly wrong; as, *but with awl* for *but with all* (Act I. Sc. i. 12); *crouchings* for *couchings; crouched* for *crooked* (Act III. Sc. i. 304); *death* for *Lethee* (348). Many which may be right are not clear enough to give them a place in the text. Of the three new readings proposed by Craik, neither seems to demand admission to the text, though all are

worthy of mention in a note. "*What night is this?*" (Act I. Sc. iii. 117), and "*Has he, Masters?*" (Act III. Sc. ii. 401), make a good sense. It is not necessary, therefore, to change the text to "*What a night is this?*" and "*Has he not, Masters?*" Two lines are altered in Act IV. Sc. iii. 520, because it is thought that Lucius rather than Lucilius ought to be sent with an order to the commanders; but Lucilius is afterwards sent on the same duty (579), and the folio may have followed Shakespeare's copy. That we think we can improve it, is no reason for mending it.

Changes in punctuation in Shakespeare's plays have been made pretty much at the pleasure of the editors; and the plain want of skill, as well as the frequent blundering in the sense, in the pointing of the original texts, gives their procedure some countenance. But it may be doubted whether these changes have not been carried beyond the limits of an allowable license. The pointing of the original often shows plainly how the passage was understood, even when it does not accurately express this understanding; and such a meaning ought not to be changed except for reasons which would justify the change of a word. Grant White, perhaps the most sane and alert of all the editors, has not always observed this rule; he sometimes cuts up passages badly with his pointing. Compare the following from "Measure for Measure": —

> "To be imprison'd in the viewlesse windes
> And blowne with restlesse violence round about
> The pendant world; or to be worse than worst
> Of those, that lawlesse and incertaine thought,
> Imagine howling, 't is too horrible."

But White reads: —

> "To be imprison'd in the viewless winds
> And blown with restless violence round about
> The pendent world; or to be, worse than worst,
> Of those that lawless and incertain thoughts
> Imagine, howling! — 't is too horrible." — Act III. Sc. i.

The pointing of the folio is plainly wrong; the pointing of White as plainly tears the passage to tatters.

Another case occurs in "Julius Cæsar," Act V. Sc. i. 708. The folio reads: —

> "Even by the rule of that Philosophy,
> By which I did blame *Cato*, for the death
> Which he did giue himselfe, I know not how:
> But I do finde it Cowardly, and vile,
> For feare of what might fall, so to preuent
> The time of life, arming my selfe with patience," &c.

The editors generally have felt perfectly at liberty to put a full pause after *himself*. Craik sometimes transgresses in the same way. But he mentions his changes in the notes, and his text is on the whole good.

The philological commentary is also admirable. It is the fullest discussion yet given to the language of any of Shakespeare's plays. Every word or phrase, whose meaning could give rise to a reasonable doubt, even to a student unversed in the older literature, is examined and explained at length; the history and etymology are given as far back as the Anglo-Saxon or Latin original, and illustrative examples quoted from other parts of Shakespeare, other authors, or the Bible. Words and phrases having analogous forms or history are also freely brought in. So that quite a little philological tractate springs out of a single word. The first note, for example, is on "*you ought not walk*," and is three full pages in length. The absence of *to* gives rise to a history of the facts connected with the use of that preposition with the infinitive in Anglo-Saxon and down to our own times. This is made lively by apt quotations. Then the history of *ought* is given, and its changes of meaning from *have* or *own*, first to *owe*, then to *ought*, are explained and illustrated. The second note has two pages and a half on the word *laboring* (*upon a laboring-day*). There is a note of ten pages on *its*, three of which are added by the American editor; another of more than two pages on *merely*, and there are other considerable essays on *shrew*, *shrewd*; on *statue*; on *shall* and *will*; on *had as lief*; and on the prefix *be-*. But most of the notes are shorter; they give a brief explanation, mention some interesting philological fact or illustration, and do not aim at any exhaustive treatment even of the word or phrase explained.

The first note offers a good illustration of the merits and defects of this part of the book. It is copious, lively, clear, and in the main correct. But it is rather too long, is not quite accurate in all its statements, and does not try to give reasons. Thus it quotes: "Originally," says Dr. Guest, "the *to* was prefixed to the gerund, but never to the present infinitive; as, however, the custom gradually prevailed of using the latter in place of the former, the *to* was more and more frequently prefixed to the infinitive, till it came to be considered as an almost necessary appendage of it." The fact is, that *to* is sometimes used with the infinitive in Anglo-Saxon, and that this use becomes more and more frequent, till in Layamon it is the common form, while the "gerund" is still used hardly oftener than in Anglo-Saxon. The reason for these facts is to be found in the analytic habit of the English, which came to express all sorts of relations by independent words, instead of inflection-endings; and this habit is a natural result of the progress of the race in

discriminative thought, while its particular form in this case is modified by the mixture of the Anglo-Saxon and Norman races. In such commingling of peoples the inflection-endings of their languages are not easily caught, and rapidly drop away.

In discussing the change of Anglo-Saxon *âgan* to *ōwe*, instead of a statement of the phonetic laws by which the changes take place, there is a long popular talk to show that there is really no change at all to speak of, — if we only suppose the *â* and the *g* to have been pronounced in a certain way, which Professor Craik describes. He says that "*owe* is etymologically the same with *own*." "The Anglo-Saxon word is *ágan*"; "the *n* may be the *en* of the ancient past participle *ágan*." "So we have both to *awake* and to *awaken*, to *ope* and to *open*." Now *owe* is from Anglo-Saxon *âgan* (Layamon, *azen*, *aze*); *own* is from *âgnian* (Layamon, *azene*, *ahne*, *owene*). This is the more noteworthy, because even the last Webster derives the verb *own* from the adjective *own*, which is (by misprint we suppose) called a "p. pr. of *âgan*." The comparison with *ope* and *open* has less excuse; *ope* is an abbreviation of *open*. There is an error in the last Webster under *open* also. It is described as "imp. from an hypothetical *eôpan*."

Similar want of etymological accuracy is found in a long talk about *as*, as a pronoun identical with the German *es* (44, not in Rolfe); about *so* as merely the Mœso-Gothic demonstrative pronoun (57); and in speaking of *are* as having "no representative in written Saxon" (559). *Earon* is found in the oldest Anglo-Saxon Psalms, and *aron* is abundant in the Durham book. These forms are parallel with Old Norse *erum*, Swedish *aeren*, Danish *êre*, and are from the same root as Anglo-Saxon *eam*, *eart*, English *am*, *art*, Latin *s-um*, Greek *ει-μί*, Sanskrit *as-mi*. The article on *are* in the last Webster is wholly at fault. It gives the English *are*, "from Sw. *vara*, Dan. *vaere*; . . . . *v* or *w* being lost." More vulgar blunders are giving *chance* (*cadentia*) as from "the *cas* of the Latin *cas-us* strengthened by the common expedient of inserting an *n*" (69); *time* (Anglo-Saxon *tîma*, Old Norse *tîmi*) as from "French *tems* or *temps*, the Latin *tempus*," and the like.

The work of the American editor is chiefly upon these notes. It is admirably done throughout. The additional illustrations are numerous; they are always pertinent and interesting, and they show scholarship of the right sort. The omissions are well judged. Many errors and careless remarks are deleted. Where notes are rewritten, they are clearer and briefer. We notice only note 124. Craik's suggestion that *thews*, in Shakespeare's sense of "muscular powers," *may be* from the same word as *thighs*, is perhaps better than the positive statement that it is so. Layamon's *theauwe* is plainly from *theaw*, and the cases are not

rare in the earlier language where the "*gôde theowes*," or "*thewes*," descriptive of a hero, might be easily taken, or mistaken, to mean bodily powers. Shakespeare seems to have so taken it, as he took *exorcise* to mean to raise a spirit.

We have happened to notice the words *aye* and *hug* in the index, though they are omitted from the notes. Some other references are perhaps of the same sort. In the American edition, *Saxon* is used for *Anglo-Saxon* throughout; but *Saxon* ought to be reserved for the description of those words, roots, and forms which are common to the Old Saxon and Anglo-Saxon.

Mr. Rolfe has found this book useful in teaching a class in school, and he hopes that other schools will use it, as well as students of Shakespeare out of school. We hope so too. The almost total neglect of the philological study of the English classics in our high schools and colleges is pretty generally felt to be a pity, if not a shame; and most of our best colleges and seminaries are discussing new courses of English. Many of them are already trying experiments. Corson's edition of Chaucer's "Legende of Good Women" has been used to some extent, as Rolfe used Craik. But of all books for awakening interest, for stimulating thought, suggesting criticism, prompting happy forms of English speech, and for a groundwork for general philological study, Shakespeare is undoubtedly the best. And of all the plays of Shakespeare, "Julius Cæsar" is best fitted for class study. The story is familiar, the characters are well known. The unity of the play is easily seen in respect to its controlling course of thought and feeling, and the development of character and events. The relations of subordinate characters and events to this central current are easily thought out. There is much declamation, and long-continued, striking dialogue, which give occasion for the study of rhetorical art. The language throughout is simple, and, for Shakespeare, bears the application of school grammars, dictionaries, and rhetorics remarkably well. The versification is also very regular and simple. We have sometimes thought that Shakespeare had revised this play to publish it himself, and that this, rather than the time at which it was written, is the reason why the versification and diction differ so much from that of "Coriolanus" and "Antony and Cleopatra." "Venus and Adonis" and "The Rape of Lucrece" show what sort of subjects he would have chosen, and how he would have filed his lines, if he had prepared a play for the press. The topics of thought and conversation are such as may be discussed in class without sentimentality, and without offence, and such as are of fresh interest to each generation of mankind. The passion of love is absent. And we have at last a good verbal commentary for class use. Why should not all good teachers of

English, who are lovers of Shakespeare, realize the substance of Arnold's wish when he says, "What a treat it would be to teach Shakespeare to a good class of young Greeks in regenerate Athens; to dwell upon him line by line and word by word; and so to get all his pictures and thoughts leisurely into one's mind, till I verily think one would, after a time, almost give out light in the dark, after having been steeped, as it were, in such an atmosphere of brilliance." From this point of view we see some short-comings in this book for a text-book. It is, in the main, only a grammatical and lexical explanation of hard words which are found in Shakespeare. But to know these is not to know the language of Shakespeare. It is not in these that his powers lie. A mastery of all of them would not unlock one of his secrets. The proper study of the language of Shakespeare has to do, not with what antiquarians must explain to us, but with what comes home to us most easily and directly; — these touches of nature which make the whole world kin; these coils of words, charged with electrical life, which send a thrill to every heart; these hard knots where so much sound sense is tied up so tightly; these leaps of thought which grammarians balk at, — all these means, simpler and more vivid than reason can command, which our great poet has found to convey thought or feeling, and which the linguistic sense of the people has recognized as living powers which it cannot let die, — these beamings and breathings of genius are the language of Shakespeare. The student of it asks, In what is it that Shakespeare's language differs from that of other men? Is the syntax strange? Is the diction peculiar? What can we learn of his handling of grammatical forms from the analysis of large portions of his plays? In what proportion does he use the Anglo-Saxon and other elements of our language? How far does his power depend on the number of words he uses? how far on his ability to create musical combinations of sound? Are his thoughts prompted by this wonderful music, or do they shape the music, or are thought and expression one in Shakespeare? What of all this belongs to the man? what to the age? what to the nature in which he lived? Can we explain any of the peculiarities of his speech from the surroundings of his early or of his London life? Little help can be had in such inquiries and study from Craik's "English of Shakespeare." But one great difficulty in teaching and studying English is the fatal facility of extemporizing lessons or opinions, which makes it hard to dwell on a passage and study it word by word; and such notes as these may make us linger over these charmed lines, and so indirectly help us to a more thorough knowledge and intelligent love of Shakespeare and his language.

8. — *Homiletics and Pastoral Theology.* By WILLIAM G. T. SHEDD, D. D., Baldwin Professor in Union Theological Seminary, New York City. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1867. 8vo. pp. 429.

THE topics which Dr. Shedd treats in this volume are likely to receive more attention than formerly, now that the comparative adjustment of our political relations gives us opportunity to consider and remedy the deficiencies confessedly existing in the administration of our religious affairs. Dr. Shedd notices the fact that the ecclesiastical traditions still nominally acknowledged, no longer have any vital hold upon the actual life of the day. His ancestral garments no longer suit the proportions of the modern man. Either he has not attained to them, or he has outgrown them. "Within the half-century," says Dr. Shedd, "catechizing has fallen greatly into disuse. Creeds themselves have been more undervalued than in some periods they have been overestimated." Criticising the present tendency of ecclesiastical administration, the author remarks: "There is danger in this state of things. The Church," he says, "cannot advance; it cannot even maintain itself upon its present position, by this theory and method of religious culture." The Professor of Homiletics and Pastoral Theology looks to the resources of his own specialties for relief from the present ecclesiastical embarrassments; believing that "what is now the great need of the Church" is "a masculine and vigorous rhetoric, wedded with an earnest and active pastoral zeal." Not being "according to knowledge," Dr. Shedd does not seem to suspect, is now the principal difficulty with clerical rhetoric and zeal. He is too orthodox not to assume that the substance of religious instruction is a fixed and constant quantity, being given by revelation, and in no way affected by the discoveries of human science or the results of human experience. These it is well enough, and indeed very important, to know for their rhetorical uses. "Consider," he says, "a single section of rhetoric like that of metaphor and illustration, and see how much greater is the stock of materials now than previous to the modern discoveries in natural science, and how even the popular mind has become possessed of sufficient knowledge in these departments, not merely to understand the orator's allusions and representations, but to demand them of him." But further than the matter of embellishment, this sort of learning is of no practical value to the minister; since "every discourse must be but the elongation of a text."

It has been thought by some, that sermonizing, to be effective, with the present temper of the public mind, must take on a more human and

earthly character, and have a more immediate and vital relation to the life that now is. Dr. Shedd is not of this opinion. He prefers "that unearthly sermonizing of Baxter and Howe, so abstracted from all the temporal and secular interests of man, so rigorously confined to human guilt and human redemption, — that preaching which upon the face of it does not seem even to recognize that man has any relations to this little earthly ball, — which takes him off the planet entirely." "Neither he [the minister] nor the Church is bound to watch over all the special interests of social, literary, political, and economical life." We are sorry that the author should carry this feeling so far as actually to despise morality altogether. He regards as wholly unworthy of the pulpit the simple but very practical truths, "that virtue is right, and vice is wrong; that a man must be virtuous, and all will be well. How tame and unsuggestive," he remarks, "are these smooth commonplaces! How destitute of any enlarging and elevating influence upon a thoughtful mind!" It is to be hoped that no clergyman will be persuaded by the Professor's rhetoric to undervalue the code of commonplace virtues embodied in the Ten Commandments, or the simple Christian graces celebrated in the Beatitudes.

The suggestions which Dr. Shedd offers in relation to the merely formal elements of sermonizing, such as preparation and composition, will be found to be the most valuable portions of his book. Among these we do not include the affirmation, unsupported as it is by any citation from Scripture, "that the careful and uniform preparation of two sermons in every six days is a means of grace. It is in its very nature adapted to promote the piety of the clergyman." Nothing but the direct testimony of revelation would induce us to believe this statement.

There are many doubtful affirmations in this volume, in behalf of which such testimony would have been most desirable. Among these is the following: "The Deity is necessitated to punish sin, but is under no necessity of pardoning it." By what authority it is affirmed that one of the moral attributes of God is necessary, and another contingent, we are not aware.

It is to be regretted that this volume cannot be disencumbered of such pieces of irrelevant dogmatism. The book would be very greatly improved, also, by the omission of many passages of unnecessary rhetoric, as, for example, the whole of page 222, expended in establishing the conviction that "the difference between written and unwritten discourse is merely formal." There is scarcely need of so much eloquence in support of a proposition so simple and almost self-evident as that there is nothing "in the constitution of the human mind that

compels it to exhibit the issues of its subtile and mysterious agency, uniformly, and in every instance, by means of the pen." The proof of this statement would of course be, that, as a matter of fact, it is only in exceptional cases that the mind has recourse to the pen at all; only a small portion of its operations ever finding expression "by means of the written symbol of thought."

These objectionable features would doubtless have been avoided, and his services to his professional brethren, and indirectly to the Church, greatly enhanced, if, instead of publishing his lectures as originally prepared for the class-room, Dr. Shedd had given us his suggestions in the form of a brief manual, conveniently arranged for reference and consultation in the every-day pulpit and pastoral work of the ministry.

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9. — *First Historical Transformations of Christianity.* From the French of ATHANASE COQUEREL the Younger. By E. P. EVANS, Ph. D., Professor of Modern Languages and Literature in the University of Michigan. Boston: William V. Spencer. 1867. 16mo. pp. 264.

Two ideas of the Christian religion, which have long held place almost as axioms in the Protestant sects, are fast vanishing in the light of the studies and inquiries of the present century. The first of these is, that Christianity was a phenomenon, a miraculous intrusion, something wholly special, peculiar, and unconnected with any other religion, except as the historical successor of the Jewish religion; that it owed nothing in the beginning to any heathen system, but was given directly by God to a Divine Son; that it could have come just as well from him, if Egypt and Persia and Chaldæa, even if Judæa and Galilee, had never been. The second of these ideas is that Christianity as a religious system was complete in the words and lessons of its founder; that the scheme of the creed is all in his teaching, and that there has been no substantial addition to the faith once delivered to the saints. Neither of these ideas has currency now, in the lessons of theological schools or in intelligent public discourses. The histories of the Church show the preparation of Christian doctrine in the mythologies of many nations, and in the discussions of the philosophers, point out what Moses took from the priests of the Nile, what the captives brought back from Babylon, and what the dispersion of the Jews had added to the earlier Judaism. The accepted biographies of Jesus, written and praised by orthodox believers, tell how his opinions, not less than his character, were formed by the influences around him and the traditions of his

nation. The Court Preacher of Baden, of unimpeached soundness in the faith, writes upon the *moral development* of the Christ; while the last Bampton Lecturer exhibits a "progress of doctrine" in the New Testament writings. There is no rashness now in finding, even in the earliest Christian age, different types of Gospel doctrine, a Pauline, a Petrine, a Johannean, and other variations, as real as the variations in the modern Protestant sects. Even where the writers protest that there is really no difference between these "schools," that there is a latent unity and identity, that John and Paul and James really teach the same thing, they admit that there seems to be a difference, that the form of the teaching is not the same.

These early variations of the Gospel teaching have never been more honestly and sharply defined than in the work of the younger Coquerel, which Professor Evans has just translated. Few theological works contain in so small a compass so much wise and suggestive thought, so much careful study condensed in systematic statement. Mr. Coquerel's view is not new, and he does not pretend that it is. We find it now in all the respectable histories and commentaries. But to those who have no time, and perhaps no desire, to read commentaries and histories, it will come like a new light thrown upon the meaning of the books of the New Testament. The tone of the volume is so sweet, serious, and reverent, that the critical result of the examination will offend no believing soul. The writer does not show the Gospel less beautiful or less efficient because it takes various shapes as it is preached to Jews or Gentiles, in Jerusalem or in Rome, to bond or free. It was natural and inevitable that it should take coloring, not only from the opinions and feelings of its preachers, but from the circumstances of time and place through which it passed. The Apostles were not any the less inspired men, that they emphasized that part of the Gospel which seemed to them most needful to the people they were addressing, or that their individuality accompanied their inspiration. There was diversity of tongues, but the same spirit.

There were *five* variations (or "transformations," as Mr. Coquerel prefers to call them) of Christianity in the first age of its history, represented successively by James, Stephen, Paul, Peter, and John. Of these the first two, the Jewish and the Hellenist, belonged to the early time, and were lost in the following ages in the three greater parties which divided, and still continue to divide, the Christian world. The mysticism of John, theosophic, and dwelling mainly upon the great doctrine of the Incarnation, was perpetuated in the Eastern Church. The individualism of Paul, making religion a thing of conscience to be received by faith, and joining closely the salvation of the personal soul

with the Divine purpose and foreknowledge, was the moving impulse of the Reformers in all time, and finally became consolidated in the great Reform in the sixteenth century. The compromise Christianity of Peter, fusing Jewish sacrifices and traditions with Pagan customs and ceremonies, grew into the religion of the Roman hierarchy.

It will not do, however, to press too far this generalization; and, as describing the Roman and Greek and Protestant Churches of to-day, this classification is by no means accurate. All the mysticism in the thought of John has long since gone out of those Eastern communities, which are as gross and unspiritual in their idolatries as any Roman worshippers. The "Mass" in Constantinople and Moscow is quite as Pagan as any spectacle in the City of the Cæsars. For a thousand years at least, too, the Roman Church has held and taught as earnest a theory of the Incarnation as the Grecian. The identification of the "Reformed" theology with the teaching of Paul is more exact; but even here there is wide divergence. In no one of the great Protestant sects has the large, free, practical spirit of Paul its fit expression. The theologies of Paul and Peter and John have, in their turn, undergone still greater mutations, to bring them into the moulds of Augustine and Anselm and Theresa and Luther and Calvin and Swedenborg. As a sketch of the early history of the Church, Coquerel's book is valuable; but we cannot quite accept this outline as a drawing of tendencies in the modern time. The teaching of either John or Peter or Paul was much nearer to that of Jesus in substance, as well as in time, than the system of any important sect now in the Christian world.

Some facts which Coquerel mentions will seem new to most readers. He not only asserts that Peter was never pastor or bishop in Rome, and was probably never in the city, but that Paul was the original Apostle there, holding in the iconography and legends of the city the place of honor on the right hand, where the two Apostles are associated. St. Paul was from the beginning at home in Rome, but was deliberately set aside for the Apostle whose temper suited better the compromise between Paganism and Judaism that the age required. To speak, too, as Coquerel does, of Peter's "feebleness of character," has a strange, and not altogether pleasant sound, when we remember the conversation with Jesus at Cæsarea Philippi, and the preaching of the Apostles at the gate of the Temple. Coquerel, too, does not give the evidence on which he asserts that the Apocalypse was "the first of all the Christian books generally received into the Church," and "the nucleus of the new canon." He remarks the fact that Paul and John seem to have no knowledge of the miraculous birth of Jesus, and that Paul never speaks of the ascension of Jesus. He might have made the statement strong-

er, and said that these miracles of the commencement and the close of the life of Jesus are in no way used as argument by any of the New Testament writers, and have in the words of these writers no bearing upon what Jesus spoke or wrought.

Coquerel asserts that the idea of the Church as it was in the mind of Jesus was extremely simple, separate from all creeds and confessions, separate from all books and traditions, with no thought of any priesthood or hierarchy, with no mystic or imposing rites, with no preparation for any external unity. The two "rites" which he "instituted," the rite of initiation and the memorial feast, have no connection with anything in the Jewish history. The baptismal formula is a declaration of spiritual religion; the Lord's Supper is a feast of love. Coquerel's view of Jesus may seem inadequate to those who regard him as the head and the conscious founder of a great visible Church, the conscious Redeemer of mankind from sin and its penalty; but all will allow that the view, so far as it goes, is simple and consistent. He is a full believer in the spiritual Incarnation, and finds perfect harmony between the doctrine and the character of the Saviour. Jesus came to establish a kingdom of God, and to fulfil the prophecies by announcing their spiritual meaning; and any man is a Christian, any man belongs to the spiritual kingdom, "who calls upon the name of Jesus, who declares that he believes in Jesus."

Professor Evans has translated the work well, rendering it into a correct English idiom, though he has occasionally failed to correct the verbal errors of the original, and has overlooked some errors in his own translation. On page 103, we read of "Claudius, *called* Suetonius"; on page 230, of the "Cardinal of Perron, the pastor of Moulin"; on page 224, of the Council of *Chalcedonia;* and occasionally there are slips in the use of numbers and pronouns, as on pages 31, 52, 94, and 134. In a few instances, the translation seems to us inelegant; as on page 65, "not that Christ ever *took care* to demonstrate immortality"; on page 116, where he speaks of Paul unfolding his character *in the bosom* of Christian freedom; and on page 215, where he says, "we shall *watch* a decisive crisis." The work as a whole is a faithful rendering of an instructive and genuinely religious book.

10.—*Life of Carl Ritter.* By W. L. Gage. New York. C. Scribner & Co. 1867.

In pursuance of his praiseworthy efforts to make the name and works of Carl Ritter familiar to the American reader, Rev. W. L. Gage has

published a brief memoir of the distinguished Berlin geographer. It affords an interesting, and doubtless a true picture, of the early influences which formed the intellectual and moral character of Ritter, and of the circumstances by which he was fitted to become an eminent teacher of geographical science. It exhibits the development of a life of rare simplicity and elevation, a mind of great sagacity and comprehensiveness, and a spirit above reproach from friend or foe. It may therefore be commended as a convenient memorial of a gifted and famous man.

Mr. Gage is evidently possessed by that enthusiasm for his teacher which is characteristic of the pupils of Ritter. The present volume is glowing with this natural admiration; and yet, with all its glow, the memoir is likely to disappoint the reader, because it is restricted chiefly to the preparatory period of life, — to the early discipline by which the foundations of future eminence were laid. A very inadequate picture is accordingly given of the work of the full-grown man. Ritter is famous for that part of his life which was subsequent to his removal to Berlin, — a period of nearly forty years. Here most of his famous contributions to the geography of Asia were prepared; his lectures were annually delivered to large companies of university students, and his co-operation was enlisted in the advancement of manifold scientific undertakings. But to all this period of active influence and Continental renown only a single chapter is devoted, while seven of the eight chapters of the book are occupied with the antecedent, or, as we may fitly term it, the disciplinary stages of his career.

Thus, the child at Quedlinburg, the pupil at Schneffenthal, the university student at Halle, the tutor in Bethmann-Hollweg's family at Frankfort, the traveller at Geneva, the investigator in the library at Göttingen, and the teacher again at Frankfort, are successively brought before us in pictures full enough of detail to satisfy all reasonable expectations; but the sketch of the professor at Berlin is the merest outline, quite unequal to the other portions of the book, and hardly just to the reputation of Ritter.

The reason for this is obvious. The German biographer of Ritter is his brother-in-law, Dr. G. Kramer, the director of the celebrated Francke Foundations of Halle; but only the first volume of his memoir, so far as we know, has yet seen the light. This volume covers only the preliminary or youthful period of Ritter's life, terminating with the invitation to an appointment at Berlin.

Gage's memoir is based on that of Kramer, and hence its fulness in the early narrative, and its scantiness in the later. "No one," he remarks, "who is not familiar with the faithful manner in which Kramer

has collected materials can appreciate adequately the great help which I have derived from this source."

But though he has followed Kramer, he has not done so literally. He has rather rewritten than translated the German work, interspersing frequently his own observations, especially in regard to the localities memorable in Ritter's life, and omitting such remarks as would be of little value to the American reader.

Most of the letters of Ritter, given by Kramer, are reproduced by Gage; and though this reproduction is not so faithful as it should be, yet the letters are vivid illustrations of the workings of Ritter's mind, and constitute the most entertaining pages of the memoir. As examples of his lively style, we may refer to the letters from Geneva, one of which sketches the society which Madame de Staël brought together; and as an illustration of the tenderness and purity of his affections, we may point to the letter in which his proposals of marriage were conveyed to his future bride.

The glimpses of famous men, like Humboldt, Von Buch, Soemmerring, Savigny, Sismondi, and many more, which are incidentally given in the memoir, add much to its interest.

While this volume is a very inadequate account of Ritter's work and character, yet, on the whole, we are glad that the publication has been made. Mr. Gage would have escaped some criticism if he had balanced his work better, — looking up the history of Ritter's latest years, and adding it to the story of his early life; but those who have not access to the German memoir will enjoy the perusal of the English, and they will find much to admire and imitate in the methods of observation and reflection which did so much for the intellectual character of the distinguished geographer.

Every attempt to make the students of our country familiar with the principles, the processes, and the purposes of scholars in other lands, is favorable to the spread of true learning. But when a life so catholic, so varied, and so excellent as Ritter's is introduced to the teachers and students of this country, we feel that a healthy impulse will of necessity be given to many susceptible and inquiring minds.

The carelessness in proof-reading which has been noticed in other publications by Mr. Gage manifests itself also in this volume, detracting often from the pleasure of reading, though not often involving any serious error.

11. — *The Logic of Chance. An Essay on the Foundations and Province of the Theory of Probability, with especial Reference to its Application to Moral and Social Science.* By JOHN VENN, M. A. London and Cambridge. 1866. 16mo. pp. 370.

HERE is a book which should be read by every thinking man. Great changes have taken place of late years in the philosophy of chances. Mr. Venn remarks, with great ingenuity and penetration, that this doctrine has had its realistic, conceptualistic, and nominalistic stages. The logic of the Middle Ages is almost coextensive with demonstrative logic; but our age of science opened with a discussion of probable argument (in the *Novum Organum*), and this part of the subject has given the chief interest to modern studies of logic. What is called the doctrine of chances is, to be sure, but a small part of this field of inquiry; but it is a part where the varieties in the conceptions of probability have been most evident. When this doctrine was first studied, probability seems to have been regarded as something inhering in the singular events, so that it was possible for Bernouilli to enounce it as a *theorem* (and not merely as an identical proposition), that events happen with frequencies proportional to their probabilities. That was a realistic view. Afterwards it was said that probability does not exist in the singular events, but consists in the degree of credence which ought to be reposed in the occurrence of an event. This is conceptualistic. Finally, probability is regarded as the ratio of the number of events in a certain part of an aggregate of them to the number in the whole aggregate. This is the nominalistic view.

This last is the position of Mr. Venn and of the most advanced writers on the subject. The theory was perhaps first put forth by Mr. Stuart Mill; but his head became involved in clouds, and he relapsed into the conceptualistic opinion. Yet the arguments upon the modern side are overwhelming. The question is by no means one of words; but if we were to inquire into the manner in which the terms *probable*, *likely*, and so forth, have been used, we should find that they always refer to a determination of a genus of argument. See, for example, Locke on the Understanding, Book IV. ch. 14, § 1. There we find it stated that a thing is probable when it is supported by reasons *such as* lead to a true conclusion. These words *such as* plainly refer to a genus of argument. Now, what constitutes the validity of a genus of argument? The necessity of thinking the conclusion, say the conceptualists. But a madman may be under a necessity of thinking fallaciously, and (as Bacon suggests) all mankind may be mad after one uniform fashion. Hence the nominalist answers the question thus: A genus of argument is valid when from true premises it will yield a true

conclusion, — invariably if demonstrative, generally if probable. The conceptualist says, that probability is the degree of credence which *ought* to be placed in the occurrence of an event. Here is an allusion to an entry on the debtor side of man's ledger. What is this entry? What is the meaning of this *ought?* Since probability is not an affair of morals, the *ought* must refer to an alternative to be avoided. Now the reasoner has nothing to fear but error. Probability will accordingly be the degree of credence which it is necessary to repose in a proposition in order to escape error. Conceptualists have not undertaken to say what is meant by "degree of credence." They would probably pronounce it indefinable and indescribable. Their philosophy deals much with the indefinable and indescribable. But propositions are either absolutely true or absolutely false. There is nothing *in the facts* which corresponds at all to a degree of credence, except that a genus of argument may yield a certain proportion of true conclusions from true premises. Thus, the following form of argument would, in the long run, yield (from true premises) a true conclusion two thirds of the time: —

A is taken at random from among the B's;
$\frac{2}{3}$ of the B's are C;
$\therefore$ A is C.

Truth being, then, the agreement of a representation with its object, and there being nothing *in re* answering to a degree of credence, a modification of a judgment in that respect cannot make it more true, although it may indicate the proportion of *such* judgments which are true *in the long run.* That is, indeed, the precise and only use or significance of these fractions termed probabilities: they give security in the long run. Now, in order that the degree of credence should correspond to any truth in the long run, it must be the representation of a general statistical fact, — a real, objective fact. And then, as it is the fact which is said to be probable, and not the belief, the introduction of "degree of credence" at all into the definition of probability is as superfluous as the introduction of a reflection upon a mental process into any other definition would be, — as though we were to define man as "that which (if the essence of the name is to be apprehended) ought to be conceived as a rational animal."

To say that the conceptualistic and nominalistic theories are both true at once, is mere ignorance, because their numerical results conflict. A conceptualist might hesitate, perhaps, to say that the probability of a proposition of which he knows absolutely nothing is $\frac{1}{2}$, although this would be, in one sense, justifiable for the nominalist, inasmuch as one half of all possible propositions (being contradictions of the other half) are true; but he does not hesitate to assume events

to be equally probable when he does not know anything about their probabilities, and this is for the nominalist an utterly unwarrantable procedure. A probability is a statistical fact, and cannot be assumed arbitrarily. Boole first did away with this absurdity, and thereby brought the mathematical doctrine of probabilities into harmony with the modern logical doctrine of probable inference. But Boole (owing to the *needs* of his calculus) admitted the assumption that simple events whose probabilities are given are independent, — an assumption of the same vicious character. Mr. Venn strikes down this last remnant of conceptualism with a very vigorous hand.

He has, however, fallen into some conceptualistic errors of his own; and these are specially manifest in his "applications to moral and social science." The most important of these is contained in the chapter "on the credibility of extraordinary stories"; but it is defended with so much ingenuity as almost to give it the value of a real contribution to science. It is maintained that the credibility of an extraordinary story depends either entirely upon the veracity of the witness, or, in more extraordinary cases, entirely upon the *a priori* credibility of the story; but that these considerations cannot, under any circumstances, be combined, unless arbitrarily. In order to support this opinion, the author invents an illustration. He supposes that statistics were to have shown that nine out of ten consumptives who go to the island of Madeira live through the first year, and that nine out of ten Englishmen who go to the same island die the first year; what, then, would be the just rate of insurance for the first year of a consumptive Englishman who is about to go to that island? There are no certain data for the least approximation to the proportion of consumptive Englishmen who die in Madeira during the first year. But it is certain that an insurance company which insured only Englishmen in Madeira during the first year, or only consumptives under the same circumstances, would be warranted (a certain moral fact being neglected) in taking the consumptive Englishman at its ordinary rate. Hence, Mr. Venn thinks that an insurance company which insured all sorts of men could with safety and fairness insure the consumptive Englishman either as Englishman or as consumptive.* Now, the case of

* This is an error. For supposing every man to be insured for the same amount, which we may take as our unit of value, and adopting the notation,

(c,e) = number of consumptive Englishmen insured.
$(c,\bar{e})$ = " consumptives not English "
$(\bar{c},e)$ = " not consumptive English "
x = unknown ratio of consumptive English who *do not die* in the first year.

The amount paid out yearly by the company would be, in the long run,

$$\tfrac{1}{10}(c,\bar{e}) + \tfrac{9}{10}(\bar{c},e) + x(c,e),$$

and x is unknown. This objection to Venn's theory may, however, be waived.

an extraordinary story is parallel to this: for such a story is, 1st, told by a certain person, who tells a known proportion of true stories, — say nine out of ten; and, 2d, is of a certain sort (as a fish story), of which a known proportion are true, — say one in ten. Then, as much as before, we come out right, in the long run, by considering such a story under either of the two classes to which it belongs. Hence, says Mr. Venn, we must repose such belief in the story as the veracity of the witness alone, or the antecedent probability alone, requires, or else arbitrarily modify one or other of these degrees of credence. In examining this theory, let us first remark, that there are two principal phrases in which the word probability occurs: for, first, we may speak of the probability of an event or proposition, and then we express ourselves incompletely, inasmuch as we refer to the frequency of true conclusions in the genus of arguments by which the event or proposition in question may have been inferred, without indicating what genus of argument that is; and, secondly, we may speak of the probability that any individual of a certain class has a certain character, when we mean the ratio of the number of those of that class that have that character to the total number in the class. Now it is this latter phrase which we use when we speak of the probability that a story of a certain sort, told by a certain man, is true. And since there is nothing in the data to show what this ratio is, the probability in question is unknown. But a "degree of credence" or "credibility," to be logically determined, must, as we have seen, be an expression of probability in the nominalistic sense; and therefore this "degree of credence" (supposing it to exist) is unknown. "We know not what to believe," is the ordinary and logically correct expression in such cases of perplexity.

Credence and expectation cannot be represented by single numbers. Probability is not always known; and then the probability of each degree of probability must enter into the credence. Perhaps this again is not known; then there will be a probability of each degree of probability of each degree of probability; and so on. In the same way, when a risk is run, the expectation is composed of the probabilities of each possible issue, but is not a single number, as the Petersburg problem shows. Suppose the capitalists of the world were to owe me a hundred dollars, and were to offer to pay in either of the following ways: 1st, a coin should be pitched up until it turned up heads (or else a hundred times, if it did not come up heads sooner), and I should be paid two dollars if the head came up the first time, four if the second time, eight if the third time, &c.; or, 2d, a coin should be turned up a hundred times, and I should receive two dollars for every head. Each of these offers would be worth a hundred dollars, *in the*

long run; that is to say, if repeated often enough, I should receive on the average a hundred dollars at each trial. But if the trial were to be made but once, I should infinitely prefer the second alternative, on account of its greater security. Mere certainty is worth a great deal. We wish to know our fate. How much it is worth is a question of political economy. It must go into the market, where its worth is what it will fetch. And since security may be of many kinds (according to the distribution of the probabilities of each sum of money and of each loss, in prospect), the value of the various kinds will fluctuate among one another with the ratio of demand and supply, — the demand varying with the moral and intellectual state of the community, — and thus no single and constant number can represent the value of any kind.

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12. — *France and England in North America, a Series of Historical Narratives.* By Francis Parkman, Author of "History of the Conspiracy of Pontiac," "Prairie and Rocky-Mountain Life," &c. Part Second. *The Jesuits in North America in the Seventeenth Century.* Boston: Little, Brown, and Company. 1867. pp. lxix., 463.

It is not always that the word "Series" on a title-page, any more than the "To be continued" at the end of the monthly instalment of a story, may be said to produce cheerful emotions in the breast of the conscientious reader. As boys are taught at boarding-schools, with abiding thoroughness, the perhaps unnecessary lesson to leave nothing on their plates, so there are certain readers, certain reviewers even, who have learned somewhere, or are driven by a fatal tyranny of nature, to make clean work of whatever book they fall foul of, down to the last consoling crumb of *Finis* at the end of the appendix. That solemn word which the printer, with a kind of grim humor, sets up like the headstone of many a book departed from the mind so soon as read, and never to return except in nightmare, gives an assurance of present safety that is delicious. The albatross has at last dropped from the neck. But a colophon which has not that definite brevity, which merely indicates the end of a particular volume, leaves readers of the turn we have mentioned in a dreadful condition of doubt and apprehension, — of doubt as to how much may yet remain, of apprehension lest their task may survive them. We know some who have become involved in the endless coils of the "Rebellion Record," and are wellnigh desperate in consequence. They began it full of hope in 1861, and 1867 finds them still climbing that Piranesi staircase whose landing is lost in abysmal space. They cannot read in the paper that there is promise

of a great crop of cereals, without turning pale at the identity of sound that recalls their serfdom. They fly to Europe, hoping that when they return they may know precisely how much is expected of them, but find at home the inevitable number, ending with fiendish indefiniteness in the midst of a sentence. It is an excellent work, — but *quousque tandem?* Even Mr. Froude begins to excite well-founded forebodings, and all the grandchildren of our Revolutionary heroes are studying the tables of life insurance to find out Mr. Bancroft's chance of reaching the year 1781, and theirs of being able to answer him.

We confess that we belong to this class of conscientious readers who reckon themselves pledged to the book they have begun, but we should need no such spur in Mr. Parkman's case; for his volumes, while they give us a healthy appetite for what is to follow, have the advantage that each is complete in itself. In the volume before us he tells, with the power which only sympathy and the vividness which nothing but a mastery of minute detail can give, the story of the Jesuit missions in Canada. Their attempt failed, as all others have failed whose object was to moor the New World to the Old, and to plant the Past in a soil so unkindly that it could never have struck out roots there, and would at best be but a sapless tradition. Some European plants thrive better here than at home; but the Church in its hierarchical sense is not one of them, all appearances to the contrary notwithstanding. There is, however, in the defeat of an heroic effort, where it is not the men, but the means, that fail, something that stirs the soul more than success. Whatever other short-comings there may be, the heroism always succeeds. To us, also, a spiritual soldiery, like the Jesuits, has an interest that we seek vainly in the achievements of merely physical warfare. We need no maps, no study of the localities, to understand *their* battles, for the fields where they were fought, the cunning and prowess of the enemy, are familiar to us all. If the means which these men used were sometimes sordid, often more than questionable, their object was certainly a noble one. It is well for us to remember that Authority no less than Liberty has had its martyrs, noble men who thought it worth dying for. These also, as truly as the others, represented a Divine principle, and the time may be nearer than we think when liberty misunderstood shall make such sacrifice as they made for the sake of the past, a duty for those who would secure the safety of the future. The contest between the English and French systems on this continent was inevitable, and was not merely an accident of war between the parent countries, for France represented reaction and England progress. The result of it is certainly not a thing to be regretted by any right-thinking man, but we should be unworthy of

victory if we did not admire and celebrate the courage of those who died for a cause that was always hopeless, and perhaps the dearer to them for being so. When we remember Father Rasles and the fierce horror which our ancestors felt for that black militia of Rome, there is something that touches the imagination in the fact that their story should be first told in English by a descendant of the Puritans.

And the story is told remarkably well, for Mr. Parkman is capable of enthusiasm as well as patient of research. It has an interest, too, which we often miss in the history of greater events, because the characters are so few that we become acquainted with them all, and our sympathies do not lose themselves in a crowd of half-familiar figures. Here the tragedy has something of Greek simplicity in the directness of its movement and the fewness of the chief actors. Mr. Parkman also makes us thoroughly acquainted with the mental and physical traits of his leading personages, so that we read with that liveliness and intelligence of attention with which we follow the adventures of people we have seen and known. There is singular fascination in a book that enables us to re-create for ourselves that world, so recent in time, so far off in fact, with its gloom of primeval forest, its sombre recesses of virgin silence, with here and there a patch of life, a glimpse of motion, as the Iroquois steals upon his victim, or the black-robed priest paces, telling his beads, along the scarce-distinguishable wood-path. No subject could entice the imagination more than this, as we walk with the Jesuits this realm of perpetual newness and expectation, this true conjuring-ground of untrammelled fancy. Not a stream but flowed out of dream-land to lose itself in dream-land again; not a lake but stretched towards infinite conjecture and unravished possibility. And then that breathless solitude of snow, when Nature made retreat into her nunnery of winter and silence, muffled half a continent! Human eyes will look on no such world again, — a world unpropertied, a world in the block, to be shaped into whatsoever ideal form. The first European adventurers into the Orient bring us news from fairy-land, it is true, but nothing like this. There the imagination is sated: here it is teased with ever-new invitation.

Mr. Parkman has prefaced his volume with a treatise on the aboriginal American, his habits, superstitions, character, and qualities, whose thoroughness leaves nothing to be desired. The substance of it has already given value to our own pages. Having himself studied the living savage, his opinion is entitled to special weight, and we may fairly hope to have seen the last of the sententious Cooper variety of the race. The red man of fiction shrinks into nonentity before the eye of the well-read man of fact. Were this Mr. Parkman's only claim

upon our gratitude, it had been a large one; for to whom should we be more thankful than to him who replaces vagueness with certainty, and compels a braggart falsehood to confess the truth? But the volume before us puts us more largely in his debt. A new and authentic testimony to the strength of the human soul, to the capacity of man for self-devotion and that more difficult heroism which is unwitnessed, is a substantial addition to our self-respect, a positive help toward our deserving it on occasion. We look forward to his next volume with a whetted appetite. There is no passage in our history so romantic as that contest of men fresh from the luxury of the Old World in the savage remoteness of our woods, that grapple of two hostile civilizations in the shaggy recesses of our wilderness, and no historian so competent to deal with it as Mr. Parkman.

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13. — *A Song of Italy.* By Algernon Charles Swinburne. Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1867. 16mo. pp. 47.

Dryden, in his dedication to his translation of the Æneis, says: —

"Segrais has distinguished the readers of poetry, according to their capacity of judging, into three classes (he might have said the same of writers if he had pleased). In the lowest form he places those whom he calls *les petits esprits*, — such things as our upper-gallery audience in a play-house, who like nothing but the husk and rind of wit, prefer a quibble, a conceit, an epigram, before solid sense and elegant expression. These are mob-readers. If Virgil and Martial stood for Parliament-men, we know already who would carry it. But though they make the greatest appearance in the field, and cry the loudest, the best on it is, they are but a sort of French Huguenots or Dutch boors, brought over in herds, but not naturalized, who have not land of two pounds per annum in Parnassus, and are therefore not privileged to poll. Their authors are of the same level, fit to represent them on a mountebank's stage, or to be masters of the ceremonies in a bear-garden. Yet these are they who have the most admirers. But it often happens, to their mortification, that as their readers improve their stock of sense, (as they may by reading better books, and by conversation with men of judgment,) they soon forsake them; and when the torrent from the mountain falls no more, the swelling writer is reduced into his shallow bed, like the Mancanares at Madrid, with scarce water to moisten his own pebbles. There are a middle sort of readers (as we hold there is a middle state of souls), such as have a further insight than the former, yet have not the capacity of judging right (for I speak not of those who are bribed by a party, and know better if they were not corrupted); but I mean a company of warm young men, who are not yet arrived so far as to discern the difference betwixt fustian, or ostentatious sentences, and the true sublime. These are above liking Martial or Ovid's

epigrams; but they would certainly set Virgil below Statius or Lucan. I need not say their poets are of the same taste with their admirers. They affect greatness in all they write; but it is a bladdered greatness, like that of the vain man whom Seneca describes, — an ill habit of body, full of humors, and swelled with dropsy. How many of these flatulent writers have I known, who have sunk in their reputation after seven or eight editions of their works! for, indeed, they are poets only for young men. They had great success at their first appearance; but not being of God, as a wit said formerly, they could not stand."

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14. — *May-Day and other Pieces.* By Ralph Waldo Emerson. Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1867. 16mo. pp. 205.

In the exquisite poem in this volume called "Terminus" Mr. Emerson speaks of himself as one who

> "Obeys the voice at eve obeyed at prime."

He has, indeed, unquestioned right thus to speak of himself, for he has been true, as few men ever were, to the voice of his own genius, and his obedience has been to him both inspiration and power. Many years ago he said of the poet: "He is isolated among his contemporaries, by truth and by his art, but with this consolation in his pursuits, that they will draw all men sooner or later." And in his own experience he has had proof of this assertion. He has had the happiness of living long enough to see his contemporaries, those at least of the younger generation, drawing to him, and acknowledging him as one of those

> "Olympian bards who sung
> Divine ideas below,
> Which always find us young,
> And always keep us so."

His first volume of poems and his last, with twenty-one years' interval between them, are in the same key of harmony, and are expressions of the same voice. The first has some tones of youth, some fervors of imagination which are not found in the last, but their place is supplied by the clearer accents and composed strength of mature life. They are both alike the sincere utterances of a strongly marked and individual genius, and both in striking contrast to the popular poetry of the day.

The character of Mr. Emerson's genius is such that its expressions are not, and are not likely to become, in a strict sense, popular. He addresses a select audience, composed of those who like himself hold to their ideals, and have faith in the worth and efficacy of ideas. He

speaks to the few, but those few are the masters of the world. As a poet he belongs to the small band of moral poets, of those whose power lies not in imagination as applied to the affairs and interests of men, not in fertility of fancy or in range of conception, but in the perception of the moral and spiritual relations of man to the nature which encompasses him, of the moral and spiritual laws which are symbolized by that nature, and of the universal truths which underlie the forms of existence, and co-ordinate the varieties of human experience. There is little passion in his poetry; passion is in its nature selfish; the emotions which his verses express are seldom personal. The events of life are as nothing to the poet as compared to the ideas which possess his soul. Very few of his poems have a lyrical quality; not one of them is truly dramatic. Men are little to him; man and nature, everything.

Idealist as he is, it is not strange that at times he shows himself the mystic. It is by inspiration, and not by reason, that he is guided, and he has no test of the quality of his inspiration. It may be a revelation of light; it may be an apocalypse of darkness. But poetry and mysticism have nothing properly in common. True poetry is neither a riddle, nor an illusion, and true inspiration is always rational. The inconceivable is as much beyond the reach of intuition as of reason. The vein of mysticism in Mr. Emerson's genius is doubtless the more conspicuous from the comparative subordination in his nature of the artistic to the speculative element. The essence of art lies in definiteness of conception. The artist is he who can perfectly exhibit his idea in form; and excellence of form — whether in line, color, rhythm, or harmony — gives universality and permanence to the work of art. Perfect form is abstract, imperishable, archetypal; and he is the greatest artist who clothes ideas in the most nearly perfect form. Mr. Emerson, idealist as he is, too often pays little regard to this ideal form, and puts his thought into inharmonious verse. His poems are for the most part more fitted to invigorate the moral sense, than to delight the artistic. At times, indeed, he is singularly felicitous in expression, and some of his verses both charm and elevate the soul. These rarer verses will live in the memories of men. No poet is surer of immortality than Mr. Emerson, but the greater part of his poetry will be read, not so much for its artistic as for its moral worth.

The poem which gives its title to the new volume, May-Day, is a poem of spring, — a collection of beautiful praises and descriptions of our New England May, written by a lover of Nature, to whom she has told many of her secrets, and whom she has cheered with her smile. It is full of the new wine of the year; of the gladness, the comfort,

and the purity of the gay season of youth and love. The next poem, "The Adirondacks," is of a different sort, save in its familiarity with nature, and reads like an American episode out of the best part of Wordsworth's "Prelude." Among the Occasional and Miscellaneous Poems which make up the rest of the volume are many already known to the lovers of the best poetry, and which, now collected, will be among the choicest flowers of the most select anthology. We need but name "Voluntaries," "Days," "My Garden," "Sea-shore," "Two Rivers," "Terminus," "The Past," to show what rare treasures this little volume holds.

Mr. Emerson seldom reminds of other poets. Least of all should we expect him to remind us of Horace; but in "The Past" he repeats a thought which Horace has expressed in a noble passage in one of his finest odes. The comparison and contrast between the two poets are interesting. Speaking of the certainty of the Past, Mr. Emerson says: —

> "All is now secure and fast;
> Not the gods can shake the Past;
> Flies to the adamantine door,
> Bolted down forevermore.
> None can re-enter there.

And Horace: —

> "Cras vel atrâ
> Nube polum pater occupato,
> Vel sole puro; non tamen irritum
> Quodcunque retro est efficiet; neque
> Diffinget, infectumque reddet,
> Quod fugiens semel hora vexit."

And another verse of the same ode is recalled by the lines in "The Adirondacks" in which the poet tells how

> "Ten scholars, wonted to lie warm and soft
> In well-hung chambers, daintily bestowed,
> Lie here on hemlock-boughs, like Sacs and Sioux,
> And greet unanimous the joyful change."

Is not this little more than a free translation of

> "Plerumque gratæ divitibus vices;
> Mundæque parvo sub lare pauperum
> Cœnæ, sine aulæis et ostro,
> Solicitam explicuere frontem"?

But enough. To have given these poems to us is another added to the many claims of Mr. Emerson on the gratitude of this and of coming generations.

15. — *Fathers and Sons. A Novel by* Ivan Sergheïevitch Turgenef. Translated from the Russian with the Approval of the Author by Eugene Schuyler, Ph. D. New York: Leypoldt and Holt. 1867. 12mo. pp. viii., 248.

Mr. Schuyler has not only translated well a book that deserved translating, but he has opened to us a new literature, and introduced us to fresh walks of fiction. The most jaded novel-reader will find entertainment in this story, and to those to whom novel-reading is a refreshment after the fatigue of serious work it may be cordially recommended. Without being a work of high genius, it is an exceedingly good novel, full of character and incident closely studied from nature, and treated with vigor and sense. It is interesting, not merely from its story, but because it affords a picture of life and manners remote from our own, yet not so remote as to be simply objects of curiosity, but developed under the influence of those general principles which control the present progress and conditions of European civilization, and thus brought into close relation with our own.

The author of "Fathers and Sons," as we learn from the excellent Preface of Mr. Schuyler, was born in 1818. His life has been passed in easy circumstances, and has been mainly devoted to literature. He is now the most successful and popular novelist in Russia. "Fathers and Sons" was first published in 1861. It excited at once great attention, and was the object of eager and heated criticism and discussion. "The more the book was abused, the more it was read. Its success has been greater than that of any other Russian book. It has therefore been selected as the best specimen of modern Russian literature to present to the American public."

The story is one of our own times, and Mr. Turgenef's design seems to have been to represent in it the most marked phases of existing Russian life and thought. His characters exhibit the various features of the older and younger generation of living Russians; and while his book thus acquires an interest superior to that of a mere novel of incident, it is exposed to failure as a work of art from the temptation in such a case to make the characters typical of classes rather than true portrayals of individuals. Mr. Turgenef has not altogether escaped from this danger. In the earlier part of his novel the characters are too consistently exhibited as types, rather than with the inevitable inconsistencies of men; but as the story proceeds and increases in interest, they become more and more individualized, and we have real men and women sketched with a free and vigorous hand. The movement of the story is rapid, its whole course being condensed within a few months; the incidents are simple,

but not wanting in interest, and the situations are natural and dramatic. There is great animation in the conversations, and the descriptive parts of the book are not only vivid and picturesque, but they show that the author possesses a sentiment of the beauty of Nature, and is a careful observer of her various displays. He has both humor and pathos, and he is quite free from exaggeration in the use of these perilous faculties.

The book is not one of which an abstract of the story would convey a sufficient or even a correct notion, because the story is itself intended as a vehicle of ideas. It is a book that may be read for information, as well as for entertainment. The very fact that it was written for Russians, — that its whole conception, scenery, and development are Russian, — makes it the more interesting to foreigners. It is so good that we hope that Mr. Schuyler will go on to give us translations of Mr. Turgenef's other works. We have little doubt that the public will welcome them cordially. We commend this one, at least, as a novel far better worth reading than most of those which come from the press, and we are grateful to Mr. Schuyler for the real pleasure which his translation has afforded us.

The translation is, on the whole, very well executed, and in great part, especially as the story advances, it reads almost with the freedom and idiomatic raciness of an original work.

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16. — *Critical and Social Essays, reprinted from the New York Nation.* New York: Leypoldt and Holt. 1867. 12mo. pp. 230.

The reputation which the Nation has justly acquired during the last two years, not only for the general ability with which it is conducted, but also for the unusual literary merit of many of its articles, will be extended and confirmed by the publication of this little volume. It contains twenty-five essays, by various hands, and on a great variety of topics of present interest. All are entertaining, clever, and well written; and some of them deserve the higher praise of being the condensed statement of vigorous thought upon questions of practical importance. The value of these essays is not purely literary, but consists much more in the reflection they afford of the best thinking and temper of the times in their sympathetic and intelligent criticism of prevailing forms of life.

We trust that this is but the first of a series of similar volumes. The Nation has a right to count on long life. It fairly represents, as no other of our weekly journals does, the best thought and culture of America. It is in the worthiest sense American in tone and principle.

It has already done good work in raising the standard of political discussion, and social and literary criticism. It deals with public questions with entire independence and masculine common-sense. There is now no better political writing than is found in its columns, — writing which gives evidence of rare mental discipline and fairness, and special training in political science, and is the expression of strong convictions deliberately formed, and maintained with dignity and moderation. The contrast which the Nation thus affords to the common run of newspapers is very striking. Its opinions on the matters which it treats carry weight with readers capable of appreciating sound argument and well-matured opinion. It has already acquired an influence of which it may be proud, and yet it has but just entered on its career.

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17. — *The Correlation and Conservation of Gravitation and Heat, and some of the Effects of these Forces on the Solar System.* By Ethan S. Chapin. Springfield, Mass.: Lewis J. Powers and Brother. 1867. 12mo. pp. 120.

If we were to compare Mr. Chapin's powers of mathematical and speculative insight with those of eminent modern physicists, it would be greatly to his disparagement. We think, nevertheless, that he reasons on physics much better than Aristotle, and has much clearer ideas on many scientific subjects. But if Aristotle had had the advantages, in early life, of a training in the maturest results of modern science, prior to the development in his own mind of speculative opinions grounded on his own unaided observations and reflections, — if, in other words, he had had a truly educational discipline in science, — he would doubtless have excelled our author. How it would have been had he acquired a knowledge of modern science later in life, and after his opinions were in great measure formed, it would be more difficult to decide. How far later instruction can supply the deficiencies of early education is indicated, however, in certain historical examples, to which our author refers in his Preface. Newton, at the time of his death, "had not above twenty followers out of England"; and Kepler said of his immortal work, "It may well wait a century for a reader, as God has waited six thousand years for an interpreter of his works." The author adds, "Therefore, when I not only introduce new theories, but combat the errors of accepted ones, I may expect to wait long for an impartial reader." It will be seen that our author here compares himself to these eminent philosophers. But to our mind he much more nearly resembles the majority of their contemporaries. The self-

made man of our day is, with reference to the more abstruse matters of science, in the position of the instructed man of former times, whose maturity was contemporary with great discoveries in science, and with whom later instruction could not efface the prepossessions of an earlier education. To set out in the study of nature with the guidance of the results already reached has the supreme advantage of avoiding that greatest obstacle in the path of learning, the necessity of retracing our steps, and remodelling our fundamental ideas. If our author had had this advantage, we are sure, from the original mental power which his book discloses, that the book would not have been written, or else would have been made much more worthy of attention from students in science.

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18. — *Reply to Hon. Charles G. Loring, upon Reconstruction.* By John S. Wright of Illinois. Boston: A. Williams & Co. 8vo. pp. 189.

It is impossible to speak at length of Mr. Wright's work, for not only is the pamphlet before us but a small part of his contemplated work, but it is not the opening part thereof. It is "No. II." of his "Political Tracts," publications likely to do good in promoting the dissemination of useful knowledge, but which are *not* likely to have much effect on the settlement of the reconstruction question, as that, judging from present appearances, will be disposed of before half the series shall have been printed and put in circulation. Nor do we think there is much to regret in this. The reconstruction question is of a thoroughly practical character, and is fast settling itself under the guidance of Congress, as prepared and set forth in what is known as the Military Reconstruction Act. With the return of the excluded States all discussion of the general question must cease, considered as a practical matter; and in that case, to write on it or to read works on it would be labor and study of no value, and would rank with those ingenious discussions and inquiries that show how the battle of Waterloo might have been won by the French, had they not lost it. We live rapidly in these times, and books that concern questions of pressing moment soon lose their interest, as action supersedes discussion. To such books Mr. Wright's pamphlets belong; and though they have a certain attraction now, they must soon be classed with other works that treat of the best manner of settling matters that have an obstinate way of settling themselves, in utter disregard of the arguments of ingenious speculators.

LETTER FROM PROFESSOR GEORGE WASHINGTON GREENE.

East Greenwich, R. I., May 9, 1867.

To the Editors of the North American Review: —

Gentlemen, — Mr. Bancroft's letter in the last number of your Review may be divided into three parts, — personalities, assertions, and the forms of discussion. With the personalities I have nothing to do. I proceed directly to an examination of the assertions and discussions.

First among the assertions is, that I "assume the appearance of fairness by a parade of documents and authorities, but that many of the documents are irrelevant, decisive ones are left out, and some of those which are confidently cited are unhistoric." It will, I presume, be allowed by every candid reader, that, in making assertions like these, the accuser is bound to prove them. I deny them all, and call upon Mr. Bancroft for his proofs.

Having thus introduced his subject, Mr. Bancroft passes to the examination of the different paragraphs of my pamphlet, all of which but four he disposes of after the same manner, — a manner very convenient for him, but very unsatisfactory to those difficult readers who believe that documents, and not assertions, are the foundation of history. These four he "reserves for fuller discussion." I purpose to follow him in this discussion, beginning with Fort Washington.

Mr. Bancroft says: —

"Early in November experience proved clearly to the mind of Washington that Fort Washington ought to be evacuated, and, knowing from the reports of Greene the different opinion of that officer, he embodied in his order for preparing for the evacuation the reasoning on which the order was founded. . . . . When it is compared with Greene's conduct on receiving it, no room is left for doubt how that conduct is to be judged."

In the next paragraph we are told, "*First*, that it was not modest for the inferior officer, *who had already had ocasion to explain his opinion*, to thwart the system of his superior." *Second*, that if every subordinate should insist upon his own plan, that harmony of action which it was the duty of the commander-in-chief to secure would be destroyed. *Third*, that "the order to defend Fort Washington to the last was explicitly and unequivocally revoked"; yet Greene reinforced it. *Last*, that "a considerable discretion was left to Greene, and that he used that discretion in the most injurious manner." Two letters of Washington, one of the 22d of August, 1779, to Reed, and one of the 8th of March, 1785, to Gordon, follow. The discussion closes by evading

the question of Washington's ultimate responsibility, throwing upon Greene the responsibility of "the warfare in Washington's mind," which was the immediate cause of the loss of the fort, and an assurance that, according to "the unanimous contemporary opinion, Greene as a counsellor gave the worst possible advice."

Such, I believe, is a correct analysis of Mr. Bancroft's argument. And now, in coming to an examination of it, please remember that in my pamphlet I waived in explicit terms the question of the correctness of Greene's opinion, and confined myself strictly to the inquiry, Who was responsible for the holding of Fort Washington after the 13th of November? Mr. Bancroft does not meet the question.

He says that "early in November experience proved clearly to the mind of Washington that Fort Washington ought to be evacuated." I, of course, have nothing to do with Washington's opinion except as it was known to Greene. There are, so far as I have been able to discover, but two letters of Washington to Greene in the first part of November. On the 6th he writes to the President of Congress: "I expect the enemy will bend their force against Fort Washington." (Force, Am. Arch., 5th Series, III. 543.) In this letter no doubt is expressed or even hinted of his power or intention to hold it.

On the next day, the 7th, he writes to Greene: "Conjecturing that too little is yet done by General Howe to go into winter-quarters, we conceive that Fort Washington will be an object for part of his force, while New Jersey may claim the attention of the other part. To guard against the evils arising from the first, I must recommend to you to pay every attention in your power, and give every assistance you can to the garrison opposite to you." (Force, *ut sup.* 557.)

Up to this date, therefore, there is no doubt expressed in Washington's letters to Greene about the propriety or possibility of holding Fort Washington. To the President of Congress, to whom any such doubt would necessarily have been communicated, he holds the same language that he holds to Greene. Mr. Bancroft's assertion, therefore, that Greene "had already had occasion to explain his opinion," has no foundation but in his own fertile invention. Thus far, then, Greene's intention to "thwart the system of his superior" could not have been formed, for no change in that system had been announced. Washington and Greene were still in perfect accord.

But after the letter of the 7th had been written, intelligence reached camp that "three vessels" had passed up the North River, and on the next day Washington wrote: —

"The late passage of three vessels up the North River, of which *we have just received* advice, is so plain a proof of the inefficacy of all the obstructions

we have thrown into it, that I cannot but think it will fully justify a change in the disposition which has been made. If we cannot prevent vessels from passing up, and the enemy are possessed of the surrounding country, what valuable purpose can it answer to attempt to hold a post from which the expected benefit cannot be had? *I am*, therefore, *inclined to think* that it will not be prudent to hazard the men and stores at Mount Washington; *but as you are on the spot I leave it to you to give such orders as to evacuating Mount Washington as you may judge best, and so far revoking the order given to Colonel Magaw to defend it to the last.*"

If we apply to this letter the common rules of interpretation, we shall see, first, that it bases the idea of evacuation upon the impossibility of preventing the passage of the enemy's ships up the river, and speaks of the proofs of that impossibility as having been *just* acquired. Thus far, then, it confirms my position that, up to the 8th, Washington meant to hold the fort. The manner in which he speaks, in the letters of the 6th and 7th, of the enemy's designs against that post, inasmuch as they contain no hint of a doubt concerning his power to hold it, is also a confirmation of the correctness of my position.

Now what follows from this *just* discovered impossibility? "*I am, therefore, inclined to think* that it will not be prudent to hazard the men and stores at Mount Washington." By what principle of interpretation was Greene required to accept this dubitative *I am inclined to think* as equivalent to a positive *I think*? Therefore, as the letter reads up to this sentence, there is nothing in it which could convey to Greene's mind the idea of a positive decision or a positive order.

But even if there had been, and the expression had been *I think*, what conclusion about Washington's decision would Greene have drawn from the next sentence? "*But as you are on the spot I leave it to you to give such orders as to evacuating Mount Washington as you may judge best.*" Is this an order, or is it a reference of decision on the ground of the commander-in-chief's absence from the spot, and his consequent incapacity to decide correctly? Congress had instructed Washington to hold Fort Washington as long as possible. What if Greene had evacuated it? Would the language of this letter have justified him to a court-martial, or what to him was always of more importance than the opinions of man, to his own conscience, unless he could have affirmed that he believed it to be necessary? How the tidings of such an evacuation would have been received by the country may be conjectured from the general outburst of indignation with which those of St. Clair's evacuation of Ticonderoga were received.

The third count in Mr. Bancroft's indictment is, that "the order to defend Fort Washington to the last was explicitly and unequivocally revoked, yet Greene thought proper to reinforce it with some of the

best troops and arms." How this revocation was expressed you have already seen. How it can be considered in any other light than as a logical sequence of the second clause of the sentence in which it occurs it is difficult to conceive. Magaw, who was in command at Fort Washington, — for technically Greene was never in command there, — had been ordered to defend his post to the last extremity. In authorizing Greene to use his own judgment about holding or evacuating it, a revocation of that order was a necessary part of the authorization. The last clause of the sentence is the necessary complement of the second clause. It conveys no opinion, contains no modification not already substantially contained in the second. Washington added it, as the qualifying *so far* proves, because he wished to express himself clearly and fully. He meant that Greene should feel himself justified in following his own judgment, and therefore told Magaw, through Greene, that he was no longer required to defend his post if Greene should order him to evacuate it. This is the only meaning that can be attributed to this clause, and the prominence which Mr. Bancroft gives it is utterly irreconcilable with every recognized law of interpretation.

I hold, therefore, that the so-called orders of the 8th were literally discretionary, or, in other words, that, throwing the responsibility upon Greene, they conferred upon him the power which was the necessary condition of that responsibility. They contain, as I have fully shown, all that Washington is known to have said to him upon the subject.

From the 9th, therefore, the day on which Washington's letter reached him, Greene found himself in a new position. It became his duty to decide the question of evacuation according to his own judgment. It was a new question. Up to that moment, Washington's letters to him contain no allusion to it. So far from having, as Mr. Bancroft asserts, had occasion to explain his opinion on this question to the commander-in-chief, the question had never arisen between them. The council of war of the 16th of October, which, with but one dissenting voice, decided that the river could not be effectually obstructed, decided also "that Fort Washington be held as long as possible." (Force, 8th Series, II. 1116.) Greene was not present at that council, but he believed that the free passage of the river might be obstructed, and the affair of the 27th October (*vide* my pamphlet, pp. 42 – 44) shows that there was some foundation for his opinion. But this, as plainly appears from the minutes of the council, was treated as a separate question. Although the council decided that the river could not be secured, they also decided that the fort should be held as long as possible. Up to the 8th of November, Washington's words and conduct were in accordance with this decision.

What, then, was Greene's duty in this new emergency? Plainly, first of all to make sure that he had put the right construction upon Washington's letter; and next to tell him what that construction was. This he did, and in his letter of the 9th November, which, as I have given it in full in my pamphlet, I will not reprint here, he announces his difference of opinion and gives his reasons for it. It is evident, both from this letter and from his conduct, that he interpreted Washington's "*I am inclined to think*," as the expression of indecision, and his "*I leave it to you to give such orders as you may judge best*," as a literal transfer of the power of decision to him.

Washington's letters of August, 1779, and March, 1785, upon which Mr. Bancroft lays so much stress, have nothing to do with Greene's knowledge of Washington's sentiments before the 13th of November, 1776, and Greene's conduct as to obedience must be judged by his knowledge of Washington's decision. This is equally true of the letter of the 19th of November, 1776, to Augustine Washington. Greene's only means of knowing what Washington thought was the letter of the 8th of November, and what construction a candid application of the simplest and most obvious laws of interpretation must put upon this letter I have already shown. To blame Greene for reading Washington's words as Washington wrote them, and interpreting them as he had always interpreted them, would be absurd, if the gravity of such a charge against such a man did not make it wicked.

On what day Washington received Greene's letter of the 9th, I have no means of knowing; probably, however, on the 10th, certainly not later than the 11th. When he had read that letter, he knew what interpretation Greene had put upon his. It was the same construction which he had put upon Washington's answer to his letter of the 29th of October, about holding the lower lines. In that answer, Washington had referred the decision to Greene, because Greene was on the spot, and had "not scrupled" to decide according to his own judgment. Eleven days had passed without a word of reproof from Washington, or even a suggestion that he had erred in his interpretation of Washington's words. Why should he hesitate to do now what he had done then?

On the 10th, he again wrote Washington, unfolding his general plan of defence in Jersey. The letter of Harrison, Washington's secretary, to which this was an answer, has not been preserved, but it is fair to suppose that it was upon the same subject. On the 11th, Greene writes again. But from Washington there is no other letter. His last word had been given in his letter of the 8th. On the 13th, he arrived at Fort Lee. The reason for intrusting the decision to Greene ceased.

The commander-in-chief was now on the spot. If he disapproved Greene's conduct, why did he not countermand Greene's orders? Clearly, this was his duty as commander-in-chief. Clearly, this was no time to balance considerations of delicacy. Clearly, if Washington hesitated, the fault did not lie with Greene, who had only an opinion to express, not an order to give. But Washington did hesitate, and during that hesitation the fort fell. It is not pleasant to accuse Washington of indecision, but it is not just to lay the consequences of that indecision at another man's door. Greene acted independently while it was his duty to act. He advised conscientiously when it became his duty to advise. Beyond this it was not in his power to go, and power is a condition of responsibility. If it was not modest in him to hold a different opinion from the commander-in-chief, for such is the true import of Mr. Bancroft's words, it was neither considerate nor just in the commander-in-chief to call upon him for an independent opinion. But no such thought ever entered the equitable mind of Washington. He saw that there was great weight in Greene's reasoning, and therefore took it into careful consideration. Unfortunately, before he had come to a decision, the opportunity of strengthening or withdrawing the garrison escaped him. Up to the night of the 15th, either of these might have been done; and Washington was already on the spot on the 13th. This aspect of the question Mr. Bancroft evades. Let him prove that in the presence of the commander-in-chief it was for the subordinate to decide, and I will accept the responsibility for my grandfather.

"*I turn next*," says Mr. Bancroft, "*to the charge numbered XII. Greene at the Brandywine. . . . . The question that is raised by General Greene's grandson is whether Washington joined the right alone or with troops.*" Mr. Bancroft holds that he brought up Greene's division with him, and cites Knox, Lafayette, and Marshall; — Knox, to prove that he "set out in a gallop" for the right; Lafayette, that he "came up with fresh troops"; Marshall, that he "pressed forward with Greene to the support of that wing."

I have relied upon Gordon, and upon Greene's letter to Marchant, to prove that Greene brought up one division of his troops himself, — Weedon's brigade; while the other, Mühlenberg's, took, by Washington's direction, another road. The statements of Greene and Gordon are positive, and admit of no modification. They must either be absolutely false or absolutely true. To these I have added the traditional testimony of Dr. Darlington of West Chester, Pennsylvania, as published by the Historical Society of that State. Mr. Bancroft's slur at this gentleman, whom he calls *one Darlington*, will hardly pass in Pennsylvania for an argument. According to Dr. Darlington, Wash-

ington, who was with Greene when the cannon announced the attack upon the right wing, took a cross-road under the guidance of an old man named Brown, who had repeatedly told the story to Darlington's father. The point at issue, therefore, is, Whose testimony are we to receive?

Knox's declaration that Washington "set off in a gallop" shows that he must have "set off" alone, unless we are to believe that Greene's infantry "set off in a gallop" with him. Now as the troops of that day were not trained to the double-quick, they could hardly have kept up a gallop forty-five minutes, even if they had started in one. Knox, therefore, is against, and not for, Mr. Bancroft.

But Colonel Pinckney, one of Washington's aids, in a paper dated thirteen days after the battle, positively asserts that he was with Washington, and Washington with Sullivan, when Weedon came up. (Proc. Penn. Hist. Soc., I. No. 8, p. 50.) Therefore Washington must have been in advance of Greene, who was with Weedon; and to have been in advance — for they were together when the cannon was first heard — he must have come at least part of the way without him.

Thus Pinckney, with his fresh recollections of the battle, contradicts both Lafayette and Marshall, who wrote thirty years after the battle. But there is no need of taking either Lafayette's or Marshall's words literally. Neither of them enters into details. Both of them use expressions which are still correct as general narrative, if we suppose that Washington, after giving his orders, and seeing the march begun, "pressed forward" in advance, and was, as Pinckney tells us that he was, with Sullivan when Greene came up.

And, to come to the reason of the thing, why should Washington wait the tardy movements of infantry, when he knew, by the firing on the right, that he was needed there? Was it in keeping with his energetic character to walk his horse at so critical a moment, when a quarter of an hour's gallop would bring him where he could see and judge for himself?

But this is not the only issue between Mr. Bancroft and myself with regard to the battle of the Brandywine. Permit me to call your attention for a moment to his narrative: —

"Howe seemed likely to get in the rear of the Continental army and complete its overthrow. But at the sound of the cannon on the right, taking with him Greene and the two brigades of Mühlenberg and Weedon which lay nearest the scene of action, Washington marched swiftly to the support of the wing that had been confided to Sullivan, and in about forty minutes met them in full retreat. *His approach checked the pursuit.* Cautiously making a new disposition of his forces, Howe again pushed forward, *driving the party*

with Greene, till they came upon a strong position, *chosen by Washington*, which completely commanded the road, and which a regiment of Virginians under Stevens, and another of Pennsylvanians under Stewart, were able to hold till nightfall."

And first let me remind you of Gordon's positive assertion that Mühlenberg, by Washington's orders, took a different road from Weedon, and that Greene, in a letter to Marchant, confirms Gordon's statement. I ask Mr. Bancroft for the authority by which he ventures to contradict authorities like these?

Next please to observe how Washington is made to stand alone at this stage of the narrative: "*His approach checked the pursuit.*" I would like to see this made plainer by authorities and detail. But — and do not overlook the sudden change — Howe pushes on, and, while Greene comes forward to be *driven*, Washington disappears from the field, suddenly reappearing, however, a *Deus ex machina*, the moment the driven Greene reaches tenable ground, and chooses it for him. I pass over minor points. I will not dwell upon the unhistoric absurdity of the picture; but I call upon Mr. Bancroft to give his authority for attributing to Washington the choice of the pass at which Greene made his great stand and saved the army.

For Greene always asserted that he had saved the army at the Brandywine. He claims it in a letter to Henry Marchant in 1778. He claims it in a letter to Henry Lee in 1782. Mr. Bancroft quotes this letter to prove, out of Greene's own mouth, that he fell under Washington's frown at Germantown, although the letter says no such thing. Why did he not quote the following passage? "I covered the retreat at Brandywine, and was upwards of an hour and a quarter in a hot action, and confessedly saved the park of artillery, and, indeed, the army, from the fatal effects of a disagreeable rout." Would Greene, in writing to Henry Lee, who was in the battle of the Brandywine, advance an unfounded claim to so conspicuous a service? Or is it "irrelevant and unhistoric" to name a major-general in connection with the part performed by his division in an important battle?

Of Mr. Bancroft's paragraphs concerning Germantown I am at a loss how to speak, without using language which, however just in itself, and almost imperatively called for by the facts, would hardly become the pages of a literary journal. He has no condemnation for Washington's protracted discussion before Chew's house, the injudicious summons which cost the life of the gallant Smith, the time wasted in attempting to beat down its solid walls with light field-pieces, and the delay which all this occasioned in the advance of the right wing; but upon the attack upon it made by Woodford, under justifying circumstances, he

dwells with minute complacency, as a blunder caused by a blunder of Greene; of the different circumstances under which the two halts were made, he is silent. He cites Marshall to prove that this "windmill attack" was made by a part of the left wing, and speaks of this part as having "*strayed to Chew's* house, ... halted there, ... and taken no part in the battle," except to "play upon its walls with light field-pieces." Marshall's words are: "*While rapidly pursuing the flying enemy*, Woodford's brigade, which was on the right of this wing, was arrested by a heavy fire from Chew's house directed against its right flank." Having thus boldly travestied Marshall's account of Woodford's movement, he with equal boldness ignores Marshall's statement that that part of the wing which was "led by *Greene in person*," "pressing forward with eagerness, encountered and broke a part of the British right wing, entered the village, and made a considerable number of prisoners." (Marshall, I. 169, ed. of 1848.) He carefully repeats that "the left column under Greene was not heard of till about three quarters of an hour after the attack from the right"; but with equal care excludes from his text Sullivan's explanation of Greene's delay, and Pickering's assertion that Greene, having a large "circuit to make in order to reach his point of attack," the columns were "entirely separated, and at a distance from each other," so that "no calculations of their commanders could have insured their arriving at the same time at their respective points of attack." (Pickering's Letter in North American Review, XXIII. 429.) It is also stated in a contemporary diary that "the guide of the left wing mistook the way." But this interesting and authentic document, although often within Mr. Bancroft's reach during "the succession of years" over which his researches extended, seems, like many other "trustworthy" documents, either to have escaped his "unwearied pains," or to have borne its truthful witness in vain.

"*That Washington was dissatisfied and frowned*," Mr. Bancroft continues, "*was* long remembered by Greene, who years afterwards, while he claimed merit for his exertions on that day, wrote, 'At Germantown I was evidently disgraced.'" How far Washington shared this opinion may be gathered from the words — not cited by Mr. Bancroft — of the Henry Lee who, as Mr. Bancroft, trying, in another place, to use his testimony against Greene, tells us, "was then present as an officer, and greatly esteemed."

"The left column was under the order of Major-General Greene. Some attempts were made at that time to censure that officer; but they were *too feeble to attract notice* when levelled at a general whose *uniform conduct* had already placed him high in the *confidence of his chief* and of the army."

(For the letter, *vide* Lee's Campaign of 1781; and for the extract, Lee's Memoirs of the War in the Southern Department.)

And if this does not satisfy Mr. Bancroft, let him compare it with the following extracts from a letter of Greene's to Washington, October 24, 1777, and Washington's answer, October 26, 1777.

"I cannot help thinking, from the most dispassionate survey of the operations of the campaign, that you stand approved by reason and justified by every military principle. With respect to my own conduct, I have ever given my opinion with candor, and to my utmost executed with fidelity whatever was committed to my charge. In some instances we have been unfortunate. In one I thought I felt the lower of your Excellency's countenance when I am sure I had no reason to expect it. It is out of my power to command success, but I trust I have ever endeavored to deserve it. It is mortifying enough to be a common sharer in misfortunes; but to be punished as the author, without deserving it, is truly afflicting."

To which Washington immediately replies, after referring to "my letter of yesternight."

"Our situation, as you justly observe, is distressing from a variety of irremediable causes, but more especially from the impracticability of answering the expectations of the world without running hazards which no military principles can justify, and which in case of failure might prove the ruin of our cause. Patience and a steady perseverance in such measures as appear warranted by sound reason and policy must support us under the censure of the one, and dictate a proper line of conduct for the attainment of the other. That is the great object in view; this, as it ever has, will, I think, ever remain the first wish of my heart, however I may mistake the means of accomplishment. That your views are the same, and that your endeavors have pointed to the same end, I am perfectly satisfied of, although you seem to have imbibed a suspicion which I never entertained."

It may not be without its significance to add, that Washington signs this letter, — written throughout by his own hand, — "with sincere regard and affection," — strong words for Washington to use to a man whom he had just before "frowned" upon for misconduct.

Mr. Bancroft professes a great veneration for Washington. Let him withdraw the charge to which Washington gives so distinct a denial; or, if he still persists in asserting that Greene, on the 4th of October, "fell under the frown," so directly disclaimed in this letter of the 26th of October, let him bring his proof. Nor let him say in extenuation that he did not know of this letter. He knows that his applications to me for information have been courteously and promptly met, and that, if he had cared for the truth, he might have found it.

The last five pages of Mr. Bancroft's letter are chiefly devoted to my fifteenth section, "Why Greene was made Quartermaster-General." His

answer may be briefly summed up thus: — Greene wanted to make a fortune, and gladly took an office which held out the prospect of one. To make sure of it, he insisted upon the appointment of Cox and Pettit as assistants, and by the aid of their relative Reed imposed onerous and unreasonable conditions upon Congress. The office thus gained he used for his own benefit and that of his relations. Failing, through the failure of the Continental currency, to realize his mercenary expectations, and alarmed at the public clamor which his mismanagement had occasioned, he threw up his commission in a pet at a critical period of the campaign. Washington, who thought well of him as a general, made no attempt to retain him as Quartermaster, thereby silently condemning his conduct in that office.

"When a man acts from a compound motive," is the grave opening of this grave charge, "it may be hard to analyze its elements; and we cannot know them unless the actor himself gives us glimpses into the inner workings of his mind." The "inner workings of the mind" which explain Mr. Bancroft's difficulty in understanding Greene without the aid of metaphysics are fully described by Sallust in a memorable paraphrase of Thucydides: "Ubi de magna virtute et gloria bonorum memores, quæ sibi quisque facilia factu putat æquo animo accipit; supra ea veluti ficta, pro falsis ducit." (Cat. III.; Thuc. II. 35.) "When the glorious achievements of brave and worthy men are related, every reader will be easily inclined to believe what he thinks he could have performed himself, but will treat what exceeds that measure as false and fabulous." (Rose.)

I do not purpose to enter here into the history of General Greene's Quartermaster-Generalship. It belongs to another place, and, before that "half a lifetime" to which Mr. Bancroft alludes so pertinently is ended, may possibly be in print. My purpose here is merely to give the context and connections which Mr. Bancroft or Mr. Bancroft's "clerk" omitted in the extracts on which he founds the charge of selfish and mercenary.

"*Before Greene entered the army he had been interested in profitable trade.*" The expression is not strictly accurate; but strict accuracy, of course, I cannot expect. It may not, however, be unhistoric to add, by way of commentary, that this *trade* was one of the earliest attempts in that line of industry which has made Rhode Island one of the wealthiest states in the world in proportion to her population, — the transformation of raw material into articles of general consumption and use. General Greene was an anchor-smith. What the effect of this "trade" had been upon his habits of mind may be conjectured from the following passage in a letter of July 26th, to John Adams: —

"I will endeavor to supply the want of knowledge as much as possible, by watchfulness and industry. In these respects, I flatter myself, I have never been faulty. I have never been one moment out of the service since I engaged in it. My interest has and will suffer greatly by my absence; *but I shall think that a small sacrifice if I can save my country from slavery.*"

"*Six weeks before the fall of Fort Washington in* 1776," Mr. Bancroft continues, "he indulged in the dream of reaping '*a golden harvest on the sea,*' *as the captain of a privateer, and devised a scheme for outwitting the enemy by sufficient effrontery.*" I give the passage in full that you may judge for yourselves how far it is to be regarded as a "dream" of personal gain, and how far as a suggestion made, in the intimacy of domestic correspondence, upon a subject of general interest; for, as you well know, the success of the Continental privateers was, at that time, a success of the Continental navy.

"This fall will be the last of the harvest. After this season all the navigation of Great Britain will go armed sufficiently to manage the small cruisers of America. If your privateers should take any vessels bound to America or Great Britain, let the prize-master assume the character and personate the original captain; if he should have the misfortune to fall in with an enemy's vessel, let him answer, bound to and came from the port mentioned in the ship's papers. If the captain or prize-master does this with sufficient effrontery, nothing but personal knowledge can detect him. It would be a good method to engage the crews of the prizes by giving them an opportunity to enter on board the privateer, and to share in all the prizes made after they entered on board. This may enable the captain of the privateer to continue his cruise and bring in a number of prizes, when he would otherwise be obliged to return home for want of men. And as to the fidelity and attachment of the sailors, you may depend upon it they will be as faithful, after becoming interested, as the generality of our own seamen.

"This fall is the golden harvest. I think the fishing ships at the eastward may be the objects of attention this fall. In the spring the East India ships may be intercepted on the coast of Africa. *Were I at liberty, I think I could make a fortune for my family. But it is necessary for some to be in the field to secure the property of others in their stores.*"

The only comment that I would make upon this letter, after asking you to compare it carefully with Mr. Bancroft's interpretation of it, is that it was written in the eighteenth, and not in the second half of the nineteenth century.

"*In February*, 1778, *he wrote, not* altogether in jest, 'Money becomes more and more the American's object.* You must get rich, or

* Greene, who was a daily reader of Horace, may, when he wrote these words, have had in mind: —

"O cives, cives, quærenda pecunia primum est:
Virtus post nummos. Hæc Janus summus ab imo

you will be of no consequence.'" Well may Mr. Bancroft say that these words were "not" written "altogether in jest." They are the outpourings of a saddened and anxious spirit, asking itself, — for they occur immediately after the description of "a horrid faction which (had) been forming to ruin his Excellency and others, — "Whither are our passions leading us? Where is this corruption to end?" "Ambition," he exclaims, "how boundless! Ingratitude, how prevalent!" Under no circumstances would a fair interpretation of Greene's words, even separated from their natural connection, as Mr. Bancroft has separated them, give them the meaning which he has attributed to them. But as the closing words of such a letter, how shall I characterize the attempt to convert them into an expression of the love of gain?

"*In one of his letters he freely confessed that the emoluments expected from the Quartermaster's Department were flattering to his fortune.*" Here again I ask your attention to the context: —

"The emoluments expected from the Quartermaster's Department, I freely confess, are flattering to my fortune, *but not less humiliating to my military pride.* I have as fair pretensions to an honorable command as those who hold them, and while I am drudging in an office from which I shall receive no honor and very few thanks, I am losing an opportunity to do justice to my military character. And what adds to my mortification is, that *my present humiliating employment* is improved to pave the way for others' glory. There is a great difference between being raised to an office, and descending to one. Had I been an inferior officer, I might have thought myself honored by the appointment. But as I was high in rank in the army, I have ever considered it as derogatory to serve in this office. It was with the greatest difficulty that I could prevail on myself to engage in this business. Nothing but the wretched state that the department was in, and the consequent ruin that must follow, added to the General's and the Committee of Congress's solicitations, could have procured my consent. *It was not with a view to profit, for the General and the Committee of Congress well remember that I offered to serve a year* (unconnected with the accounts of the department) in the military line, *without any additional pay to that I had as Major-General.*"

Such were Greene's motives as stated in a letter wherein Mr. Ban-

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Prodocet; hæc recinunt juvenes dictata senesque,
Lævo suspensi loculos tabulamque lacerto.
Est animus tibi, sunt mores, est lingua, fidesque;
Sed quadringentis sex septem millia desint,
Plebs eris." — Ep. I. 1. 53.

"O citizens, citizens, the first thing to be sought after is money: virtue after money. Janus from top to bottom teaches these things; young and old sing these maxims with their bags of counters and their tablets hanging on their left arms. You have spirit, you have morals, you have eloquence and fidelity; but let six or seven thousand sesterces be wanting to four hundred thousand, and you will still be a plebeian."

croft could find nothing but a confession that the prospect of emoluments "was flattering to his fortune." And this letter was addressed, not to a private individual or personal friend, but to Mr. Duane, member of Congress and head of the Treasury Board, who could easily have verified its statements. The same motives are assigned in other letters. Mark what he writes to Washington in 1779: —

"There is a great difference between being raised to an office and descending to one, — which is my case. There is also a great difference between serving where you have a fair prospect of honor and laurels, and where you have no prospect of either, let you discharge your duty ever so well. Nobody ever heard of a quartermaster in history, as such, or in relating any brilliant action. *I engaged in this business as well out of compassion to your Excellency as from a regard to the public. I thought your task too great to be commander-in-chief and quartermaster at the same time. Money was not my motive.* For *you may remember* I offered to serve a year unconnected with the accounts, *without any additional pay* to that I had as Major-General. However, this proposition was rejected as inadmissible. Then I told the Committee that I would serve upon the same terms that Mr. Cox and Mr. Pettit could be engaged upon; and I have nothing more now, although I have a double share of duty and am held responsible for all failures. . . . . Before I came into the department, your Excellency was obliged often to stand Quartermaster. However capable the principal was of doing his duty, he was hardly ever with you. The line and the staff were at war with each other. The country had been plundered in a way that would now breed a kind of civil war between the staff and the inhabitants. The manner of my engaging in this business, and your Excellency's declaration to the Committee of Congress that you would stand Quartermaster no longer, are circumstances which I wish may not be forgotten; as I may have occasion, at some future day, to appeal to your Excellency for my own justification." — *Sparks's Corr. of Rev.*, II. 274.

You have seen how Greene wrote of his acceptance of the Quartermaster-Generalship to Duane and Washington after he had been more than a year in office. See now how he wrote about it to Knox before he accepted it, February 26, 1778: —

"The Committee of Congress have been urging me for several days to accept the Quartermaster-General's appointment. His Excellency, also, presses it upon me exceedingly. I hate the place, but hardly know what to do. The General is afraid that the department will be so ill managed unless some of his friends undertakes it, that the operations of the next campaign will in a great measure be frustrated. The Committee urge the same reasons, and add that ruin awaits us unless the Quartermaster's and Commissary-General's Departments are more economically managed for the future than they have been for some time past. I wish for your advice in the affair, but am obliged to determine immediately."

Can Mr. Bancroft reconcile these statements — statements made to men who were familiar with the facts — with his representation of Greene's appointment as a device of Reed for the benefit of a partnership between Greene, Cox, and Pettit? Can he reconcile them with his assertion "that Greene would not listen" to the offer of a fixed salary; "but, retaining his place and pay in the line, insisted on an extra compensation by commission"? Can he explain how, upon this chief question of their mission, such men as Gouverneur Morris, Charles Carroll, Francis Dana, not to mention the less-known Folsom and Harvey, were brought to lend themselves to Reed for the accomplishment of this scheme of private speculation upon public necessity? Let him do this or blot out his narrative; for on no other condition can it stand.

But I must hasten.

> "I' non posso ritrar di tutti appieno,
> Perocché si mi caccia 'l lungo tema,
> Che molte volte al fatto il dir vien meno."
>
> "I cannot all of (it) portray in full,
> Because so drives me onward the long theme,
> That many times the word comes short of fact."

Mr. Bancroft tells us, that "the public disliked to see him advance his relatives to lucrative agencies under him." Out of the hundreds of places in his gift, he gave only two to relatives, — the places of deputy commissary of purchases to his elder brother, Jacob, and to his cousin and intimate friend, Griffin Greene, men of unquestioned probity, and neither of whom grew rich in office.

I will not venture to ask you for room for all the documents relative to Greene's resignation of the Quartermaster-Generalship. I will confine myself to a few of them.

Washington, having just learned that there was a movement afoot in Congress to dismiss Greene from his place in the line on account of the tone of his letter resigning his place on the staff, writes to Jones, saying, among other things: —

"In your letter without date, but which came to hand yesterday, an idea is held up as if the acceptance of General Greene's resignation of the Quartermaster's Department was not all that Congress meant to do with him. If by this it is in contemplation to suspend him from his command in the line, of which he made an express reservation at the time of entering on the other duty, and it is not already enacted, let me beseech you to consider well what you are about before you resolve. I shall neither condemn nor acquit General Greene's conduct for the act of resignation, because all the antecedent correspondence is necessary to form a right judgment of the matter; and *possibly, if the affair is ever brought before the public, you may find him treading on better ground than you seem to imagine; but this*

by the by. . . . . Suffer not, my friend, if it is within the compass of your abilities to prevent it, so disagreeable an event to take place. I do not mean to justify, to countenance, or to excuse, in the most distant degree, any expressions of disrespect which the gentleman in question, *if he has used any*, may have offered to Congress, no more than I do any unreasonable matters he may have required respecting the Quartermaster-General's Department; but, as I have already observed, my letter is to prevent his suspension, because I fear, because I feel, that it must lead to very disagreeable and injurious consequences. General Greene has his numerous friends out of the army, as well as in it, and, from *his character and consideration in the world*, he might not, when he felt himself wounded in so summary a way, withhold himself from a discussion that could not at best promote the public cause. As a military character he stands very fair, and very deservedly so, in the opinion of all his acquaintance."

In this letter Mr. Bancroft finds only two passages worthy of quotation: — 1st. "I do not mean to justify or to excuse, in the most distant degree, any expressions of disrespect which the gentleman in question, *if he has used any*, may have offered to Congress, no more than I do any unreasonable matters he may have required respecting the Quartermaster-General's Department." 2d. "As a military officer he stands very fair, and very deservedly so, in the opinion of all his acquaintance." Having prefaced this last with, "On this," — that is, the receipt of Jones's letter, — "Washington interposed to retain him, not as Quartermaster-General, but in the line, saying of him, As a military officer," &c., &c., he supplements it by the following characteristic paragraph: * —

* If Mr. Bancroft had wished to show his readers what Washington really thought of Greene, he would probably have quoted the following passage from a letter of March 18, 1777, — four months, that is, after the fall of Fort Washington, to the President of Congress: —

"The difficulty, if not impossibility, of giving Congress a just idea of our situation (and of several other important matters requiring their earliest attention), by letter, has induced me to prevail on Major-General Greene to wait upon them for that purpose. This gentleman is so much in my confidence, so intimately acquainted with my ideas, with our strength and our weakness, with everything respecting the army, that I have thought it unnecessary to particularize or prescribe any certain line of duty or inquiries for him. I shall only say, from the rank he holds as an able and good officer in the estimation of all who know him, he deserves the greatest respect, and much regard is due to his opinions in the line of his profession. He has upon his mind such matters as appear to me most material to be immediately considered, and many more will probably arise during the intercourse you may think proper to honor him with; on all which I wish to have the sense of Congress and the result of such deliberations as may be formed thereupon." — *Sparks*, IV. 368.

This Greene of Washington's pencil is so irreconcilable with the Greene of Mr. Bancroft's painting, that he has found it convenient not to call the attention of his readers to the difference.

"I readily adopt the words of Washington. I doubt not that, with the fall of Continental money, the vision of wealth was not realized; *and I pray you not to interpret too unfavorably to Greene the notices which injustice has extorted.* A strong sentiment of self is not absolutely inconsistent with great efficiency in war. I leave you to judge whether Greene's accession to the post of Quartermaster-General should have been heralded with a clatter about disinterested patriotism and self-denying devotedness to the commander-in-chief."

To facilitate your decision, I add a few passages from Washington and Greene which Mr. Bancroft's clerk forgot to copy.

On the 24th of April, 1779, Washington writes to Greene:—

"I am sorry for the difficulties you have to encounter in the Department of Quartermaster, *especially as I was in some degree instrumental in bringing you into it.* Under these circumstances I cannot undertake to give advice, or even hazard an opinion on the measures best for you to adopt. Your own judgment must direct. If it points to a resignation of your present office, and your inclination leads to the southward, my wishes shall accompany it; and if the appointment of a successor to General Lincoln is left to me, I shall not hesitate in making choice of you for this command."

Mr. Bancroft asserts that "it was a cardinal principle with Congress to remunerate its Quartermaster-General by a fixed salary," and asserts, also, by implication, that the system of commissions was introduced by Greene. On the 15th of October, 1778, Greene wrote to H. Marchant, who was in Congress, and therefore familiar with the facts:—

"I readily agree with you that, so far as the commission allowed for doing the public business increases the expense, so far it is injurious to its interest; but I cannot suppose that I have given an appointment to one person who would wish to increase the public charge for the sake of enlarging his commission. However, I may be deceived. I wish it was possible for the public to get their business done without a commission; but I am persuaded it is not. Be that as it may, the evil, if it be one, did not originate with me. The commission given to most of the deputies in the Western States under the former Quartermaster-General was much higher than is now given. The Board of War gave larger commissions for such persons as they employed in the department before I came in, than I would give to the same persons afterwards. I have got people upon the best terms I could."

The principle of compensation by commission, therefore, was not introduced into the department by Greene. I have already shown by his letters to Washington and Duane, that he offered to serve for a year without any addition to his pay as Major-General. Do not these facts form a part of the whole story? Mr. Bancroft had seen Greene's letter. If he wished to tell Greene's story fairly, why did he suppress it?

As Mr. Bancroft refers more than once to Mr. Sparks, it may be interesting both to you and your readers to see how that accurate and truth-loving historian comments upon this passage: —

"General Greene had now served as Quartermaster-General for more than a year. *He had accepted* the *appointment reluctantly*, but had executed its duties with great zeal and ability, encountering obstacles of no ordinary kind, and rendering services of the utmost importance to the army. He was at this time in Philadelphia, endeavoring to effect some arrangements, with the concurrence of Congress, in relation to the business of his department. He found Congress so dilatory, and so little inclined to second his views and his efforts, that he became weary and disgusted." — *Writings of Washington*, VI. 229, 230.

On the 3d of September of the same year Washington writes to Greene: —

"You ask several questions respecting your conduct in your present department, your manner of entering it, and the services you have rendered. I remember that the proposal for your appointment originated with the Committee of Arrangement, and was first suggested to me by them; that, in the conversations I had with you upon the subject, you appeared *reluctantly* to undertake the office, and *in one of them offered to discharge the military duties of it without compensation for the space of a year; and I verily believe that a regard to the service, not* pecuniary emolument, was the prevailing motive to your acceptance. In my opinion, you have executed the trust with ability and fidelity."— *Writings of Washington*, VI. 339.

On the 21st of May of the following year, Greene writes to Washington: —

"*I would stop all commission business.* . . . . I shall be happy to render every service in my power to promote the proposed plan of operations, notwithstanding the injuries I feel, provided they are not accompanied with circumstances of personal indignity. *As to pay, I shall ask none, more* than my family expenses, and all the conditions I shall ask are, to have my command in the line of the army agreeable to my rank, and to be secured from any loss in the settlement of my public accounts. These conditions are so reasonable and just, and so flattering to the interest of the public, that I hope there will not be a moment's hesitation in acceding to them in the fullest latitude. No man has devoted himself more to the public service than I have; and I hope that I shall not be subject to the imputation of vanity, if I claim some consideration for past services. Your Excellency must know me too well to suppose my spirits flag at imaginary difficulties." — *Writings of Washington*, VII. 54.

On the 15th of August, 1780, two days after writing the letter to Joseph Jones, of which Mr. Bancroft has made such singular use, Washington writes to Greene as follows: —

"As you are retiring from the office of Quartermaster-General, and have requested my sense of your conduct and services while you acted in it, I shall give it to you with the greatest cheerfulness and pleasure. You have conducted the various duties of it with capacity and diligence, entirely to my satisfaction, and, as far as I have had an opportunity of knowing, with the strictest integrity. When *you were prevailed on* to undertake the office, in March, 1778, it was in great disorder and confusion, and by *extraordinary exertions* you so arranged it as to enable the army to take the field the *moment it was necessary*, and to move with rapidity after the enemy when they left Philadelphia. *From that period to the present time your exertions have been equally great.* They have appeared to me to be the result of system, and to have been well calculated to promote the honor and interest of your country. In fine, I cannot but add, that the States have had in you, in my opinion, an able, upright, and diligent servant." — *Writings of Washington*, VII. 153.

Thus Washington wrote after Greene's resignation. It may interest you to see how he wrote before it. Mr. Bancroft will find this letter in Sparks's seventh volume, page 144, in most suggestive proximity to the letter to Joseph Jones. If he will give himself the trouble to examine the Washington papers he will find that, upon the Quartermaster's Department, as upon almost all the great questions of the war, the opinions of Washington and Greene were in perfect harmony.

"WASHINGTON TO GREENE.

"PEEKSKILL, August 6, 1780.

"SIR: — I have received your letter of yesterday. When you quit the department I shall be happy to give you my sense of your conduct, and *I am persuaded it will be such as will be entirely satisfactory.*" (The Italics are of my adding. You will readily see why I add them.) "I cannot, however, forbear thinking that it will be unadvisable in you to leave the department before the success of the *letters written* from Paramus by the Committee and *myself to Congress* is known; and I *entreat* you to wait the issue of the application."

Greene waited. Congress rejected the recommendations of Washington and the Committee, and twenty days after this letter was written, Greene resigned. It gives me a strange feeling to look at it, as it came from the hands of Washington (I write with the original before me, Harrison's text and Washington's signature), and turn from it to the inexplicable pages of Mr. Bancroft.*

* If Mr. Bancroft had not passed so decided a judgment upon Schuyler also, I would suggest to him, as a commentary upon the letter to Jones, a letter of Schuyler's to Washington, which Mr. Sparks has published, p. 427 of the second volume of his "Correspondence of the Revolution."

Such was the language of Washington to Greene and of Greene to Washington. I could easily enlarge my extracts, but I have given enough to show that Mr. Bancroft has equally misrepresented both of these great and good men. For the present I stay my hand; well knowing that it is not in his power to controvert one of my assertions, or impugn the authenticity of one of my documents. It is not merely as the grandson of General Greene that I protest against his perversion of the truth, but as a citizen of the United States I protest against his mutilation of one of the brightest pages of my country's history. Let no one attempt it who is not prepared to prove either that Washington's words are not the true expression of Washington's opinion, or that he was weakly deceived in his estimate of a man who served for six years under his own eye in stations which required military and civil genius, a sound judgment, a resolute will, and the purest inspirations of sincere and earnest patriotism.

Mr. Bancroft closes his letter with a quotation from Dante. It would have been well for him if, before he ventured upon this bold misapplication of the words of the great Florentine, he had pondered the words of the great Roman: "Deforme est de se ipso prædicare, *falsa præsertim*, et cum irrisione audientium imitari militem gloriosum." "It is base to boast one's self, especially for what is false, and to the derision of your auditors imitate the vainglorious soldier (of the comedy)."

And as Mr. Bancroft, even in quoting Dante, has not forgotten to omit where the omission was convenient, permit me to remind you of the last lines of the same canto, which are well deserving the attention of every man who undertakes to write history: —

> "Ma nondimen rimossa ogni menzogna
> Tutta tua vision fa manifesta . . . .
> Che l' animo di quel ch' ode, non posa,
> Nè ferma fede per esempio ch' aia
> La sua *radice incognita e nascosa*,
> Nè per altro argomento che non paia."

Or as it reads in Longfellow's English: —

> "But ne'ertheless, all falsehood laid aside
> Make manifest thy vision utterly . . . .
> Because the spirit of the hearer rests not,
> Nor doth confirm its faith by an example
> Which has the root of it unknown and hidden,
> Or other argument that is not seen."

Very truly yours,

GEORGE WASHINGTON GREENE.

LIST OF SOME RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

1. History of the Christian Church. By Philip Schaff, D. D. Vol. II. and III. From Constantine the Great to Gregory the Great, A. D. 311–600. 8vo. pp. xiv., viii., 1037. New York: Charles Scribner & Co.

2. Philip II. of Spain. By Charles Gayarré. With an Introductory Letter by George Bancroft. New York: W. J. Widdleton. 1866. 8vo. pp. viii., iv., 366.

3. History of Louisiana, The American Domination. By Charles Gayarré. New York: W. J. Widdleton. 1866. 8vo. pp. viii. 693.

4. The Works of the Right Honorable Edmund Burke. Revised Edition. Vol. XI. Boston: Little, Brown, & Co. 1867. Cr. 8vo. pp. 445.

5. The Twelve decisive Battles of the War. A History of the Eastern and Western Campaigns in Relation to the Actions that decided their Issue. By William Swinton. New York: Dick and Fitzgerald. 1867. 8vo. pp. 520.

6. Speeches and Addresses delivered in the Congress of the United States, and on several Public Occasions, by Henry Winter Davis, of Maryland. Preceded by a Sketch of his Life, Public Services, and Character, being an Oration by the Hon. J. A. J. Creswell, U. S. Senator from Maryland. With Notes Introductory and Explanatory. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1867. 8vo. pp. xxxv., 596.

7. The Huguenot Galley Slave. Being the Autobiography of a French Protestant condemned to the Galleys for the Sake of his Religion. Translated from the French of Jean Marteilhe. New York: Leypoldt and Holt. 12mo. pp. xv., 241.

8. The Journal of Maurice de Guérin. With an Essay by Matthew Arnold, and a Memoir by Sainte-Beuve. Edited by G. S. Trebutien. Translated by Edward Thornton Fisher. New York: Leypoldt and Holt. 12mo. pp. 153.

9. Memoirs and Correspondence of Madame Récamier. Translated from the French and edited by Isaphene M. Luyster. Boston: Roberts Brothers. 1867. 12mo. pp. xxii., 408.

10. Venetian Life. By. W. D. Howells. Second Edition. New York: Hurd and Houghton. 1867. 16mo. pp. 398.

11. Early and Late Papers hitherto uncollected. By William Makepeace Thackeray. Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1867. 16mo. pp. vi., 407.

12. The Open Polar Sea; a Narrative of a Voyage of Discovery towards the North Pole, in the Schooner "United States." By Dr. I. I. Hayes. New York: Hurd and Houghton. 1867. 8vo. pp. xxiv., 454.

13. Old England: its Scenery, Art, and People. By James M. Hoppin, Professor in Yale College. New York: Hurd and Houghton. 1867. 16mo. pp. v., 468.

14. The Romance of the Age; or the Discovery of Gold in California. By Edward E. Dunbar. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1867. 16mo. pp. 134.

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20. Rural Studies with Hints for Country Places. By the Author of "My Farm of Edgewood." New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1867. 8vo. pp. viii., 205.

21. A New Translation of the Book of Psalms and of the Proverbs, with Introductions, and Notes, chiefly explanatory. By George R. Noyes, D. D. Third Edition. Boston American Unitarian Association. 1867. 12mo. pp. 421.

22. A New Translation of Job, Ecclesiastes, and the Canticles, with Introductions, and Notes, chiefly explanatory. By George R. Noyes, D. D. Third Edition, carefully revised, with Additional Notes. Boston: American Unitarian Association. 1867. 12mo. pp. 351.

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28. On the Credibility of the Scriptures. A Recast with enlarged Views of a former Work on the Subject, together with a copious Analysis of the Religious System promulgated during the Patriarchal, Jewish, and Christian Dispensations, and of Human Developments under them. By J. H. McCulloh, M. D. Baltimore: James S. Waters and Son. 1867. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. x., 402; vi., 414.

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35. Remarkable Characters and Places in the Holy Land, comprising an Account of Patriarchs, Judges, Prophets, Apostles, Women, Warriors, Poets, and Kings. With Descriptions of ancient Cities and venerated Shrines. By Charles W. Elliott, Author of the "New England History," &c., &c. With Articles from Theodore D. Woolsey, LL. D.; Right Rev. Thomas M. Clark, D. D.; Rev. Joseph Cummings, D. D.; Rev. Charles A. Stoddard; Rev. S. F. Smith, D. D.; Rev. William Adams, D. D.; Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, D. D.; &c., &c. Illustrated with Steel Engravings. Hartford, Conn.: J. B. Barr & Co. 1867. 8vo. pp. 640.

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77. Third Annual Report of the Board of State Charities of Massachusetts, to which are added the Reports of the Secretary, and the General Agent of the Board. January, 1867. 8vo. pp. lxxx., 400.

78. Observations on the Genus Unio, together with Descriptions of new Species in the Family Unionidæ, &c., &c. By Isaac Lea, LL. D., Vice-President of the American Philosophical Society. With twenty-four Plates. Vol. XI. Philadelphia: Printed for the Author. 4to. pp. 146.

79. An Elementary Treatise on American Grape Culture and Wine-making. By Peter B. Mead. Illustrated with nearly two hundred Engravings drawn from Nature. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1867. 8vo. pp. 483.

80. The Bankrupt Law of the United States. 1867. With Notes, &c., &c. By Edwin James. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1867. 8vo. pp. 325.

81. The American Annual Cyclopædia and Register of Important Events of the Year 1866. Vol. VI. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1867. 8vo. pp. 795.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. CCXVII.

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ART. I. — 1. *Memoirs of the Life and Reign of King George the Third.* By G. HENEAGE JESSE. London. 1867. 3 vols. 8vo.

2. *The Correspondence of King George the Third with Lord North from* 1768 *to* 1783. Edited from the Originals at Windsor, with an Introduction and Notes. By W. BODHAM DONNE. Published by Permission of the Queen. London: John Murray. 1867. 2 vols. 8vo.

THERE are Americans yet living who were born the subjects of George III., and it is not half a century since he died. The history of the first half of his active reign — say down to the year 1785, for he ceased to be king in fact in 1810 — is the early history of the American Republic. The materials for the history of his reign are ample, and Mr. Jesse has made an excellent use of them in the production of the work of which the title is given above. It is a work which can be commended to all who would make themselves familiar with the events of almost sixty years, during which English history and the world's history are wellnigh one and the same thing. It is agreeably composed, the tone of it is liberal, and the style simple and clear. American readers will like it none the less because it is friendly to this country, though the greater part of it must have been written while the Secession war was raging.

Mr. Bodham Donne's work differs essentially from Mr. Jesse's. The latter is a popular history; the former is a valua-

ble contribution to that material from which histories, popular or otherwise, are manufactured. It has long been known that George III. wrote many letters to Lord North during the time that the latter held high offices in the British Cabinet. Sir James Mackintosh was allowed to examine these letters; and he transcribed from them matter sufficient to make a manuscript volume, which, however, very imperfectly represents the collection. This volume passed into the hands of Lady Charlotte Lindsay, then Lord North's surviving daughter, and thence into possession of Lord Brougham. In 1847 it was obtained by Earl Stanhope, with full permission to make any use of it that he might deem proper. Both these noble writers made good use of the volume; and Earl Russell and Mr. Bancroft have given extracts from the letters in some of their historical writings. But these samples of the king's letters, as Mr. Bodham Donne says, and as a close examination of his book enables us also to say, imperfectly represent the originals. "Sir James Mackintosh, although he had the whole Correspondence before him," says the editor of that Correspondence, "selected from it such portions only as may have seemed to him most important, or as best suited to a particular purpose, — perhaps the history of a period or a reign. In many instances, he has taken only a single sentence from a letter; in others, he has combined sentences that originally were unconnected; while he has passed over a considerable number of the king's letters, as either of little moment in themselves, or of none to his object in transcribing them. By such combinations or omissions, the context is sometimes disturbed and the series rendered incomplete. In the following pages entire and exact copies of the letters are for the first time published. With the exception of a few brief notes of appointment of time or place, I have printed all the letters preserved in the Queen's Library at Windsor Castle, omitting and transposing nothing in the series now for the first time presented to the public." Such is the work Mr. Bodham Donne has published, and its high value cannot be questioned, as it throws a flood of light over one of the most interesting periods of modern history, one that is of peculiar importance to Americans. It helps remove errors that have prevailed concerning our Revolutionary

history, and assigns to some of the principal English actors their proper parts in the great drama.

The ordinary American opinion concerning the origin of the Revolution was, that it was brought about by British Ministers, and that George III. was no further responsible for it than that he was the victim of bad advice. "An excellent sovereign, but badly advised," was constantly said of him by Americans of the Revolutionary age and of the age that followed it. The Ministers were held answerable for all the evil done in his reign, and the most arbitrary and resolute of English sovereigns since Henry VIII. was spoken of as if he had been the simplest of tools in their hands. Of all these Ministers, Lord North was looked upon as having been the worst, as the war was waged while he was Premier. Writs of assistance, the Stamp Act, the tea tax, the Boston Port Bill, the employment of Hessians and Indians, and many other sins of the English government toward America for more than twenty years, were laid to his account, in violation alike of chronology and of common sense. As time went on, and "the dead grew visible from the shades of time," more correct views began to prevail; and when this correspondence first was publicly mentioned, now many years since, it had already come to be understood that Lord North was something very different from the bad Minister he had been through more than half a century supposed to be. His chief fault was in serving his royal master with too much regard for that master's prejudices, and with little concern for the Constitution of his country, or regard for the principles of good government. He was a very good-natured man, and, caring little for office in itself, and little for the public interest, he neglected to assert the rights and the dignity of his position against the encroaching disposition of the king. The characters of these two men, and their relations to each other, are well described in the following extract from Mr. Bodham Donne's Introduction: —

> His [the king's] proper character had now [1768] displayed itself; he was terribly alert; he was indefatigable in business, small or great; he was no longer under the dominion of a parent or a favorite; neither is there, so far as I can discover, any trace or record of the sullen fits

of his boyhood. On the other hand, there can be no doubt that his understanding, although active, was narrow, his prejudices numerous, his obstinacy great. His theory of royal duties was unsound, however specious it may have seemed to himself; he interfered too much with the machinery of Parliament, and the responsibility of his Ministers; nor was he averse from cabals or intrigues, when he had points to gain. To many of his Cabinets he gave only half confidence, and communicated his real thoughts or wishes to persons who were not constitutionally entitled to aid or advise him. In all his intercourse with Lord North, however, there are no tokens of reticence or imperfect trust. In his own recurring phrase, he 'unbosoms' himself to his Minister as to a friend. He dreads nothing so much, in the worst of times, as Lord North's resignation; he is full of gratitude for his services; he has infinite reliance upon his ministeral and financial ability. He is vexed when the Minister is slackly supported, and indignant when he is rudely assailed. Never was a public servant more implicitly trusted by his master. It was the faith of Henry IV. in Sully, of Charles V. in Granvelle, revived. His affection for Lord Bute was grounded upon the habits or the sentiments of boyhood; his affection for Lord North was the deliberate choice of manhood. Their joint administration — for the king was a part of his own government — was indeed disastrous for the country; but their common errors should not blind us to their common loyalty to each other. It was, indeed, most unfortunate that the stronger understanding and the wider experience should have been curbed and controlled by the narrower judgment and the stronger will; that the Minister so often submitted his own convictions to the prejudices of the king. This weakness on the one side, and this pertinacity on the other, rendered the period to which this correspondence relates a painful one to contemplate; and neither the master nor the servant can be excused for having so largely contributed to sever from one another the eastern and the western branches of the English nation, for having persevered in a struggle which none better than themselves must have known to be hopeless long before its close. Upon Lord North and the king must ever rest a large measure of the blame of alienating a vast, and not at first disloyal, portion of the inheritance, bequeathed by their ancestors and enlarged by Pitt, of the sovereign and people of Great Britain, of making that which was strong feeble for a time, of lowering this country in the eyes of all Europe for many years to come." — pp. lxxxiv., lxxxv.

The letters of the king to Lord North show that George III. was, for almost twelve years, wellnigh as much his own first

minister as Louis XIV. was during the long period that he reigned after the death of Mazarin. We think there ought to be no doubt that George III. meant *not* to be a constitutional king of Great Britain, at the time these letters were written. If we would know what he wished to be as a sovereign, we should judge him by his conduct during the North Ministry, and not by his conduct during the first Pitt Ministry. Pitt, as Minister, was "master of the situation," because he alone stood between the king and "the Coalition"; and the king had treated the leaders of "the Coalition" so badly, that he could not even think of the possibility of their return to office. Therefore he allowed Pitt to take liberties that Lord North would not have dreamed of taking, and which would have seemed improper even to George Grenville, who was the king's Old Man of the Sea. The one special point settled by the publication of these letters in their perfect state is this, — that down to the close of 1783, when he had been on the throne more than twenty-three years, the king had not accepted that place in the British polity which it was intended should be occupied by the gentleman who is honored with the royal title in that polity, — intended, we mean, by the aristocratical revolutionists of 1688 and their successors.

The number of these letters is seven hundred and fifty-four. The first is dated February 28, 1768, Lord North being then Chancellor of the Exchequer; the last, December 9, 1783, when the Coalition Ministry, in which Lord North was Secretary of State for the Home Department, was drawing fast toward its end. With very few exceptions, they are written by the king to Lord North. Though valuable as historical material, it would be hard to find another collection of letters so dreary and unreadable as this; and nothing but Mr. Bodham Donne's ample and lucid explanatory notes enables the reader to get through the volumes in which they appear. "The good old king" — he was not thirty when this correspondence began — never had any idea of style; and he wrote to Lord North much after the manner in which Mr. Gabriel Varden would have written to Sim Tappertit, had their communications not been carried on by word of mouth. There is not the slightest pretence to dignity in any of the king's letters; and we pre-

sume the monarch thought dignity was quite out of place in a confidential correspondence with one who united in his person, in a very unusual manner, the characters of a minister and a favorite. Kings of an arbitrary disposition are fond of favorites, but mostly they select them from among men of humble birth. The course of George III. was a striking exception to the rule, for Lord North belonged to a patrician family, and was born to an earldom.* The king regarded him, not as a constitutional minister, such as English sovereigns long had been accustomed to transact business with, but as his agent for carrying out the royal plans, without regard to the sense of Parliament. His Majesty, whenever Lord North wished to retire from office, — and he desired to resign his places on various occasions, — always appealed to him as a gentleman not to desert his sovereign, — a mode of treating the matter that showed he had no clear conception either of his own position in the state or of the power of Parliament. Lord North would have thrown up office long before the surrender of Cornwallis, which event virtually closed the American war, but for his master's representations that "no gentleman" could act as an English Prime Minister thus situated, supposing him to be an honest man, was bound to act. Even so late as the 19th of March, 1782, exactly five months after Yorktown, the king could write to Lord North as follows: "After having yesterday in the most solemn manner assured you that my sentiments of honor will not permit me to send for any of the leaders of Opposition and personally treat with them, I could not but be hurt at your letter of last night. Every man must be the sole judge of his feelings; therefore whatever you or any man can say on that subject has no avail with me." This extraordinary letter was written in reply to one which had been called forth from Lord North in consequence of a significant vote in the House of Commons on the 15th of March. Sir John Rous, an old supporter of the Ministry and a country gentleman, had moved a vote of want of confidence in Ministers; and this motion was negatived by a majority of only nine in a very full House.

* He became Earl of Guildford in 1790, and died in 1792, in his sixtieth year. He was blind for the last five years of his life. From all accounts, he was a man of great private worth.

Such a vote was a Ministerial defeat, and under any other sovereign of the last century it would have been followed by an immediate resignation of Ministers; but the king would not admit that it should be regarded by Lord North in the only light in which it was suitable for a British Minister to regard it. In the same letter from which we have already quoted, he wrote to the Premier, "If you resign before I have decided what I will do, you will forever forfeit my regard"; and, if Horace Walpole can be taken as an authority, he said to Lord North, when he went to take formal leave of him, "Remember, my Lord, that it is you desert me, not I you." A more unworthy observation never was made, or one that had less of truth in it; for Lord North, though for years desirous to leave office, and even anxious to be permitted to retire, did not "desert" the king till the House of Commons had deserted him. "Desert" the king the Minister did not, in any sense, though he had himself been deserted by those thickly arrayed majorities which for twelve years had supported him.

It has been often said that the British people, though ardent supporters of the war when it began, soon became disgusted with it, and would have abandoned its prosecution, and that it was maintained only through the obstinacy of the king; but the facts do not support this view of the character of the contest. Parliament was suddenly and unexpectedly dissolved in September, 1780, and the result of the elections was a new House of Commons, in which Ministers were stronger than they had been in the old one. The amendment to the Address proposed by Opposition in the Commons was rejected by a majority of 82; the supplies voted for 1781 exceeded £ 25,000,000; and new taxes were readily created. "These signal defeats in the first session dispirited Opposition again," says Mr. Bodham Donne, "at least until the Christmas recess, and again Opposition was a house divided against itself. The Duke of Richmond was waiting for what then, to all seeming, was the Greek Kalends,—'until the nation recovered its senses'; Lords Camden and Shelburne would have no more to do with the Rockinghams!" To all appearance the war party was as strong in the autumn of 1780, three years after Saratoga, as it had been in the autumn of 1776, when Sir William Howe seemed on the point of

subduing "the rebels." If the king had been in search of an excuse for persevering in the prosecution of a hopeless contest, he could have found one in the apparent determination of his subjects to conquer America. But he never thought of seeking an excuse for his conduct, being so well satisfied that he was in the path of duty that he would have carried on the war, even if the English people had been opposed to his purpose, could he have overcome their opposition. At the opening of 1781, however, the year destined to bring the trial of arms to a decision, king and people were of one mind. The serried phalanxes of country gentlemen, who had so long supported the sovereign, were as much devoted to him as ever they had been, and no one could have expected an early change in their sentiments. Yet before the year closed their faith underwent a great change; and in the winter of 1782, the very men who had blindly voted for every court measure were seen passing over to the Whig side of the House of Commons.

On the 27th of November, 1781, two days after news of Lord Cornwallis's surrender had reached London, Parliament met, and an amendment to the Address in the House of Commons was moved by Mr. Fox, and lost, the Ministerial majority being 89. The Commons had not had time to digest the news. The king was greatly elated by the action of the Commons, and on the 28th of November wrote to the Minister: "Lord North's account that the Address was carried this morning by a considerable majority is very pleasing to me, as it shows the House retains that spirit for which this nation has always been renowned, and which alone can preserve it in its difficulties. That some principal members have wavered in their sentiments as to the measures to be pursued does not surprise me. Many men choose rather to despond on difficulties than see how to get out of them. I have already directed Ld. G. Germain to put on paper the mode that seems most feesible [*sic*] for conducting the war, that every member of the Cabinet may have his propositions to weigh by themselves, when I shall expect to hear their sentiments separately, that we may adopt a plan and abide by it; fluctuating counsels, and taking up measures with[out] connecting them with the whole of this complicated war, must

make us weak in every part. With the assistance of Parliament, I do not doubt, if measures are well connected, a good end may yet be made to the war, but if we despond certain ruin ensues."

On the 28th of November, Ministers obtained another victory in the House of Commons, their majority being 77, on which the king wrote to Lord North: "The division was certainly a very good one; and I have no doubt, when men are a little recovered of the shock felt by the bad news, and feel that if we recede no one can tell to what a degree the consequence of this country will be diminished, that they will then find the necessity of carrying on the war, though the modes of it may require alterations." It is certain that the king had no more intention of abandoning the American war after the fall of Yorktown, than Mr. Jefferson Davis had of abandoning the Secession war after the fall of Richmond; and equally certain is it that he believed — as he had the right to believe after the votes of the House of Commons on the 27th and 28th of November — that he would be supported in his purpose by Parliament. Horace Walpole, writing to Sir Horace Mann on the 29th of November, says: "The warmth in the House of Commons is prodigiously rekindled; but Lord Cornwallis's fate has cost the administration no ground *there*." On the 12th of December, Sir James Lowther, seconded by Mr. Powys, eminent as a country gentleman, moved that the war carried on in North America had been ineffectual, which motion was lost by only 41 majority in a House of 404 members; but against this rather alarming vote the king could cite the vote of December 14th, when, on the army estimates, Ministers had a majority of 82, the vote being 166 to 84, or almost two to one. This last vote contributed to keep up the illusion under which the king labored, for he wrote to Lord North: "The account of the very great majority on the first motion on the army estimates last night gives me much pleasure, and shows the country gentlemen begin to see that, though internal Continental opperations [*sic*] in North America are not advisable, the prosecution of the war can alone preserve us from a most ignominious peace, which, when once concluded, would certainly occasion much greater internal uneasiness than any difficulties at present to be contended with."

But the time was close at hand when the obstinate monarch was to learn that even country gentlemen could no longer be depended upon to uphold a doomed cause. The recess of Parliament begun on the 21st of December, and lasted for more than a month. During that month members of the House learnt all the details of the disaster in America, and ascertained that their constituents were desirous that the war should be brought to a close. Contact with the people had its usual effect. Accordingly, they came up to Westminster in a mood very unlike that which had existed in the preceding autumn. The Opposition were in high spirits, and a vote of censure, which Mr. Fox moved, on the Earl of Sandwich, First Lord of the Admiralty, was lost by a majority of only 22, though, if the motion had been carried, the Ministry must have resigned. The king was much vexed, and wrote to Lord North, on the 21st of February: "I am very sorry to find so many persons could view the conduct of the navy in so very prejudiced a light as to swell the minority last night. I trust they cannot have lost the feelings of Englishmen so much as to support the motion of General Conway on Friday." His Majesty found his trust was unfounded. General Conway, on the 22d, made a motion against the continuance of the American war, and the motion was lost by a majority of *one*, — the vote standing 194 to 193. On the 27th he renewed the motion, and it was adopted by a majority of 19, in a House of 454 members, the Commons then consisting of 558 members, Ireland having her own Parliament. This vote was, in point of fact, on a Ministerial motion to adjourn; but that covered the main question, which was immediately carried, together with an Address to the throne, with shouts of acclamation. The Ministry were completely beaten on every point. But the king showed no more signs of yielding than he had exhibited after he had news of Yorktown. The same night, and after eleven o'clock, he wrote to the Prime Minister: "Lord North cannot be surprised at my being much hurt at the succession [*sic*] of Mr. Conway's motion, though in some degree prepared by what he said yesterday. An answer must be given when the House of Commons bring it up. It is highly delicate to find any words not liable to the greatest objections. Ld. North will therefore certainly wish to have the opinion of

all the Ministers on the wording of it; wherefore the Address cannot be received till to-morrow. I am mortified Ld. North thinks he cannot now remain in office. I hope I shall see him after the drawing-room, that I may explain my mind to him."

The king's mortification because Lord North thought he could not longer serve him as Prime Minister after his ministerial course had been condemned by the House of Commons shows, either that his Majesty had no conception of the character of the British Constitution, or that he was indifferent to its requirements, or that he was resolved to govern unconstitutionally. Nothing short of a successful revolution could have kept Lord North long at the head of the Treasury after the votes of the 28th of February, and yet the king was mortified because the First Lord of the Treasury mentioned this self-evident fact, — as if he had any choice in the matter! On the 8th of March the House of Commons rejected a vote of censure on the war by a majority of 10 only, which called forth from the king these words: "Lord North may easily conceive that I am much hurt at the appearance of yesterday in the House of Commons, and at his opinion that it is totally impossible for the present Ministry to conduct public business any longer. This leads so much, after the trials I have made of late, to my taking so decisive a step, that I certainly must maturely deliberate before I can return any answer." Then came the motion of Sir John Rous, already mentioned; and Lord Surrey gave notice of a motion, for the 20th of March, asking the king to dismiss the Ministry. The king talked of retiring to Hanover, and the royal yacht was fitting out at Deptford; but on the afternoon of the 20th he said to Lord North, that, "considering the temper of the Commons, he thought the administration at an end." "Then, sir," said Lord North, "had I not better state the fact at once?" "Well, you may do so," replied the king. The Minister went to the House of Commons, where he succeeded in preventing the presentation of Lord Surrey's resolution, by declaring that its object had been attained. This news he conveyed in a sentence that should have come from an Irishman, — "The *present* administration is *no more*."

From a desire to show the manner in which these letters illustrate the king's idea of the power he supposed himself to

possess, and his resolution to carry on the war in America under all circumstances, we have departed from the regular order of their examination, to which we now return. They contain less matter of immediate interest to Americans than might have been expected, considering how important an incident was the American contest during the fifteen years and upward over which they extend. It is not until we have arrived at the two hundred and fourth letter, — written on the 4th of February, 1774, six years after the first was written, — that we find anything of moment in relation to the Colonial troubles. That letter is so characteristic of the writer of it, and shows so well the strange ignorance of eminent Englishmen of everything that related to America, — an ignorance consistently maintained throughout the last ninety-four years, — that we copy it.

"Lord North: — Since you left me this day, I have seen Lieutenant-General Gage, who came to express his readiness, though so lately come from America, to return at a day's notice, if the conduct of the Colonies should induce the directing coercive measures. His language was very consonant to his character of an honest, determined man. He says they will be lyons, whilst we are lambs; but if we take the resolute part, they will undoubtedly prove very meek. He thinks the four regiments intended to relieve as many regiments in America, if sent to Boston, are sufficient to prevent disturbance. I wish you would see him, and hear his ideas as to the mode of compelling Boston to submit to whatever may be thought necessary; indeed, all men seem now to feel that the fatal compliance in 1766 has encouraged the Americans annually to increase in their pretensions to that thorough independency which one state has of another, but which is quite subversive of the obedience which a colony owes to its mother country." — Vol. I. p. 165.

Gage was an excellent specimen of those Englishmen who did so much toward effecting the separation of America from the British empire, — far more than all Americans could have done. He had served much here, and for many years he had held the highest military command in British America. He ought to have been able to give his master sound advice concerning America, after having seen so much of it, and at the close of so long an intimacy with its people; but he was as ignorant of the men with whom he had served and lived, and

whom he had helped misgovern, as if he had been living in India. The language he held to the king shows his ignorance of the people he was supposed to be the most competent to speak of with sense and intelligence. Instead of four regiments being "sufficient to prevent any disturbance," it was soon made certain that forty regiments would not put an end to a disturbance that was destined to become a revolution. It is possible that Gage was not deceived, and that he played the courtier's part, instead of the soldier's, when face to face with his sovereign.

But a more important visitor than General Gage entered the king's closet, and did much to confirm the king's conviction that he had to deal only with a wretched rabble in America. This was Thomas Hutchinson, one of the ablest and most conspicuous Americans of the Colonial age. Hutchinson, perhaps, might have prevented the Revolution, but he made it inevitable. The truth from his tongue might have caused even George III. to hesitate, and to seek a reconciliation with his American subjects. But the truth was the last thing that he thought of uttering in the royal closet. Whether it was that he did not understand the character of the crisis, or that irritation had lessened the powers of a great mind, he proceeded to talk to the king in the most absurd manner. On the 1st of July, 1774, the king wrote to Lord North: "Lord Dartmouth brought Mr. Hutchinson, late Governor of Massachusetts Bay, too late to be presented at my levee; but I desired he would introduce [him] in my closet, as I was desirous of hearing his account how matters were when he left his government, and am now well convinced they will soon submit; he ownes the Boston Port Bill was the only wise and effectual method that could have been suggested for bringing them to a speedy submission, and that the change in the Legislature will be a means of establishing some government in that Province, which till now has been one of anarchy. One of the regiments arrived the 1st of June, the day he sailed, and the people of Boston seemed much dispirited." Such was the stuff with which the king's mind was fed, and which was greedily swallowed, because it harmonized with his fixed opinions concerning America, — opinions which he could not bear

to have disturbed. This state of the royal mind must have been well known to the men who went to court; and they were careful not to say anything that was calculated to disturb it. What the king wished to hear, that he heard. Hutchinson was too clever to be deceived to the extent of believing all that he said to the king, according to the king's report of his representations. That he was to some extent the victim of self-deception may be admitted, without supposing he believed "the Boston Port Bill was the only wise and effectual method that could have been suggested for bringing them [the Colonists] to a speedy submission." If Hutchinson really was deceived to the extent the king's letter implies, he must have begun early to suffer from the proverbial malady of exiles, that moral calenture which causes them to see in the land they have left whatever they wish there to see. In one sense he was not an exile, as he had been recalled by Lord North early in 1774, "and both as a native of New England and from his official experience was justly regarded as able to advise on Colonial matters." If the Premier required his presence from the belief that he could afford useful information to the home government, he made a fatal mistake, for Hutchinson was destined to be almost as effective an agent in bringing about the ruin of the English ascendency in America, as Father Petre had been in bringing about the ruin of the house of Stuart.

There is no other important allusion to American affairs in his Majesty's letters till the 18th of November, 1774, when he makes some suggestions that show how fleeting is fame. "The New England governments," he then wrote, "are in a state of rebellion; blows must decide whether they are to be subject to this country, or independent. From the time you first mentioned a wish that a major-general might be sent, I have had it in my thoughts, and am clear that Major-General Gisborne is the best qualified for the particular service; if a second be necessary, Major-General Cunningham will do well; but if it is absolutely necessary to send one who has already been in that country, Major-General Mackay is very proper; but I should rather pitch on one of the others, as it is not a desirable commission." The names of the military gentlemen preferred by

the king for command in America are unknown to history, and neither of the three had the post mentioned. It is a theme for speculation, what might have taken place had one of them been sent to Massachusetts at the close of 1774. He could not have been a worse leader than Gage, who had returned to America, and by this date was falling under the royal displeasure; for the king, on the 19th of November, wrote: "I return the private letters received from Lieutenant-General Gage; his idea of suspending the acts appears to me the most absurd that can be suggested. The people are ripe for mischief, upon which the mother country adopts suspending the measures she has thought necessary: this must suggest to the Colonies a fear that alone prompts them to their present violence; we must either master them, or totally leave them to themselves and treat them as aliens. I do not by this mean to insinuate that I am for advise [advising] new measures; but I am for supporting those already undertaken." Gage had found that the "lyons" were in no lamb-like humor, and saw reason for regretting he had used language of so sanguine a character in the royal closet; his suggestions changed from day to day, and the king began to look upon him with contempt.

Few important references to American matters occur in the letters for some time; but the character of the knowledge the king had of America can be judged from the gravity with which he declares (January 23, 1775) that "nothing can be more calculated to bring the Americans to a due submission than the very handsome majority that at the outset have appeared in both Houses of Parliament." This was mistaking his own feelings for those of "the Americans." The majorities in the Commons were indeed great, being 199 and 190 on two leading questions, and 190 on a third. The bill to restrain the trade and commerce of the New England Colonies was carried by a majority of 176. Had it been possible to settle the dispute by the weight of Parliamentary majorities, there would have been no hope for the Colonists. These majorities had the effect of confirming the royal purpose, but, on the other hand, their effect in America was to confirm the purpose of the patriots to persist in resistance, because they showed that nothing could be had from a sense of justice in Parliament.

The absence from these letters of all allusion to events which Americans consider of the first importance, and which had a great effect on the decision of the contest, is surprising. In those written in the summer and autumn of 1775, nothing is said of the battles of Lexington and Bunker Hill, or of the operations of the Americans against Boston, then the only place held by the royal troops in force. The king has a great deal to say about recruiting, which did not go on well; and as much about the hiring of German mercenaries, which went on better. Lord Barrington, Secretary at War, would have had operations confined to the sea and the American coast, believing that that would suffice to reduce "the rebels." On the 8th of August, 1775, he wrote to Lord North: "As it is the measure of government to have a large army in North America, it is my duty and inclination to make that measure succeed to the utmost; though my opinion always has been, and still is, that the Americans may be reduced by the fleet, but never can be by the army." The king thought differently, and he took great interest in the business of buying mercenaries from those small German princes who dealt in men.

The attempt to hire a large Russian force had failed ignominiously, probably because George III. did not know the kind of bribe that could not have failed with Catherine II., or may have been disinclined to grant it. Had he told her that in return for aid in America he would give her aid in Turkey, there would have been no difficulty in coming to an understanding; and Constantinople and the Bosporus might have been conquered ninety years since at New York and on the Hudson. No Russians being attainable, the German purchases were made with great rapidity, and on such terms as the men-sellers saw fit to ask. Some of the royal letters on this subject are literally disgusting, and are written in the spirit that moved the slave-traders of Liverpool and Bristol when giving instructions to their ship-masters and supercargoes; and the editor is right in saying that "the *market-style*" of one written on the 26th of August, 1775, is worth comment. "As to the proposals transmitted by Mr. Römer," writes the king, "they all end in corps of officers, which cannot be done but by act of Parliament; the only idea those Germans ought to addopt [*sic*] is

the being contractors for raising recruits and fixing the price they will deliver them at Hamburg, Rotterdam, and any other port they may propose. Mr. Römer seems alone to want to finger English money ; but that, I think, should be prevented by giving no money in hand, but promising to pay £ 10 per man ready money on the recruits being approved by the officers sent to receive them in those ports." As the king knew that " the contractors for raising recruits " were kidnappers, and that many of the recruits " delivered " at certain ports were stolen, he was a party to transactions that were as dishonorable and dishonest as they were shamefully cruel. Of all his doings in the American contest, this connection with the most odious ruffians of the European continent was the worst. His action brought its own punishment, for it exasperated the Americans, and made their reduction impossible. They saw that without the purchase of mercenaries the king could not have kept up an effective force in their country for six months, and they knew that the supply of such tools could not be maintained. They had but to persevere to be victorious, and they did persevere until they had beaten the sovereign who had given them up to be butchered.

A change that took place in the British Cabinet in November, 1775, showed that the king was firm in his intention to subdue the Colonists to his will. The Duke of Grafton, who disapproved of his policy, resigned the Privy Seal, and was succeeded by Lord Dartmouth, whose place as American Secretary was given to Lord George Germaine, the most unpopular man in the empire, but who was a man after the king's own heart, and who carried on the war so well for the Americans that we can afford to let him pass.

Surprisingly little is said about American affairs in the letters written during the critical year 1776. The Declaration of Independence is not mentioned. On the 4th of November the king writes : " Nothing can have been better planned, nor with more alacrity executed, than the taking of the city of New York, and I trust the rebell army will soon be dispersed." On the 13th of December he wrote a letter that shows the troubles that existed in the royal army, and that General Carleton, the ablest of its officers, was suffering from " great

prejudice, perhaps not unaccompanied with rancor, in a certain breast," meaning Lord George Germaine. This animosity of the American Secretary toward Carleton had grave consequences, as it prevented that commander from having sole charge of the movement which was conducted to so disastrous a close by General Burgoyne, in 1777.* "Perhaps Carleton may be too cold," wrote the king, "and not so active as might be wished, which may make it advisable to have the part of the Canadian army which must attempt to join General Howe led by a more enterprising commander. . . . . Burgoyne may command the corps to be sent from Canada to Albany, and Phillips must remain with Carleton in Canada." A more fatal decision than this was never taken in war. It shows that the king and Lord George Germaine were as ignorant of the characters and capacities of their chief military agents as they were of the country in which those agents were employed.

On the 1st of January, 1777, the king was so confident that he expressed the hope that war might be made to support war in America, being moved by the discovery that the contractors continued to deliver "such bad biscuit and flour after the repeated directions given by the Board of Treasury; but I trust," he proceeds to say, "Sir William Howe is now in possession of so extensive a country that he will not require to be entirely provided from Europe; I have seen a private letter from the General, that his posts will extend from the river Delaware to Rhode Island; consequently my opinion seems well grounded." The first news of Trenton did not disturb him, as he wrote encouragingly about it on the 24th of February, adding: "I wish

* Carleton had been one of the witnesses against Lord George Germaine (then Lord George Sackville), when he was before a court-martial, in 1760, on the charge, virtually, of cowardice at the battle of Minden. He was not the man ever to forgive one who had borne testimony against him, and it is certain that his enmity for Carleton had great effect on the course of the American war. Carleton never would have got the army into the predicament that followed from Burgoyne's bad generalship, and which forced it to surrender; and if that surrender had not taken place, the French alliance would have been postponed, perhaps never would have become an historical fact. Without the French alliance, though the English never could have conquered America, the course of military and political events must have been greatly changed. Thus the appointment of Lord George Germaine to the American Secretaryship became one of the gravest incidents of the war, the effect of which never will cease to be felt.

Sir W. Howe had placed none but British troops in the outposts; but I am certain by a letter I have seen from Lord Cornwallis that the rebells will soon have sufficient reason to fall into the former dejection." That very extension of the royal posts over which his Majesty had rejoiced was the cause of the defeat at Trenton; and what happened immediately afterward at Princeton showed that it was not Hessians alone who could be surprised and beaten.

During 1777, the references in this correspondence to the American war are very meagre, though it was the year of Brandywine, Saratoga, and Germantown, and of the occupation of Philadelphia by Sir William Howe. On the 4th of December, after news of Burgoyne's surrender had reached England, the king wrote: "I cannot help just taking up your time for a few minutes to thank you in the most cordial manner for your speech; the manly, firm, and dignified part you took brought the House to see the present misfortune in true light, as very serious, but not without remedy; it may very probably on due consideration, which I trust all in my service will be willing to give, in the end prove the wisest step in our present situation to act only on the defensive with the army, and with great activity as to the troops. Canada, Nova Scotia, the Floridas, New York, and Rhode Island must probably be the stations; but those who have served in those parts, particularly Lord Amherst, must be consulted, and will be able to point out what is best." The subdued tone of this letter, written two days after news of Saratoga had been received in London, shows that the royal mind was not altogether inaccessible to the logic of kings. On the British people the effect of the news was different. They came forward with men and money, and, as Earl Stanhope states, "by private means were fifteen thousand soldiers added to the forces of the state." But fifty thousand new soldiers would not have sufficed to meet the new demands that were to be made on British exertions. France now became a principal party to the war, and was followed by Spain, and then by Holland; and Ireland, taking charge of her own affairs, raised an army for her own defence, but one which was as dangerous to England as to England's enemies. Such were the consequences of the king's folly in seeking to enslave America, and in resolving to rule as well as to reign.

George III. did not approve of his Minister's famous attempt to conciliate the Americans, made in 1778, though he submitted to it, so much had misfortune changed his purpose. "You will remember," he wrote on the 31st of January, 1778, "that before the recess I strongly advised you not to bind yourself to bring forward a proposition for restoring tranquillity to North America, not from any absurd ideas of unconditional submission my mind never harbored, but from perceiving that whatever can be proposed will be liable not to bring America back to a sense of attachment to the mother country, yet to dissatisfy this country, which has in the most handsome manner chearfully carried on the contest, and therefore has a right to have the struggle continued untill convinced that it is in vain." It must be admitted that on this point the king was wiser than his Minister. He anticipated the contemptuous reception the conciliatory project was destined to find in America, and which greatly injured England's reputation. That Lord North, who despaired of success, should have taken a different view, is not the least of the proofs which these volumes afford that he was out of his place when he was at the head of the British Ministry. Nine days later, alarmed by the prospect of a French war, the king urged Lord North not to delay bringing forward his American proposition. On the 13th of March he wrote that "it is a joke to think of keeping Pensilvania," and is all for a defensive war, except that he would attack the French islands, and employ the fleet and a small military force "to destroy the ports and warfs of the rebels." Such was his notion of "great war." He had no plan of operations, and changed his mind as to the best mode of proceeding every week, or oftener. In August, after it had become clear that the British Commissioners had failed, he said the news seemed "to put a final stop to all negotiation," adding, "Further negotiation is a joke"; and expressing his readiness to abandon even New York. He would close the French war first, and, if that should be successful, "the rebels" would be obliged to submit to more reasonable terms than could be obtained in 1778. He was hopelessly beaten, and all the after bloodshed that took place was nothing but a tribute to his vanity and egotism. He had succeeded in nothing but in keeping Lord North

in office, much against that statesman's wish. But it shows how great was his power that he was able to carry on the conflict for almost four years after it must have been known to every public man in the kingdom that it could have but one issue, and when he had admitted to his chief Minister that success could not be expected.

The events of the war in 1779 and 1780, especially in the latter year, were of a character to encourage the king to keep up his armies in America, on the chance that the Americans might be worn out, and, to borrow a modern form of words, demand peace at any price. The successes that attended British operations in Georgia and the Carolinas gave rise to the delusion that the Southern Colonies, as the king persisted in calling them, might be separated from their associates, and perhaps the latter be conquered in time. There was something plausible in this view of the subject, and it tended to keep the king hopeful. What his ideas were in 1779 appears from a letter dated June 11th, which is written with great deliberation, and which is the most remarkable epistle in this collection. We give most of it, as it must be considered the king's statement of his case, set forth under circumstances and conditions which preclude the possibility of hypocrisy, as the writer of it, with his notions of the sacredness of everything that pertained to royalty, never could have supposed it would be placed before the world. It is one of the most curious of those revelations which modern research among old papers is constantly laying open to the eyes of mankind, in illustration of Oxenstiern's creed, that but a small amount of wisdom goes to the government of men.

"I should think it the greatest instance among the many I have met with of ingratitude and injustice, if it could be supposed that any man in my dominions more ardently desired the restoration of peace and solid happiness in every part of this empire than I do; there is no personal sacrifice I could not readily yield for so desirable an object; but at the same time no inclination to get out of the present difficulties, which certainly keep my mind very far from a state of ease, can incline me to enter into what I look upon as the destruction of the empire. I have heard Lord North frequently drop that the advantages to be gained by this contest could never repay the expense; I owne that, let any war be ever so successful, if persons will sit down and weigh the ex-

penses, they will find, as in the last, that it has impoverished the state, enriched individuals, and perhaps raised the name only of the conquerors; but this is only weighing such events in the scale of a tradesman behind his counter; it is necessary for those in the station it has pleased Divine Providence to place me to weigh whether expenses, though very great, are not sometimes necessary to prevent what might be more ruinous to a country than the loss of money. The present contest with America I cannot help seeing as the most serious in which any country was ever engaged: it contains such a train of consequences that they must be examined to feel its real weight. Whether the laying a tax was deserving all the evils that have arisen from it, I should suppose no man could alledge that without being thought more fit for Bedlam than a seat in the senate; but step by step the demands of America have risen: independence is their object; that certainly is one which every man not willing to sacrifice every object to a *momentary* and inglorious peace must concur with me in thinking that this country can never submit to: should America succeed in that, the West Indies must follow them, not [in] independence, but must for its own interest be dependent on North America. Ireland would soon follow the same plan and be a separate state; then this island would be reduced to itself, and soon would be a poor island indeed, for, reduced in her trade, merchants would retire with their wealth to climates more to their advantage, and shoals of manufacturers would leave this country for the new empire. These self-evident consequences are not worse than what can arise should the Almighty permit every event to turn out to our disadvantage; consequently this country has but one sensible, one great line to follow, the being ever ready to make peace when to be obtained without submitting to terms that in their consequences must annihilate this empire, and with firmness make every effort to deserve success." — Vol. II. pp. 253, 254.

The editor says: "Sir James Mackintosh observes that 'the letter of the 11th of June is not the composition of George the Third.' The original is, however, in his Majesty's handwriting; and as he intimates that it was deliberately composed, the absence of ungrammatical or confused sentences may be accounted for without resorting to Sir James's supposition. The king, when he took time, did not write ill." He is right. The letter is the king's own. We attach no weight to the circumstance that the handwriting is his, for he might have copied it from another's manuscript; but the internal evidence as to its authorship is irresistible. It is the most characteristic letter

in the whole series. It is the king's work, both in matter and in manner; and, looking back over the ninety years' advantage we have of him, we are astonished that even he should have been of the opinion that the greatness, or rather the very existence, of England should depend upon the favorable issue of a contest in which marked success for her was impossible. But he was not more ignorant of the future than were most of his subjects, including the greater number of leading statesmen. Even Lord Shelburne, echoing Lord Chatham, took the king's view of the necessity of retaining America in order that England might not sink into insignificance; but Lord Shelburne was the wisest political economist of his time, while the king and Lord Chatham knew nothing of economical science. It would have required that one should return from the dead to convince the king of Great Britain and the Earl of Chatham that what they most dreaded would prove one of the greatest blessings to their country that Heaven could send upon it. Yet so it was, and the king lived long enough, and had the enjoyment of his senses long enough, to see that such was the fact. But the king's letter is of value as showing that he was not altogether selfish in his obstinate purpose of not admitting the independence of America. He assumes something of the patriotic character, even in American eyes, when we learn that it was not for his personal dignity he was contending, according to the common opinion, but for the welfare of his country, as he understood it.

It is not necessary to make further extracts from the king's letters, nor do they contain much more that relates specifically to American business. Other matters were pressing upon the royal mind with a force that would not be denied. Occasionally the king expresses a sort of Micawberish belief that something will "turn up" in America to his advantage. Thus, in December, 1779, he writes: "I do believe that America is nearer coming into temper to treat than perhaps at any other period," — a belief in which, we may be sure, Lord North did not share. On the 26th of September, 1780, he says: "The French never could stand the cold of Germany; that of America must be more fatal to them. America is distressed to the greatest degree." In the same letter he says the number of

troops sent to America that year was prodigious. Referring to an attempt to bring the war to a close, he wrote, October 31, 1780: "Whilst the House of Bourbon make American independency an article of their propositions, *no event* can ever make me a sharer in such a negociation." The time, however, was close at hand when an event compelled him to treat, with that article of the highest prominence in the propositions that came from his foes, including the House of Bourbon. Perhaps the only specimen of humor that can be found in these letters occurs in one that was written on the 12th of July, 1783, when Lord North was one of the Secretaries of State in the Coalition Ministry. "Undoubtedly," writes the king, "the Americans cannot expect, nor ever will receive, any favor from me; but the permitting them to obtain men unworthy to remain in this island I shall certainly consent to." This must refer to some project for disposing of those convicts of which England has for ages produced so large annual crops, — a subject that gave her government much trouble after the loss of her American Colonies. The humor is grim, and bears no resemblance to that of which his son and successor was so great a master; but Americans can smile over it, knowing that the joke was not entirely on the side of the vanquished monarch.

This Correspondence is admirably edited, the manner in which Mr. Bodham Donne has performed an important task showing how judicious was the selection of a man of so much sense and knowledge for its performance. Duller letters than those of George III., as already remarked, never were written; and not even the momentous nature of many of the subjects to which they relate suffices to make them interesting. But the political history of a most important part of one of the most important reigns in English history is given by the editor of the Correspondence in a manner as entertaining as it is instructive. Familiar with the historical and political literature of the reign of George III., Mr. Bodham Donne has used his knowledge so as to keep his readers well advised of all that is going on while the king is writing to his Minister. Many of the letters serve as texts for statements of facts, or for judicious comments or remarks. The elaborate Introduction which prefaces the Correspondence enables even the most superficially

informed reader to understand the state of affairs when the king has at last obtained a Minister after his own mind, and from whom he never would have parted could he have had his own way in all things. The Introduction is indeed an excellent piece of political and historical writing, and its perusal creates the hope that one who writes so well, and whose acquaintance with English history is so extensive, and whose mind is at once critical and liberal, may employ his time and his powers on a higher work than that through which he is now known to the world.

The opinions of the editor are of the liberal school of politics. He writes of the American contest with as much sense as spirit. In thus writing, he represents the sentiments of enlightened men of all parties, in both England and America. It is very seldom that men come to one opinion concerning the character and the consequences of a great contest, the event of which was decided by the sword, after a long war, which had been preceded by a much longer and not less bitter combat of words and phrases. The judgment of the world with respect to the American Revolution is one of the very few exceptions to the rule. We cannot agree as to the merits of that conflict of opinion which had its decision at Pharsalia; but among reasonable men there is but one mind as to the justice of the cause that was successful at Saratoga. Englishmen and Americans are at one on this point. And why should they not be? The war of the American Revolution, so far as it concerned Americans and Englishmen, was a civil war, and whatever is of great and good in its history is the common property of both. The valor of the two armies belongs to the common stock of the martial virtues of that race. It is the belief of all intelligent, reasonable Englishmen, that their country's failure here was the best thing that could have happened for themselves. Their cause triumphed as much as ours. Nor is there anything in the military history of the Revolutionary war that ought to be mortifying to Englishmen. The event was adverse to their country's arms, but it was so under circumstances that made success impossible from the first; and victory and defeat were not unequally distributed between the contending armies. Men of no mean intellectual

rank — Lord Macaulay and Mr. Thackeray were of their number — have spoken of what might have taken place had the British forces been better commanded, — had Wolfe not been shot by the French, or had Clive not shot himself, — or if the wind had blown from the northeast for a month in a certain year, instead of blowing from the southwest; but it is idle talking, for the issue of the contest was fixed by physical facts before a gun was fired. The English were too far removed from the scene of action to admit of their superiority in numbers and wealth being made available in an age when steam-navigation was unknown. They were beaten by the same potent foes that overcame Napoleon's power in Russia, — space and time. They would have been beaten had they been led by Marlborough or Wellington. Such being the fact, Englishmen of to-day can look back to the American Revolution, if not with complacency, at least with calmness, and deduce from its history the sound conclusion never again to engage in a distant contest with men of their own blood, who are as good as themselves, and whom because of their birth it would be impossible to enslave, even were they overcome in the field.

ART. II. — *Astronomical Observations made at the United States Naval Observatory, Washington, during the Years* 1845 *to* 1852, *and* 1861 *to* 1864. 10 vols. 4to.

THE Naval Observatory at Washington, more generally known as the National Observatory, was founded by authority of an act of Congress passed in 1842. In this act it was designated as "A Depot of Charts and Instruments for the Navy," the name Astronomical Observatory being omitted, on account, it is said, of the repugnance of the dominant party to openly gratify the long-cherished desire of John Quincy Adams to see such an establishment. However, everybody knew that an astronomical observatory was meant, and measures were forthwith taken to found one of the first class. Lieutenant James

M. Gilliss was authorized to prepare plans for the building, and went to Europe to consult astronomers, and to purchase the necessary instruments. In 1844 he reported the building completed, the instruments mounted, and everything ready to begin work. Lieutenant Matthew F. Maury was thereupon appointed Superintendent, the founder of the establishment being quietly set aside. Under Maury astronomical calculations were commenced in the beginning of 1845.

In reviewing our national astronomy, we shall confine ourselves to the Naval Observatory, because it is the only observatory in the country which has the means to make and publish a continuous series of astronomical observations, having for their object, not the immediate discovery of the unknown, but the development and application of the known. The former is, indeed, the more brilliant object, but an attempt to attain it by a government establishment with salaried officers would be pretty sure to cost more than the discoveries would be worth. But when a discovery is made anywhere in the world, it has generally to be followed up and elaborated before it can be made useful to mankind. Here comes in the hard work which the world does not see, and here the great majority of our observatories fail. When an observatory is built, furnished with the largest telescope that can be procured, and placed in charge of a college professor or other competent person, its friends look upon the work as complete, and expect the machinery to run on without further attention. But two things are still necessary before the establishment will serve any purpose higher than the amusement of the public. They are, —

First, the means of publishing the observations of the astronomer, and the researches to which they may give rise. Cautious and critical to the last degree, modern science has its laws of evidence as strict as those of a court of justice, and accepts of no conclusion without a rigorous examination of the data on which it rests. Hence, without the means to publish his observations, the results of the astronomer's labor will be received with little respect.

The other essential is the responsibility of the astronomer for the best use of the means put into his hands. In astron-

omy it is very difficult to do really good work of any kind, but very easy to do poor work. Only a small part of the world can judge between the easiest and the most difficult work, between the poorest and the best. Thus one great stimulus to excellence, that of knowing that one's work is critically and correctly judged by those in whose favorable opinion he has a personal interest, is wanting. The state of society, therefore, does not admit of this requisite being fully satisfied. It can be partially satisfied by the supporters and patrons of each observatory taking an immediate personal interest in its current operations, and calling on the astronomers for the results of their labors.

These needs have been so seldom supplied in our own, or, indeed, in any other country, that only a small fraction of the established observatories have ever made any important contributions to astronomy. Take out the Naval Observatory and that of Harvard College, and the entire work of all others in this country might be blotted out of existence without serious loss to astronomy. It is to establishments founded and maintained by enlightened governments that great advances in astronomical knowledge have been due in times past, and will be due in future. To the newly established Observatory the country naturally and properly looked for those improvements in astronomical science which demand regular and continuous observation.

For the first four or five years the Observatory did as well as could be expected under the circumstances. There were not more than one or two astronomers by profession in the country. Outside of the navy there was little enthusiasm for astronomy. It was mainly through the exertions of enlightened officers of the navy that the establishment had been founded. One of its principal objects was the training of young officers, and it was to them that the country had to look to carry it on. It was therefore provided by law that the Superintendent should be a captain, commander, or lieutenant in the navy. Lieutenant Maury was by no means well fitted for the post. In native ability he had few superiors, but he lacked education and dignity of character. Of the contemporary state of astronomical science he knew almost nothing, and he had little of

the pure ambition of a man devoted to scientific investigation for the sake of the increase of knowledge and the discovery of truth. His great intellectual power and executive energy were used with no higher motive than that of seeing his name in the morning papers, and receiving the applause of the multitude. When astronomy failed to serve these ends, he abandoned it, and exacted nothing of his astronomical corps except that they should not trouble him. That the Observatory did anything for science was due less to the Superintendent than to two of his assistants. These were Sears Cook Walker, the first practical astronomer in the country, whose position of Assistant Astronomer was the only civil office in the astronomical corps; and Professor John H. C. Coffin of the navy, who had been the assistant of Gilliss in mounting the instruments. With these men, the observations were made with a precision exceeded nowhere in the world, except at Pulkowa. Nor was the activity of the astronomers confined to the routine of astronomical observation. The Observatory was first brought into prominence by Walker's researches on the newly discovered great planet of Le Verrier, and his proof that the planet was identical with a missing star observed by Lalande as long ago as 1795.

The ambition of the Superintendent was not to be satisfied by any common achievement, so a very great work was soon planned. This was nothing less than assigning color, accurate position, and magnitude to every star in the heavens which could be seen with the instruments, — a noble work, and one which would have made the institution immortal had it been carried out. Unfortunately, a century would have been required to complete the work. So the entire plan ended in ignominious failure, and the credit has since been snatched by a European observatory, the Superintendent of which calculated beforehand what he could do with the means at his disposal. He found that by fifteen years' labor he could determine the magnitude and approximate position of every star in the northern hemisphere as bright as the ninth magnitude, and he did it.

Both Messrs. Walker and Coffin knew much more than Maury about practical astronomy. With some men this superiority in his assistants would have been a precious advantage, with oth-

ers a simple nuisance. Maury was of the latter class, and so got rid of Walker at an early day. In 1851 Professor Coffin was also obliged to leave on account of his eyes, which were permanently injured by his labors, and the Observatory practically ceased to have an astronomical head. Maury found a wider field for his ambition and a more fertile source of popular applause in his investigations of the winds and currents of the ocean, and astronomical observation ceased to be pursued with any definite end.

Walker's place was ultimately filled by Mr. James Ferguson, formerly assistant on the Coast Survey. Mr. Ferguson took charge of the Equatorial, and made a series of observations on asteroids and comets, the results of which, published from time to time in the Astronomical Journals of Gould and Schumacher, were almost the only indications the astronomical world saw of the continued existence of the Observatory. A valuable series of observations was made by Professor Yarnall with the Mural Circle, but none of them have yet been published. Indeed, for the ten years preceding his desertion to the Rebels, Maury took no interest in the astronomical work of the establishment.

On this fortunate event, the Observatory fell once more into the hands of Gilliss, its original founder. The war for the Union now demanded the exertions of this as well as other government establishments, for its duties included the purchase, care, supervision, and distribution of all the charts, chronometers, spyglasses, compasses, and other nautical instruments used by the navy. These duties were greatly increased by the war, while the naval force of the Observatory was diminished by the same cause. To carry on both the scientific and military duties of the establishment, the Superintendent attached three more civil assistants, called "Aids," to the astronomical staff. Under his energetic administration, the war, instead of impeding the scientific work of the establishment, was the means of renewing its activity. Still, a permanent organization and arrangement of the work of the establishment were not possible during the war. Before its close Gilliss died, and the opportunity of carrying out this desideratum was lost to him.

Gilliss was succeeded by Rear-Admiral Charles H. Davis,

Chief of the Bureau of Navigation, who resigned that position to accept the officially subordinate one of Superintendent of the Observatory. The choice was a most happy one for the Observatory, as the new Superintendent knew how to avail himself to the best advantage of the practical skill of the astronomers attached to his staff. From his last Annual Report, he would seem to have put the work into a form nearer approaching permanency than ever before; and if the investigations reported in progress are properly carried out, they will tend greatly to elevate the character of the establishment.

The exigencies of the naval service brought the superintendence of Admiral Davis to a close early in the present year. He was ordered to command the Brazilian squadron, and Commodore B. F. Sands was appointed Superintendent of the Observatory. Commodore Sands was attached to the Observatory at an early period of its history, having accompanied Maury from the old Hydrographical Office when he was appointed to the new establishment.

At present, with Commodore Sands as Superintendent, the Observatory is, in its official relations with the government, under the immediate supervision of the Bureau of Navigation, of which Commodore Thornton A. Jenkins is chief. The latter has been well known as Secretary of the Light-House Board from its organization until 1860. The personal and intellectual character of these officers leaves no doubt that good use will be made of the means at the disposal of the Observatory.

The published Washington Observations are nearly all made with four large instruments, — the Transit Instrument, the Mural Circle, the Prime Vertical Transit, and the Equatorial. Each volume opens with a short description of the Observatory and instruments, and a very detailed explanation of the methods adopted for making and reducing the observations. Astronomers of other countries and of future generations can thus reproduce all the results of the observations, and satisfy themselves of their correctness almost as easily as if they had made them themselves.

The observations are then given in tabular arrangements, commencing with the Transit Instrument. With this instrument are determined the right ascensions of the heavenly bod-

ies, which is the most important element of their position. The observations of the Moon made with this instrument since 1861 exceed in number, regularity, and precision those made at any other observatory. The same remark may apply to some of the planetary observations.

The Mural Circle gives declinations of the bodies observed. The right ascension and declination combined completely fix the apparent position of a body in the heavens.

The Prime Vertical Transit is an instrument of peculiar construction, which gives with great precision the time of a star's passage through the east and west points of its course, and thence its declination. Since 1862 this instrument has been employed on the bright star α Lyræ, apparently with the view of determining its annual parallax. We regret that more use is not made of this exquisite instrument, as its results are of the highest order of precision.

The Equatorial Telescope is principally used in determining the positions of asteroids and comets too faint to be observed with the meridian instruments.

Next, we find the observations of stars with all the instruments collated and discussed, and the observed positions of the planets compared with the best tables, in order to furnish data for perfecting the latter. A catalogue of the positions of all the stars observed concludes the astronomical portion of the volume.

It will be seen that pretty good use is made of the means at the disposal of the Observatory. Still, the establishment has not attained that pre-eminence which the intellectual character of our country should demand for a national scientific institution. To the highest departments of practical astronomy America has contributed almost nothing. For the most delicate determinations we are indebted almost entirely to Europeans. Yet it is on such measures that the great fabric of modern astronomy depends. The astronomer's common unit of angular measure is the second of arc. Suppose two hundred small stars placed in a row, at a distance of one second from each other. The two hundred stars, though reaching over a space of two hundred seconds, would, to the naked eye, be but a single round star. Quantities so

minute might seem to defy measurement. Yet all that we know of the distance of the sun and the dimensions of the solar system depends on measures of twenty or thirty seconds. There is not a single star the parallax of which is known to equal a second, and but one for which it exceeds a small fraction of a second. Yet it is only by measuring the parallax of the stars that we know anything of their distance, and of the dimensions of that universe among whose suns and systems our sun with its attendant planets is lost in insignificance. The nutation of the earth's axis, on which depends the mass of the moon, and the interior configuration of the earth itself, only amounts to nine seconds. The aberration of light, a joint effect of the progressive motion of light and of the motion of the earth in its orbit, only amounts to twenty seconds. The position of the planet Neptune, a globe two hundred times the size of our earth, was calculated by Le Verrier from deviations in the motions of Uranus not amounting to thirty seconds. An error of thirty seconds in the position of the moon as predicted in the Nautical Almanac would throw the navigator fifteen miles out of his reckoning. A uniform error, in the same direction, of one second, in the calculated positions of the stars, would throw a boundary line one hundred feet out of its true position.

When the astronomer undertakes to measure these minute angles, he finds Nature warring against him with all her powers. In the air above she never ceases to mix currents of hot and cold air, and thus keeps the telescopic image of every star in unceasing agitation, — like the image of the sun in a running stream. Expanding his instrument by heat, and contracting it by cold, she disarranges its most delicate adjustments, changes its form, twists its supports, and moves its microscopes. She blows a grain of sand under his spirit-level, and his observation is worthless. She will not even allow the most solid foundation of his instrument to rest immovable, but, alternately causing the ground beneath to swell with moisture and contract with drouth, keeps it in continual disturbance. And, not satisfied with external interference, she enters his brain and nerves, and will not allow his senses to give correct evidence with the required nicety. His personal defects must

therefore be a subject of investigation, as well as the defects of his instrument.

The success with which the astronomer can carry on his battle depends on his foresight in anticipating Nature's attacks, and his ingenuity in devising means to thwart her. It is only by the most profound investigation of the atmosphere, the most ingenious devices to discover the errors of their instruments, and to allow for them or to eliminate their effect, the greatest pains to avoid irregular changes of temperature, and the continual repetition of observations under conditions as varied and as nearly opposite as possible, that astronomers have brought their science to its present approach to perfection. And, with all their efforts, there is not a result of the past which can be claimed as absolutely true, nor a result of the present which can be claimed as more than a step toward that state of absolute perfection which all are seeking, but which none can hope quite to see.

Here it is that American astronomers have failed. For researches of the highest delicacy, for any new determination of the distance of the sun, for the mass of the moon, or for the parallax of a fixed star, we seek in vain in the annals of American astronomy. We say this in no querulous tone. Considering that a generation has not passed away since there was not a permanent, active astronomical observatory on the American continent, that the successful astronomer must be a mathematician, chemist, physicist, and geologist, acquainted with the physical and molecular forces at play in the earth, the air, and the heavens, and possessed withal of that practical judgment without which genius will never be effectual, it is not wonderful that we are still behind Europe in practical astronomy. Still, in its instrumental means, our National Observatory, as it must be considered notwithstanding its name, has always been farther behind the age than it should have been. It was founded during a transition period, in which a new set of ideas respecting the construction, capacity, and use of astronomical instruments were making their way among astronomers. These ideas originated in Germany and Russia; they had been embodied in the magnificent establishment of the Emperor Nicholas, at Pulkowa, — still the astronomical

capital of the world; and they were slowly making their way westward. But they had not found acceptance in England, and English astronomers were principally consulted in founding the new Observatory. We consequently find the great Equatorial Telescope so small, that no college observatory in the country would now be satisfied with it; we find the meridian instruments enclosed in massive brick walls, where the first condition of astronomical observations — equality of internal and external temperature — is unattainable; and we find the exploded English Mural Circle introduced, notwithstanding that in Germany the Meridian Circle had been successfully used for twenty years. Not five years after the Mural Circle had been adopted, — by the advice, it is said, of the Astronomer Royal, — he himself commenced the construction of a great Meridian Circle, which entirely superseded the Mural in its own birthplace. The cast-off instrument of Greenwich remained for fifteen years longer the best one of Washington, where it has only now been superseded by a great Meridian Circle of dimensions similar to that of Greenwich.

Of this new instrument, the only one, we believe, the Observatory has acquired since its foundation, we cannot express a critical opinion, as no regular publication of its observations has yet appeared. Some partial publications of its asteroid observations have appeared in the *Astronomische Nachrichten*, and these show much better for the optical power of the instrument than for its precision. They are, indeed, not a fair test of the latter, owing to their extreme minuteness; but it is a question whether the great dimensions of the instrument are not a drawback to the delicacy of its work. The larger an instrument, the more liable are its different parts to become of different temperatures, and inequality of temperature is a serious cause of error. We also regret that this instrument should have been mounted in a brick room, thirty years after the superiority of thin wooden walls had been conclusively shown at Pulkowa.

Our judgment of the past work of the Naval Observatory may be summed up thus. That of the first four years, and of the last four years, so far as published, is highly creditable to the country, and to the navy, all things considered. Among

the things to be taken into account are the want of educated astronomers in the beginning, and the inferior character of many of the instruments throughout the history of the Observatory. During the intervening years, the operations are creditable to no one but the one or two astronomers by whom all the observations of value were made.

The probable future work of the Observatory we have few data for estimating. Admiral Davis, in his last Report, states that the employment of the new Transit Circle "constitutes a new era in its progress, and restores it to the rank of a first-class institution." This is true, to this extent, — that the Naval Observatory may fairly take rank as at least the fourth in the world. The Royal Observatory at Greenwich has rather more improved instruments, with a much better organization of its labor, and a more definite field for its energies. Regularity and persistence in a uniform plan, if a good one, greatly enhance the value of astronomical observations, and these, at least, have been secured by the Greenwich system. Astronomers Royal have either been appointed when young, or have lived to a good old age, as only two have died within a century. Few opportunities, therefore, have occurred for a change of plan, and the incumbents of the office have been men of such good judgment that no great change has ever been necessary.

The Imperial Observatory of Paris is presided over by Le Verrier. It is more liberally supported, and does more work, than any other in the world; but in the art of observing, its astronomers appear behind their contemporaries. Both the Greenwich and Paris Observatories labor under the disadvantages of an impure and cloudy atmosphere and a northern latitude.

The unrivalled establishment at Pulkowa was the subject of an article in this Review some years ago. Everything then said of its pre-eminence is still true.

The rank of our own Observatory being hardly that which will satisfy the American mind, we shall briefly indicate a few possible improvements. Let us premise by saying, that we do not suggest a more liberal annual expenditure, but improvements to be made but once for at least a lifetime. They are:—

1. A large telescope. We have already alluded to the deficiency of the present one.

2. Observing-rooms of wood or iron, instead of brick.

3. Such a personal organization as shall secure the services of able astronomers.

4. Residences for the principal observers at or near the Observatory. This we conceive to be, at present, one of the most urgent wants of the establishment.

The words of the Emperor Nicholas, when he first contemplated founding the Pulkowa Observatory, express the spirit which should animate the government of our own country in carrying out these improvements: "*Sa Majesté Impériale daigna declarer du Ministre de l'Instruction Publique, Prince Lieven que l'honneur du pays Lui paraissait reclamer la foundation près de la capitale, d'un nouvel Observatoire astronomique ; conformé à la hauteur actuelle de la science et propre à contribuer à son avancement ulterieur.*"

Art. III. — The Bank of England Restriction. 1797–1821.

During the eighteenth century the mechanism of trade had been elaborated in Great Britain to a high point of perfection. London had become in a great degree the centre of commerce for the whole world, while the Bank of England was the business centre of London. But the Bank had a double sphere of usefulness. As a private corporation, it exercised, not less by the high character of its directors than by the amount of its capital and the privileges of its charter, a great influence over all foreign and domestic trade. By common agreement, its notes circulated within London to the exclusion of all other bank-paper. Its discounts represented at that time a far greater proportion of the active capital of England than they now do. But its operations were not restricted within the limits of ordinary banking; it was also a recognized official agent. As a national establishment, it issued the coin, man-

aged the debt, took charge of government deposits, and made advances to the Exchequer and the Treasury, on security of Exchequer Bills. In the same capacity, it was expected to perform the difficult duty of maintaining a supply of gold, not merely for circulation, but in anticipation of any sudden drain or panic, which might cause a run upon the other banking institutions of the country. It was obliged, therefore, to purchase at a fixed rate all the gold which was brought to its counters. Thus, as a bank of discount, it held the exclusive privilege of discounting government paper; as a bank of deposit, it alone held the public balances; as a bank of issue, its circulation alone passed through the hands of the government as well as of the public. Its notes, when not issued in loans on Exchequer Bills to the government, or in payment for the precious metals as already mentioned, could only pass into circulation through the medium of discounts furnished to merchants. Neither then, nor at any time, has the Bank had other than these three means of issuing its paper; and as it is clear that, so far as the second is concerned, no notes could be sent out which did not represent their equivalent in coin or bullion brought in, the only possible mode of issuing an excess of paper must have been either by loans to the government on security of Exchequer Bills, or in regular and legitimate commercial discounts.

All foreign and most provincial payments were ultimately settled by drafts on London. But the country merchants and others, who had occasion in this manner to extend their connections beyond the limits of a district, usually found it convenient to deal through the local bankers of their neighborhood, rather than to draw upon correspondents of their own. In 1797, there were about three hundred and fifty such country banks in England and Wales, most, if not all, of which were banks of issue; and as they were always liable to be called upon to redeem their notes either in gold, in Bank of England notes, or in bills of exchange drawn on London, it is evident that their circulation was subject to all the variations of the London money-market.

Besides this practical check, yet another control was exercised by the Bank of England over the credit operations of

the country. Every private banker naturally felt that his own credit depended upon the solvency of his customers; and he was obliged, by the very nature of his business, to acquire the most accurate knowledge in his power of the people who dealt with him. In precisely the same way the London banker, his correspondent, looked carefully to the country client's credit, and to the character of the bills which he dealt in; while in his own city the London banker was subjected to the scrutiny of the business community of London, whose opinions, centring upon one point, guided the policy and the particular discounts and accommodations of the Bank of England. Thus again the Bank was at once the head and heart of English credit; it exercised a controlling influence even upon the remote provincial trader.

So far as the currency was concerned, the Bank could, by contracting its issues, affect in a short time the whole circulation of England; and naturally, when such a contraction had taken place, a renewed expansion on its part would be likely to result in a similar movement on the part of private bankers. But the antiquated and mischievous legislation of Parliament still maintained, and, in spite of the severest practical lessons, long continued to maintain, a legal maximum of interest at five per cent, even when the government itself was borrowing at six. At the present time the Bank regulates its discounts by raising or lowering its rate according to the value of money in the open market. But while the usury laws were in force, the Bank continued to lend its credit at five per cent, whether the market value was at two or at twenty; and it possessed no means of restricting its discounts and contracting its circulation other than that of refusing a certain proportion of each applicant's paper, without regard to his solvency or credit. Such a measure was seldom resorted to, since it was calculated to aggravate the evils of a financial pressure, by sacrificing the public in order to save the Bank. In practice, therefore, it will be seen that the Bank avoided the exercise of any other control over its discounts and circulation than is implied by a proper regard for the soundness of the bills it discounted. The directors might exercise more or less of caution in their loans, according as individual credit varied;

but they never during the Restriction attempted to act upon exchange or general credit, either by contracting or by expanding their issues.

The average amount of Bank of England notes in circulation, during ten years before the Restriction, was £10,800,000. The best authorities estimate that the coin may have then amounted to about £20,000,000, or somewhat more. There was also a large quantity of country bank paper; while certain wealthy districts, as Lancashire, for example, used no other currency than bills of exchange, which were passed from hand to hand, and in every case indorsed by the holder. There can be no reasonable confidence placed, therefore, in any estimate which assumes to establish any fixed sum as representing the value of English currency, previous to the Restriction. We think that £40,000,000 would be a moderate value to assign for it; and from this calculation Scotland and Ireland are excluded, since their currency systems were independent of England, and exercised no more influence upon hers than those of Holland or Hamburg.

The great war which lasted, with only a few months' intermission, for upwards of twenty years, began in February, 1793. It was preceded and accompanied by a violent commercial crisis throughout Europe, which caused in England a great number of bankruptcies, and a heavy fall in prices, the country banks suffering especially; but the Bank of England succeeded in maintaining its credit unimpaired under the shock; and, in spite of every difficulty, continued its specie payments and its ordinary discounts, to the immense relief of the mercantile community. Two years of the war passed away without altering this position of affairs. It was not till 1795 that a drain of bullion to the Continent began, which obliged the Bank directors to resort to the extraordinary measure of contracting their issues by rejecting a certain proportion of the applications made upon them for discounts, without regard to the credit of the applicants. During the next two years the Bank circulation was steadily diminished, as the supply of gold became smaller and smaller. But this policy of contraction was seriously hampered by the necessities of Mr. Pitt, then Prime Minister, who insisted upon advances,

which the directors could not honestly furnish. The Bank records are filled with repeated remonstrances addressed to Mr. Pitt on this account, and these, in February, 1796, were carried to the extent of an absolute refusal to discharge the bills drawn; while again, in July of the same year, a similar refusal was only overcome by the positive assurance of Mr. Pitt that it would be impossible to avoid the most serious and distressing embarrassments to the public service, unless an advance to the extent of £800,000 were made. The Bank yielded, but only under the strongest protest, declaring that nothing but the extreme pressure and exigency of the case could in any shape justify the directors in acceding. Whether this source of difficulty was due to bad management on the part of Mr. Pitt, or whether he had no choice but to lean upon the Bank, is of little consequence. The directors, at all events, carried out their policy of contraction. While the drain of gold continued, and their treasure fell from £6,000,000 in 1795 to £2,000,000 in August, 1796, the circulation was simultaneously reduced from £14,000,000 to £9,000,000. But violent as this contraction was, it failed to counteract the causes of the drain. Foreign subsidies, the payment for large quantities of imported grain, and of articles the price of which had been enormously increased by the war demand, prevented the exchange from rising. It is estimated that for three years, from 1794 to 1796, these extraordinary payments amounted to £40,000,000, — a calculation which is certainly not extravagant, if compared with the length of time and the amount of pressure required to restore the exchanges.

It is difficult to say what more could have been done by the Bank in order to preserve the country from the evils of an inconvertible currency. The directors might have refused to advance another shilling in loans, and, in order to save themselves, might have forced a national bankruptcy, as well as general private ruin; but they could scarcely have reduced their issues more resolutely than they did, or resisted more obstinately the entreaties of the merchants. These last were mercilessly sacrificed; and their fate was especially hard, since the crisis appears to have been caused by no act of theirs, but solely by a combination of political and natural

agencies, by bad harvests and foreign wars, over which they could have exercised no control, and on the occurrence or the cessation of which they could not have calculated.

The measures thus taken by the Bank were in fact successful. Early in 1797, the tide had already turned; the foreign exchanges began to improve; and there can be no doubt that, had the Bank been able to stand another month or two of pressure, gold would have flowed plentifully into its coffers. But precisely at the time of extreme exhaustion, after the foreign drain had been checked, but when the Bank was too weak for further resistance, a sudden panic seized the people of England. An ungrounded alarm of French invasion caused a run upon the banks of Newcastle, and obliged them to suspend payment. From Newcastle, the panic spread in all directions. Every country banker rushed to the Bank of England for assistance or for gold. The Bank responded by forcing its issues down to £8,640,000, while its treasures fell to £1,200,000, and the panic naturally grew more and more violent. Hopeless of averting their fate, the directors at last sent word to Mr. Pitt that suspension was inevitable; and on the morning of Monday, the 27th of February, an Order in Council, issued the preceding day, was posted on the doors of the Bank, forbidding further payments in cash.

The policy of the Bank throughout this crisis has been since that day very generally criticised; and the directors themselves afterwards expressed it as their opinion that the contraction had been pressed too far, until it contributed to bring about the very difficulty it was intended to preclude. It is contended that a bolder policy should have been adopted, and that the discounts should have been liberally increased, while the gold should have been paid out down to the last guinea. In support of this theory is instanced the celebrated crisis of 1825, when the Bank, in face of a drain which reduced its stock of gold to £1,027,000, increased its issues from £17,000,000 to £25,000,000, and succeeded in restoring confidence and maintaining its payments. However this may be, it is at least a matter of regret that Mr. Pitt should have sanctioned suspension before exhausting every possible alternative. At the worst, the Bank could only have refused to

redeem its notes. While there was a single chance left of escaping this final disaster, neither Mr. Pitt nor the Bank directors were justified in neglecting it. The mere political consequences of suspension, in that disastrous year, were a triumph to the enemy as important as the mutiny at the Nore or the Treaty of Leoben.

Mr. Pitt, however, felt the necessity of maintaining the credit of the Bank; and he appears to have thought that this might be done by giving to the suspension an official appearance, and throwing upon it the character of a compulsory act of government. He represented the Bank as a passive, or even unwilling, instrument in the hands of the Privy Council. The expedient was shallow, and unworthy of so great a man; nor was it likely to deceive any person, however dull of comprehension he might be. But its result was fortunate; for while Mr. Pitt declared that the affairs of the Bank were in the most affluent and flourishing condition, and that the restriction was only a precautionary government measure, which in a few weeks would be removed, he established, unconsciously as we must believe, a legal fiction of some value. Parliament never recognized any incapacity on the part of the Bank to meet its obligations, but only a temporary restriction, created by itself, and limited by law to a certain period. There was at least a delicate distinction favorable to national pride and private credit involved in this idea that there was no actual bankruptcy in the case, but that the government had seen fit, for the public convenience, to relieve the Bank for a time from a duty which it was still ready and able to perform.

It was not unnatural, indeed, that Mr. Pitt should make use of this or any other deception in order to quiet the general alarm. The idea of inconvertible currency was, in 1797, exclusively associated with the Continental paper of the American Congress, and with the assignats of the French Directory. It was supposed by men like Fox and Lord Lansdowne that the mere fact of inconvertibility must soon destroy that confidence in paper which enabled it to represent values. A few months, it was believed, would bring about this decay of credit. To provide against such a disaster,

extraordinary efforts were required. On the very day of suspension, a great meeting was held at the Mansion House, the Lord Mayor presiding; and more than three thousand business men pledged themselves, by resolution, to receive and to make their payments in bank-notes, as equivalent to coin. A nearly similar paper was signed and published by the Lords of the Council. At the present time, such a pledge would, in similar circumstances, be considered as quite superfluous; but in that day it had a value, and tended to restore public confidence. Had the foreign drain still continued, no doubt, bank-paper would rapidly have fallen to a discount, in spite of all the resolutions that could have been passed; but we have already seen that this cause of difficulty had ceased to act. The only effect of suspension was to lower the exchanges for a very few days, after which they again rallied, and before the close of the year they had risen to the highest point ever known. The Bank at once increased its issues, and commerce returned to its regular routine.

The suspension having once taken place, it became necessary for Parliament to intervene, not merely to legalize the act, but to establish a status for the new condition of the Bank. A secret committee was appointed, which made elaborate investigations, and concluded by reporting a bill, indemnifying the governor and directors for all acts done in pursuance of the Order in Council; superseding all actions which might have been brought against them for refusing payments; prohibiting them from issuing cash, except in sums under twenty shillings; sheltering them from prosecutions for withholding payment of notes, for which they were willing to offer other notes in exchange; restricting them from advancing to the Treasury any sum exceeding £600,000; obliging the collectors of revenue to receive bank-notes in payment; protecting the subject from arrest for debt, unless the affidavit to hold him to bail contained a statement that the amount of debt claimed had not been tendered in money or bank-notes; and limiting the duration of the restriction to the 24th of June following.

It is interesting to observe how cautiously the government acted. The policy of Mr. Pitt may not have been bold, nor necessarily correct; but it was at least free from the grievous

mistakes which have ruined or dishonored almost every country where an inconvertible currency has existed. He began by treating the suspension as a temporary difficulty, and carefully limiting its duration. In this respect, his successors invariably followed his example; and never, during the next twenty-three years, was there a time when Parliament allowed the country to consider the restriction as other than a temporary measure, for the termination of which a provision was made by law. He further pledged the government not to make an improper use of the Bank resources, nor to tamper with the currency by obtaining excessive advances, and this pledge he honestly observed. Finally, he refused to make the bank-note a legal tender, except as between the government and the public, still allowing the creditor to insist upon payment in coin, if he chose to do so; and leaving open to him his ordinary process in law, except only the power of arrest in the first instance. England probably owes more than she is aware of to Mr. Pitt for his forbearance in regard to the currency. His necessities were great, and his power was unlimited. He might have used paper money as was done by contemporary financiers; but the example which he set became a law for his successors, so that whatever mistakes he or his imitators may have made, they are not chargeable with that of tampering with the currency.

The Restriction Act passed without opposition, and in June was continued till one month after the commencement of the next session. In the mean time, gold began again to flow into the Bank, which held in August treasure to the amount of £4,000,000, against a circulation of £11,000,000. When Parliament again met in the autumn, the Bank directors announced themselves ready to resume payments, "if the political circumstances of the country do not render it inexpedient."

Had Mr. Pitt been able to foresee the course which events would take during the next ten years, he would surely have acted at once upon this opportunity. The dangers and temptations of irredeemable paper were too obvious for any statesman to incur them, unless under an absolute necessity. But Mr. Pitt probably foresaw something very different from what

actually occurred. He had every reason to expect a series of monetary convulsions and commercial misfortunes, such as had harassed him since 1792. On the other hand, he saw that none of the prophesied evils had really followed restriction. It had been proved that bank-paper did not depend for its credit merely on its convertibility. Month after month had passed away, not only without bringing depreciation, but even rapidly increasing the stream of precious metals which flowed towards England, so that people were little inclined to dwell upon the dangers or temptations of restriction, and probably over-estimated its value as a safeguard against panic. They were already demoralized. Mr. Pitt was not ashamed to fall back upon the hint given by the Bank directors, and to declare, "that the avowal by the enemy of his intention to ruin our public credit was the motive for an additional term of restriction"; — thus, as Mr. Tierney rejoined, in order to leave the enemy no credit to attack, destroying it himself; for it is difficult to see how France was prevented by the Restriction from any action upon public credit, except precisely that of causing another restriction.

The bill, however, by which the measure was continued till one month after the conclusion of peace, passed with little opposition, Mr. Fox and his friends having ceased to take part in the debates. Had the Bank been now obliged to resume its cash payments, it would have had no great difficulty in maintaining them till 1808 or 1809, when it must inevitably, from mere political causes, have again broken down. But the occasion was lost, and from this time the Restriction took its place among the permanent war-measures of the government.

Previous to the suspension, no bank-note of less than five pounds in value was allowed to circulate. Under the new state of affairs this prohibition was removed, and notes of one and two pounds began rapidly to drive gold from ordinary use. With this exception, the public appears to have been quite unaffected by the change in the currency. Throughout the year 1798 the Bank continued to receive treasure, and the foreign exchanges continued favorable, until at the end of February, 1799, there was an accumulation of more than £7,500,000 in the Bank

vaults, against a circulation in notes of less than £13,000,000. Apparently nothing could be more solid than such a position. No expansion of consequence occurred in the Bank circulation; and yet, by the close of 1799, the exchanges had turned against England, and the gold began to disappear as rapidly, or almost as rapidly, as it had accumulated. The explanation of this sudden revolution was simple. A deficient harvest had caused large importations of corn; a severe commercial crisis at Hamburg had produced a considerable pressure for the immediate transmission of funds from England; and the war on the Continent created a perpetual demand for gold to supply the armies. Had the Bank now been obliged to redeem its notes, it might probably have contracted its issues. Instead of doing so, it extended them in proportion to the increased demand for discounts thrown upon it by the rise in the market rate of interest, and the circulation rose till in the first quarter of 1801 it averaged nearly £16,500,000. The price of gold also rose, until it stood at a premium of ten per cent.

These events naturally caused uneasiness; they gave rise, in fact, to the first currency controversy. Mr. Boyd, a member of Parliament, published a pamphlet with the object of proving that the depreciation was due to the excess of bank-notes. He was answered by Sir Francis Baring and Mr. Henry Thornton, whose work remains to this day a standard authority. As the question then raised was practically identical with that which ten years afterwards excited the most elaborate and earnest discussion, we shall not now stop to examine into it. Events soon decided in favor of Mr. Boyd's opponents. The Bank continued its policy undisturbed; the pressure ceased; during 1801 and 1802 the foreign exchanges again rose, and gold fell almost to par. It seems to be beyond dispute that the temporary depreciation of 1801 was preceded by the fall of exchange, and was caused by it; and that, when the accidental foreign demand for gold had been satisfied, the currency returned to its natural value, without any effort on the part of the Bank, or any artificial pressure on credit or on the circulation.

Without admitting this to be the case, it appears scarcely possible to explain the course which events afterwards took, and the perfect stability of the currency during a number of

years when the circulation was still further enlarged. The Treaty of Amiens was signed in March, 1802; and the interval of peace, short as it was, allowed Great Britain a momentary relief of inestimable value. But the Restriction Act was again continued for another term, and the Bank circulation rose to nearly £17,400,000, without producing any sensible effect on exchange or on the price of gold. War was resumed in May, 1803, but without affecting the value of the currency, which during the next five years remained stationary in its amount, or only varied slightly between £16,000,000 and £17,000,000. The Bank, meanwhile, anxious to maintain its reserve of bullion, offered a standing premium of about three per cent for gold, and hence it has been usually supposed that the bank-notes were actually depreciated to this extent. This, however, was not the case. Under such circumstances the exchanges become the only true standard, and in those days the quotations of exchange included any existing depreciation of paper; the nominal, not the real, exchange was always given, so that, in the want of any fair quotations of gold, we can only estimate its fluctuations in value by means of the recorded fluctuations in exchange. It appears that these were very slight, and rather in favor of England than against her, so that the Bank had actually accumulated in 1805 the very unusual sum of £7,600,000, — a result which indicates that the bank-notes with which this treasure was bought could not have been depreciated to the full extent of the three-per-cent bonus offered as an inducement to the seller. During the whole of this period from 1803 to 1808, Bank paper was in fact at par, or not enough below it to have made the exportation of gold profitable in a time of specie payments. There were no doubt intervals when the Bank lost gold, but, if the average of each year be taken, it will be found that the exchanges were uniformly favorable.

No comparison can be just which is drawn between such a state of things as this and the ordinary forced issues of government paper, such as have been known in most countries suffering under prolonged difficulties. There is a distinct difference between the two cases, and we are obliged to dwell with emphasis upon this difference, because we believe that it entirely removes the English currency from the same class with

ordinary instances of depreciation. Usually the issue of paper has been assumed by governments themselves, and such issues have been made directly in payment of expenses, without providing on the same scale for a return of the paper put out, or consulting in any way the wants of the people. Bank of England paper was in no sense a government issue. It was not even government paper, but merely that of a private banking corporation, which was conducted on very strict banking principles, and whose notes, so far as they were in excess of public wants, were inevitably returned at once to the bank counters. The government, therefore, was not to blame if paper was issued in excess; but in such a case it must have been the Bank directors who failed to observe proper rules in their extensions of credit either to the government or to individuals.

It is necessary, therefore, to turn aside for a moment in order to examine the Bank rules of that day in regard to their ordinary action upon the circulation, since it is here that the secret will be found, not only of the steadiness of value which marked the currency during the first ten years of war, but of its extraordinary fluctuations afterwards, — fluctuations which are quite inexplicable on the ordinary supposition of a forced issue. It must be remembered that the usury laws fixed the highest legal rate of interest at five per cent. The Bank rule, during the whole period of Restriction, was to discount at this rate all good mercantile bills offered, not having more than sixty-one days to run; and in making these advances the only duty which the directors considered themselves obliged to observe was that of throwing out, so far as possible, all bills which there was reason to believe represented speculative transactions. In other respects the Bank was perfectly passive. It neither contracted nor expanded its own issues, but allowed the public demand to contract or expand the currency, in the firm conviction that the public would not retain more notes than it actually required. Naturally the demand for discount at the Bank varied according to the market rate of interest outside; and when private bankers lent money at three per cent, comparatively few persons cared to pay five to the Bank of England. During the early part of the war the Bank rate was in fact almost always higher than that in the open market, and

consequently the Bank issues were moderate. By a regularly self-balancing principle, the advances made to government in an ordinary state of affairs diminished the private demand, since the government at once paid away to the public the notes it received from the Bank, and this money, coming back to the private bankers, enabled them to extend their discounts and to accommodate those merchants who would otherwise have been obliged to apply to the Bank. It is merely a theoretical question, what would have been the result had government obliged the Bank to make excessive advances on its account. In point of fact, the case did not occur, and government contented itself with moderate accommodation; while, as a rule, the private demands were greatest when the advances to government were at the lowest point.

Thus the Bank was throughout a mere channel of credit. It did not, and under these rules it could not, exercise any direct control over its issues, and it conducted its business upon much the same principles as would have regulated any sound private banker, whether he issued notes or not. Its theory excluded the idea that it was bound to regard the exchanges or the price of gold, or to interfere in any way with the course of business. Its sole duty was to lend capital, and it was for the public and for each individual merchant to see that his affairs were in a proper condition, that speculation was avoided, that the exchanges were watched, or to take the consequences of neglecting such obvious precautions.

And so long as each individual did observe a proper degree of precaution, or until political difficulties or some other accidental cause deranged the ordinary state of credit, these rules of the Bank answered the purpose for which they were made. But while the usury laws remained in force, any rise in the market rate of interest was certain to precipitate the whole body of merchants upon the Bank of England, and any crisis which obliged private bankers to seek, instead of furnishing credit, was sure to bring the whole nation to the counters of the Bank. In either of these cases, therefore, the Bank was liable to be driven into an excessive issue of its paper, and extension of its credit. But it did not necessarily follow that such an expansion would lead to a permanent increase of the

circulation. On the contrary, whenever the crisis was over, and the rate of interest again had fallen below the Bank standard, the demand for discount would naturally decline, and the circulation would return to its normal state.

For two or three years after the war had been resumed, everything went on in a sound and regular course. Great Britain might have carried on hostilities indefinitely, had she been subjected to no greater pressure. The currency retained its value, and trade its regularity, but taxation was greatly augmented and the cost of production increased. Prices steadily rose, until they attained in 1805 almost as high a range as ever afterwards. With the exception of grain, an article peculiarly liable to be affected by accidental causes, it appears that almost the whole rise in prices, which was afterwards attributed to depreciation of currency, took place during the first twelve or fifteen years of the war, when no depreciation existed. Much of it occurred at a time when paper was highest in credit, and there is no reason for supposing that the same thing would not have equally happened, even if the Bank had continued its specie payments.

This comparatively happy and prosperous state of affairs was not destined to continue. While the English were waging a cheap and effective war on the ocean and in the colonies, while Nelson crushed the combined navies of France and Spain at Trafalgar, and Wellington subdued the Mahrattas in India, Napoleon reached Vienna, and, turning from Austerlitz to Berlin, swept the whole of Germany into the hands of France. From Berlin he turned to Russia, and at Friedland stopped for the mere want of other countries to conquer.

Such successes promised little good to England. Napoleon hastened to turn his new power against her. It was from Berlin, in November, 1806, that he issued the famous decree declaring the British Islands in a state of blockade, confiscating English property wherever found, and prohibiting all intercourse with the British nation. Russia joined the coalition in the following year, and Sweden in 1809. Thus the Continent was closed to English commerce.

Napoleon's decree was an outrage to international law, but the Continental System thus enforced was a prodigious shock

to Great Britain. There seemed no end to the losses and complications which it caused. Yet there was still one country apparently beyond its reach, whose commerce was of inestimable importance. The United States of America was still an open market, and the Berlin Decree almost inevitably forced the United States into the arms of England. The British government, however, with characteristic fatuity, actually assisted Napoleon to extend the Continental System even to America. The Berlin Decree, and that of Milan which followed it, had declared the British Islands to be in a state of blockade, and ordered that no ship should enter any port under the control of France, if she came from England, or even had touched at England, or if any part of her cargo was English. The British government retaliated in January, 1807, by issuing an Order in Council interdicting the passage of vessels between any two ports which were not open to British commerce; and in November followed this up by declaring all ports closed to the British flag to be in a state of blockade, and all vessels trading to or from such ports, or carrying any produce of such countries, to be, with their cargoes, lawful prize. The American government responded to these outrages by interdicting commerce with both England and France.

No ordinary review can undertake so difficult and complicated a labor as that of fairly examining the various effects of these measures on English credit and currency. That British trade with the Continent was annihilated, that it was for a time impossible to determine the course of exchange, and to recover debts, was but the most obvious and immediate result. No sooner did it become evident that the decrees were to be rigorously enforced, than all articles for a supply of which England depended on the Continent rose to speculative prices. Flax, linseed, tallow, timber, Spanish wool, silk, hemp, even American cotton, advanced in 1807 and 1808 to prices two or three times those hitherto prevailing. And while one class of imports was thus thrown wholly into the hands of speculative holders, another class, consisting of all colonial produce, underwent an exactly opposite process. The European market was closed to it. Sugar and coffee were selling at Calais for three, four, and five times their price at Dover.

And meanwhile the almost omnipotent naval force of Great Britain was contributing, under the Orders in Council, to aggravate this evil, and to pile up still vaster quantities of unsalable goods in British warehouses, by compelling every neutral ship to make for an English port.

A wild spirit of speculation now took possession of the British people. Brazil and the South American colonies of Spain happened at this moment to offer a new market, and merchants flung themselves upon it as though it had no limit. The beach at Rio Janeiro was for a time covered with English merchandise, which there were no warehouses to hold, and which there was no chance of selling. In London, a rage for visionary joint-stock enterprises characterized the years 1807 and 1808. None of the symptoms were wanting which long experience has shown to be invariable precursors of commercial disaster.

The Bank of England, however, still preserved its steady and conservative routine. The issues were not increased, the price of gold did not vary, the exchanges had not fallen below par, as late as September, 1808. So far as the Bank is concerned, there is no indication that any unusual speculation existed, or that it lent itself or was asked to lend itself to speculative objects. It was not through the Bank that speculators acted. But if we turn to the private and country bankers, and, out of the almost impenetrable obscurity in which this part of the subject is hidden, attempt to gather some evidence of their condition, it will be found, not indeed that their paper was depreciated, — for that it could not be without immediately bankrupting the issuer, — but that their credit had been extended far beyond any moderate limit. It was not merely that the number of country banks had been more than doubled in ten years. What was of greater consequence than this was the change which had gradually crept into their mode of conducting business. Originally their rules of discount had been the same as those of the Bank of England ; they accepted only short bills, representing, so far as they could judge, real transactions of business. They gradually began to make advances upon bills of longer date, and then to lend money without security of any kind. Paper which could not be discounted in London was sent down to them by their London agents.

Their West Indian bills had from twelve to thirty-six months to run. They made little inquiry as to what might be accommodation paper, and still less as to the speculative transactions of their customers. The reaction which ultimately followed, at the very time when the Bank circulation was greatly increased and increasing, proves the extent to which private credit had been abused.

We have been led into this somewhat tedious account of England's financial situation in 1807 and 1808, by the hope of showing how critical her position was, and how inevitable a collapse of credit had become. Down to this point, however, the subject offers comparatively few difficulties. Beyond it, the whole region has been made a favorite battle-ground for armies of currency theorists. It is only within the last thirty years that even a fair comprehension of the matters in dispute has been made possible to the public, through a great work by Mr. Thomas Tooke. The opinions first advocated, and the facts first proved by the author of the "History of Prices," have since been accepted by some of the highest authorities in political economy, of whom Mr. John Stuart Mill stands at the head. That they are still hotly contested in England is a fact which only adds to the interest of the inquiry.

It has already been stated, that down to September, 1808, the exchanges remained favorable to England, and the price of gold continued firm. During the first half-year, the average Bank circulation had been £ 16,950,000. At the end of August, £ 17,200,000 were in issue. These sums were not excessive. If the small notes, which merely supplied the place of coin withdrawn, are deducted, it appears that the real circulation was but £ 12,993,000; less than had frequently been in issue before, and considerably less than has always been in issue since. The prices of all commodities, except grain, had already reached their highest point, or reached it within six months afterwards. It was at this time, when no change except ordinary fluctuations had occurred in the currency for seven years, that the exchanges suddenly turned, and the price of gold rose.*

* Bank Circulation.

Date.	Total.	Notes of £5 and upwards.	Bank Treasure.	Price of Gold.
1797, 28 February	£ 9,674,780	£ 9,674,780	£ 1,086,170	100
31 August	11,114,120	10,246,535	4,089,620	100

The Continental System had begun to act. The mercantile ventures of the last year proved ruinous; the enormous importations at fabulous prices required to be paid for; the unfortunate military expeditions which Great Britain was now renewing against the Continent demanded the transmission of gold. England was paying money in every direction, and she was selling her goods nowhere. No one watched this process of exhaustion more carefully, or understood its consequences better, than Napoleon himself.

The Bank, following its invariable routine of business, took no notice of the sharp fall in exchanges, or of the heavy drain which rapidly reduced its treasure, and, instead of contracting its issues, allowed them slowly to expand, according to the demand for discount. From £ 13,000,000 in 1808, the circulation in notes of £ 5 and upwards rose to £ 14,325,000 in November, 1809. The exchanges indicated already a difference of about fifteen per cent between paper and gold. Meanwhile the government expenses requiring transmission of gold abroad had increased to above £ 10,000,000 for the year. The excessive prices of that class of goods which could only be obtained from the Continent stimulated merchants into every possible effort to procure them. Ships' papers were regularly forged as a matter of business; licenses for trading were obtained at

Date.	Total.	Notes of £ 5 and upwards.	Bank Treasure.	Price of Gold.
1798, 28 February	£ 13,095,830	£ 11,647,610	£ 5,828,940	100
31 August	12,180,610	10,649,550	6,546,100	100
1799, 28 February	12,959,800	11,494,150	7,563,900	100
31 August	13,389,490	12,047,790	7,000,780	100
1800, 28 February	16,844,470	15,372,930	6,144,250	109
31 August	15,047,180	13,448,540	5,150,450	109
1801, 28 February	16,213,280	13,578,520	4,640,120	107.85
31 August	14,556,110	12,143,460	4,335,260	106.5
1802, 28 February	15,186,880	12,574,860	4,152,950	106.2
31 August	17,097,630	13,848,470	3,891,780	103
1803, 28 February	15,319,930	12,350,970	3,776,750	103
31 August	15,983,330	12,217,390	3,592,500	103
1804, 28 February	17,077,830	12,546,560	3,372,140	103
31 August	17,153,890	12,466,790	5,879,190	103
1805, 28 February	17,871,170	13,011,010	5,883,800	103
31 August	16,388,400	11,862,740	7,624,500	103
1806, 28 February	17,730,120	13,271,520	5,987,190	103
31 August	21,027,470	16,757,930	6,215,020	103
1807, 28 February	16,950,680	12,840,790	6,142,840	103
31 August	19,678,360	15,432,990	6,484,350	103
1808, 28 February	18,188,860	14,093,690	7,855,470	103
31 August	17,111,290	12,993,020	6,015,940	103

great expense from both governments. Importations were by these means greatly increased, and large quantities of grain were brought in to supply an unusual deficiency in the harvest. The receipts of cotton were more than doubled, and the market was again overwhelmed with colonial produce. Thus no opportunity was allowed for a recovery of the exchanges, and the country continued to be drained steadily of its gold.

Throughout the year 1810 the same process was continued. Again the importations were greatly increased, and the quantity of grain brought from abroad was far in excess of what had been imported in any year since 1801. Wellington was now in the lines of Torres Vedras, requiring continual supplies of gold. The military efforts made by England on the Continent were greater than ever before, and the foreign expenditure rose beyond £12,000,000 for the year. The exchanges continued to fall, although at one time there was a tendency to recovery. Gold remained at about the same premium as in 1809, while the government and the public equally increased their demands on the Bank, until in August the circulation of large notes rose to £17,570,000.

If irredeemable government paper had been forced upon the public without regard to its wants, until within a space of two years the currency had swelled from a total of £17,000,000 to one of £24,500,000, it scarcely admits of a doubt that the result would have been a rise in prices and an increase of speculation. According to all the old currency theories, such ought now to have been the case with England. In fact, directly the contrary result took place. During the last months of 1809 and the whole of 1810, a fall of prices and a destruction of private credit occurred, which for severity remains perhaps to this day without a parallel, as it was then without a precedent. Half the traders in the kingdom became bankrupt, or were obliged to compound. Country banks by dozens were swept out of existence. Rich and poor alike were plunged in distress, while the crash extended to the Continent and to America. It was this universal collapse of credit which, by driving the whole trading class for assistance to the Bank, obliged the Bank to increase its issues. Nothing but an absolute refusal of discounts could have prevented suspension, had

the Bank at this moment been paying its notes in specie. According to one theory, the withdrawal of so much country-bank paper should have restored gold to par, since it is very improbable that the Bank issues supplied the vacancy. This would no doubt have been the case, if the depreciation had been, as is usually supposed, the result of over-issue; but in fact the foreign debt of England was enormous; its immediate payment was necessary; gold was the only exportable commodity, and gold was not to be had. Mr. Baring declared in the House of Commons, that, if his firm wished to obtain fifty thousand pounds sterling for transmission abroad, he did not know how such a sum was to be procured even at a premium of fifty per cent. To export more bulky goods was simply impossible. At this time the British merchant was sending sugar by sea to Salonica, and thence on horseback through Servia and Hungary, in order to reach Vienna; one parcel of silk sent from Bergamo to England, by way of Smyrna, was twelve months on its passage; another, sent by way of Archangel, was two years. The British government attempted to establish a smuggling depot at Heligoland, in order to overcome the obstructions caused by the Continental System. A single licensed cargo to a French port cost for freight alone twenty times the cost of the vessel which carried it. Gold alone was comparatively easy to export, and naturally bullion rose in value.

In all this there is clear evidence of a terrible convulsion in commerce, and no doubt of a previous excessive expansion in credit, followed by as excessive contraction; but there is nothing which indicates an excess of currency in the sense which that phrase bears in regard to the effect of forced issues on prices. Undoubtedly there was a depreciation of ten or fifteen per cent, or even more, in paper as compared with gold, and there may justly be a question whether the Bank was not bound to restrict its issues till that difference was removed. But so long as the usury laws remained in force, the Bank could not act upon the exchanges by raising its rate of interest; and to refuse accommodation would have been the ruin of such merchants as had hitherto succeeded in surviving the shock. Even had the Bank resorted to this desperate measure, such was the preponderance of foreign payments over receipts from abroad,

that no possible pressure could have immediately restored the balance of exchange. In ordinary times a monetary crisis effects this result by reducing prices and thus making it possible to export goods at a profit; but it is difficult to see how any reduction of prices could have had such an effect in 1810, since for years before that time it had been impossible to obtain in Holland and Hamburg, even at three and four times their English price, the goods which overwhelmed the British market. The only result of Bank contraction, therefore, must have been to stop importations. But in the first place the general fall in prices was alone sufficient to produce this result, as was proved in 1811. And, moreover, grain was at famine rates; the people must be fed; the foreign expenditure of the government also defied laws of political economy, and Wellington's army in Portugal required millions in gold. If, therefore, the Bank had attempted to put a still more severe pressure on the exchanges than already existed, it would have found itself paralyzed by the government at its first step, and in the struggle which must have followed the people would have been ground into the dust. Even under the liberal system adopted, there was a time, in 1811 and 1812, when the general distress shook society to its foundations. Had the Bank wilfully intensified and prolonged this distress, it is not improbable that Napoleon's Continental System might, after all, have proved the greatest success of his life.

The fall in foreign exchange during 1808 and 1809 did not attract very much public attention until Mr. Ricardo published a pamphlet on the subject, — "The High Price of Bullion a Proof of the Depreciation of Bank-Notes." Shortly after the meeting of Parliament in 1810, a committee was appointed, at the instance of Mr. Francis Horner, to investigate the causes of the high price of gold bullion. This was the famous "Bullion Committee," whose Report made so marked an era in currency problems that it might almost be called their *pons asinorum*. Its doctrines, rejected by Parliament in 1811 only to be triumphantly adopted in 1819, acquired through the conversion of Sir Robert Peel an overruling ascendancy, and, embodied in the Bank Charter Act of 1844, still hold sway in England, although the more liberal economists have long since protested against the application given to them.

We would willingly linger over the Bullion Report, if it were possible to compress the subject within our limits; but this great controversy does not allow of narrow treatment, and we prefer to lay it aside. It was based upon three propositions: first, that Bank paper was depreciated as compared with gold; secondly, that this depreciation was caused by over-issues; thirdly, that the price of gold and the state of foreign exchange should regulate the issues of paper. And the Report closed by recommending that the Bank should be obliged to resume payments within two years.

Had the government been in the hands of able or dexterous men, Mr. Horner's resolutions, in which the substance of his Report was embodied, need not have been so difficult to deal with as they proved. The first proposition was indeed incontrovertible, and no sensible being could have fallen into the blunder of disputing it. The third was, if not indisputable, at least not necessary to dispute under certain limitations. But the second was very far from evident in the sense which Mr. Horner gave to it, and Mr. Thornton, perhaps the highest authority in the House, appears not to have understood it as absolutely excluding the idea that the depreciation might have been due to a deeper cause; while the concluding practical measure was supported by scarcely any one besides Mr. Horner, its author.

But the government was held by a class of men equally incapable of seeing their own mistakes, and of profiting by those of their opponents. The Ministers began by plunging headlong into the grossest absurdity they could have found. They denied that Bank notes were depreciated at all. Assuming that the sale of coin for more than its nominal value in paper was forbidden by law, they undertook to affirm that the Bank note and the guinea still maintained their relative worth in regard to each other. They denied that bullion was the true standard of value, and they affirmed that it was the stamp and the stamp alone which made the guinea a standard. They denied that the amount of circulation affected the price of gold, or that the Bank issues had anything to do with the course of exchange. Yet at intervals they were obliged practically to admit the very conclusions which they were so eager to contest, until all their

really accurate statements and forcible reasoning became inextricably entangled and hidden from sight in a confused mass of inconsistent arguments.

On the other hand, they had as opponents some of the ablest men whom England has ever produced. It was pitiable to watch the torture of Mr. Vansittart, Mr. Rose, and Lord Castlereagh, in the grasp of Mr. Horner, Mr. Huskisson, and Mr. Canning. The mistakes of the bullionists are hidden by the brilliancy of their oratory, the sparkle of their wit, the vigor and solidity of their genius. Sympathy is irresistibly attracted to their side, when it is seen what magnificent powers they were obliged to use, in order to convince an unreasoning majority of the simplest principles in practical business. And yet, after all these efforts, they thought themselves fortunate in being defeated by a vote of only two to one.

It would have been happy for Mr. Vansittart and his associates, had they been willing to rest satisfied with this negative upon the resolutions offered by Mr. Horner. Victorious in defence, they thought it necessary to establish their advantage permanently by a vigorous assertion of what they deemed the true principles of credit and currency. Mr. Vansittart accordingly moved, in his turn, a long series of resolutions.

The third of these has been the chief means of preserving Mr. Vansittart's memory. It was worded as follows: — "*Resolved*, That it is the opinion of this committee that the promissory notes of the Bank of England have hitherto been, and are at this time, held in public estimation to be equivalent to the legal coin of the realm, and generally accepted as such in all pecuniary transactions to which such coin is lawfully applicable."

This position was beyond the reach of argument, but not of ridicule. In the whole range of Parliamentary oratory, there are few examples of sarcasm so happy as that which Mr. Canning poured out upon this unfortunate resolution in his speech of the 13th of May, 1811. But it was all in vain. The House sustained Mr. Vansittart by a vote of 76 to 24; and from that day to this the resolution has stood, an object of laughter and wonder to each succeeding generation.

Thus the Bullion Committee was disposed of, but the subject was further than ever from a satisfactory settlement. Within

two months of the passage of this resolution, in which Parliament had gravely pledged the people to believe that Bank notes were equivalent to coin, two events almost simultaneously occurred, which obliged the government to take active measures in order to compel the people to accept these same Bank notes. The first of these difficulties was due to an unexpected interpretation of the law. Two obscure individuals, one a Jew pedler named De Yonge, the other a guard on the Liverpool mail-coach, had been taken in the act of buying guineas at a premium, — an act supposed to be illegal, and, like the exportation of coin, subjecting the delinquent to the penalties of a misdemeanor. Government determined to make an example of these persons, and they were accordingly indicted under an obsolete statute of Edward VI., and, the facts being clearly proved, they were duly found guilty of the acts charged in the indictment. But their counsel raised the point of law, that the act as laid in the indictment and proved in evidence was not an offence in law, inasmuch as the statute of Edward VI. was intended to apply only to the exchange of one sort of coin for another. Judgment was respited until the opinion of the twelve judges in the Court of the Exchequer Chamber could be obtained on this point; but at length, on the 4th of July, 1811, Lord Ellenborough pronounced the unanimous decision of the Court, that the exchange of guineas for bank-notes, such guineas being taken at a higher value than they were current for under the King's proclamation, was not an offence against the statute upon which the indictment was founded. Thus the whole government theory in regard to paper money was at once overthrown.

Almost at the same time with this blow, the famous third resolution was attacked from another side with a vigor far more alarming. It was well understood that the law of 1797 had by no means made Bank paper a legal tender. The case of Grigby *vs.* Oakes, in 1801, had established the principle that Bank of England notes might be refused by the creditor, and the debtor must in that case discharge his debt in coin. Practically, however, the Bank note had been received as equivalent to coin, except in some remote districts of Ireland, where the unfortunate peasants were obliged to buy guineas at a premium from the landlord, in order to discharge their rents.

The government policy, however, seemed purposely calculated to challenge attack, and it was perfectly natural that the bullionists, who saw no limit to the possible depreciation, should resort to the last means now left for compelling government to check it. Lord King, a nobleman of high character and strong liberal principles, accordingly issued a circular to such of his tenants as held leases dated before the depreciation began, requiring them in future to pay their rents either in gold or in Bank paper representing the market value of gold. Even the dignity of the House of Lords was almost overthrown by this unexpected attack. A storm of indignation burst on the head of Lord King, whose practical sarcasm was more exasperating to the Ministry than even the satire of Mr. Canning. But Lord King was in his right; he was acting from conscientious motives, and he would not yield. Yet, after the passage of Mr. Vansittart's resolution, this act directly tended to bring Parliament into public contempt. "My Lords," said Lord Grenville, in opening his speech on the subject, "it is painful to me to observe, that I cannot remember in the course of my life to have ever seen the Ministers of this country placed in so disgraceful a situation as that in which they appear this night." Obviously some action had become necessary, and yet Ministers hesitated, in the vague hope that Lord King's example would not be followed. The judges' decision in De Yonge's case, however, turned the scale; but even then, such was the general dislike to a law of legal tender, and such was the difficulty of forcing a contraction in the Bank discounts, that they were placed in a most embarrassing situation. There was apparently a third alternative, — that of allowing Lord King to proceed; but in fact this would have established two scales of prices throughout the country, and the result would ultimately have been that the Bank, rather than endure the discredit thus attached to its paper, would have preferred to withdraw it wholly.

The Ministers were saved from this dilemma by Lord Stanhope, one of their ordinary opponents. He invented a measure which is certainly one of the curiosities of legislation, — a measure which disposed of Lord King, and established the law for such cases as that of De Yonge, but neither made

paper a legal tender, nor contained the trace of a legal principle. The act, which has since been commonly known as Lord Stanhope's, made the purchase or sale of coin for more than its legal value in Bank notes or other lawful money a misdemeanor, as also the reception or payment of notes for less than their nominal value; and it further deprived the creditor of the power of distraining, in case a tender in Bank notes to the amount of the debt had been made.

Strange to say, this preposterous statute completely answered its purpose. The courts seem never to have been called upon to interpret it, nor did any creditor attempt to enforce his rights. The law officers of the crown did not venture to express any opinion upon the bill while on its passage through Parliament. During the ten years that the Restriction Act still remained in force, with this measure of Lord Stanhope's as its supplement, no man in England really knew what the law was as affecting the currency, or the extent to which Bank notes were recognized as the lawful equivalent of coin. In the failure of any judicial declaration on the subject, we can only refer to an opinion expressed in debate by Sir Samuel Romilly. That eminent lawyer pointed out to Parliament that, if the object of government were to prevent Lord King or any other landlord or creditor from insisting upon payment in coin, the bill was far from answering its purpose. Creditors would still have the right to demand gold, and no court could refuse in such a case to give judgment against the debtor, who was yet apparently debarred by the act from obtaining gold without incurring the penalties of a misdemeanor. The creditor, having obtained his judgment, need not, and probably would not, proceed by way of distraint upon the goods of his debtor. If a landlord, he would resort to an ejectment. In any case, however, he might proceed against the person, and shut up the debtor in jail indefinitely, or until he made himself liable to further imprisonment by purchasing coin. There appears, however, to have been one means of escape left open to him still. The law only prohibited the trade in coin, not that in bullion. If the debtor, therefore, chose to purchase bullion, and have it coined at the mint, there seems to be no reason why he might not so have evaded the law.

Ministers, however, gave it to be understood that, if creditors pressed their rights to this point, it would become necessary for Parliament to intervene by creating Bank notes a legal tender. It is difficult to see precisely what was gained to the country by a resort to these absurd subterfuges, or why a legal-tender act should not have been passed outright, since Lord Stanhope's bill was intended to have, and did in fact produce, the same effect, except that it went much beyond the limits of reasonable legislation, and accomplished its purpose only by creating a new offence hitherto unknown to the law. The plea that it successfully met the emergency, is merely an excuse for slovenly legislation.

This act, hurried through Parliament in July, 1811, just at the close of the session, was the sole result of the currency controversy, unless Mr. Vansittart's resolutions are worthy of sharing its credit. From this time it became evident that no interference by government in monetary matters was to be looked for, but that the Bank was to retain that exclusive control which it had hitherto possessed. This result was probably fortunate for the country. The Bank directors, if not great masters of statesmanship, were at least convinced that any arbitrary action of their own would only aggravate the evils of the situation, while, if the foreign and domestic policy of the government in other respects furnishes any idea of the probable result of its interference in Bank affairs, there is no disaster which it might not have brought upon the credit and resources of the community.

The great financial crash of 1809 and 1810 threw the country into a state of profound distress and depression, but it had the effect of preparing the way for a rapid change at the first sign of military success. The year 1811 marked perhaps the lowest point of England's fortunes; but in the autumn of that year the prospect became brighter. Napoleon had now broken with Russia, and was preparing his great campaign to Moscow, while Wellington had achieved unusual success in Portugal. There was hope that both the Russian and the Spanish ports would soon be reopened, while the colonies and South America were actually consuming again large quantities of British goods. Importations into England

had meanwhile fallen to a very low point, and the exchanges were slowly creeping upwards. The pressure upon the Bank for assistance and for discounts fell off as credit recovered itself, until the circulation, which had reached £17,570,000 in August, 1810, contracted itself to £15,365,000 in August, 1812, the small notes excluded.

What was only hope in 1811 became certainty in 1812. Napoleon was driven both from Russia and from Spain. In another year all Europe was again open to British commerce, and in April, 1814, peace was restored. During this period, many of the dangerous symptoms of 1807 and 1808 again made their appearance; the circulation had become much smaller, but nevertheless prices rose; speculation was as general, if not so desperate, as in 1808; the Continent was flooded with English goods, while in England itself the price of wheat had risen, in 1812, to nearly 160 shillings the quarter.

But although the circulation was diminished by £2,000,000, although public confidence was so far restored that prices generally rose, although the exchanges became considerably more favorable, still gold showed no sign of falling in value. The premium had risen to forty-two per cent in September, 1812, and after various fluctuations it was again forty-two per cent in the autumn of 1813. Then at last the fall began, and for a twelvemonth gold continued to decline steadily, until, at the close of 1814, the premium was less than twelve per cent. And it should be remarked that the rise in value of Bank paper was coincident with another very large extension of issues, which now reached £18,700,000.

This extension was due partly to government, but partly, as in 1810, to the private demand. The whole fabric which speculators had raised for themselves on the apparently solid basis of supposed European necessities had crumbled to pieces at the first shock. Europe was too poor to buy or too thoroughly plundered to pay for English merchandise. The speculations abroad failed at the very time when a prodigious fall in the price of grain ruined the English farmers and the country bankers, who depended upon agricultural prosperity. The collapse was general and disastrous; England was again

plunged into distress at the very time when her success was most brilliant; for two years after 1814, trade stagnated and merchants became bankrupt, without the slightest reference to the price of gold or the amount of circulation; nor is there any reason to suppose that the Bank could have prevented, or even shortened, the distress by any action upon the currency.

However devoted might be the adherence of theorists to their own favorite currency dogma, the most ardent follower of Mr. Horner could scarcely have regretted that the principles of the Bullion Report had not been made obligatory as a rule of action for the Bank during the year 1815. The evils of inconvertible paper are no doubt many, but there are also advantages in the system during times of political trouble; and it is impossible to deny that the violent convulsions of 1815 would have proved too severe a trial for any but the most elastic form of credit. During January and February, gold had stood at about 115, as compared with paper. The Emperor returned from Elba and arrived in Paris on the 20th of March. The next quotation of gold is on the 4th of April, when at one leap it rose to 137, almost as high a point as it had reached during the war. The exchanges went down with almost equal violence; but the Bank circulation remained absolutely stationary. After the first panic was over, gold began again to fall slowly, and on the news of Waterloo it declined to 128; on the 1st of September, it resumed the position it had held in January; but instead of resting there, it continued to fall, until at the close of the year the premium was only five per cent; and in July, 1816, it was nothing at all, or at most only about one per cent. The Bank circulation meanwhile expanded or contracted itself according to the demand, averaging rather more than £17,500,000, exclusive of the small notes.*

* Bank Circulation.

Date.	Total.	Notes of £5 and upwards.	Bank Treasure.	Price of Gold.
1809, 28 February	£ 18,542,860	£ 14,241,360	£ 4,488,700	115.5
31 August	19,574,180	14,393,110	3,652,480	115
1810, 28 February	21,019,600	15,159,180	3,501,410	115
31 August	24,793,990	17,570,780	3,191,850	115
1811, 28 February	23,360,220	16,246,130	3,350,940	118.75
31 August	23,286,850	15,692,490	3,243,300	125

The equilibrium was therefore restored, and it was restored without interference by government. The system vindicated itself, and is justly entitled to the high credit that properly belongs to so brilliant a success. But, unfortunately, this very success has given occasion for another hot dispute among currency writers, involving the whole question in its historical as well as in its theoretical bearings; and tedious as the subject may be, we are obliged again to turn aside, and to examine the opposing theories so obstinately and positively advanced.

It is almost needless to repeat that there were in 1816, and that there still are, two classes of political economists, so far as the currency is concerned. The one has found in bank paper and its over-issues an explanation for every rise or fall in prices, and for every financial disaster. The other has denied to such a medium of exchange any influence whatever upon prices, and insists that, if every bank-note were destroyed, speculation and abuses of credit would flourish not less than now. The bullionists of 1810 and their successors were strong in the belief that the Bank issues did control prices, and the price of gold especially. They were, therefore, obliged to explain how it happened that gold fell to par, or about forty per cent, while the Bank issues were actually increased. Obviously the dilemma was serious.

The bullionists, however, had a reply, and a very reasonable one; we quote it as given by Mr. McCulloch, whose opinion is always entitled to weight. Mr. McCulloch's theory is, that, although no contraction of Bank issues occurred which could explain the fall in gold, yet there was such a contraction in the entire circulation, taking the country banks into the calculation; and that the rise in value of Bank of England paper was in fact due to the destruction of country bank-

Date.	Total.	Notes of £5 and upwards.	Bank Treasure.	Price of Gold.
1812, 29 February	23,408,320	15,951,290	2,983,190	122
31 August	23,026,880	15,385,470	3,099,270	128.5
1813, 27 February	23,210,930	15,497,320	2,884,500	130
31 August	24,828,120	16,790,980	2,712,270	142
1814, 28 February	24,801,080	16,455,540	2,204,430	140
31 August	28,368,290	18,703,210	2,097,680	115.5
1815, 28 February	27,261,650	18,226,400	2,036,910	115
31 August	27,248,670	17,766,140	3,409,040	115

notes during the disastrous years of 1814, 1815, and 1816. And if the inquiry be carried a step further by seeking the cause of these disasters themselves, Mr. McCulloch explains that the fall of grain from 155 shillings the quarter, in 1812, to 67 shillings, in 1814, had spread universal ruin among the agricultural class.

We are far from affirming positively that so natural and so obvious an explanation as this is not the correct one; yet we are obliged to confess that the view taken by Mr. Tooke and Mr. Fullarton appears to our eyes more philosophical and more exact than that of Mr. McCulloch. They maintained that the fall in gold was due simply to the fact that, with the final turn of exchange in favor of England, gold ceased to be an object of demand, and, like other commodities in the same position, rapidly fell to its ordinary value.

Mr. McCulloch's facts are unquestioned, but they appear to be only a part of the truth. The prodigious decline in the price of grain was coincident with a very general decline in prices, which naturally checked importations and stimulated export. The grain alone which was imported in 1814 is estimated at £2,800,000 in value; in 1815 it was but £800,000, and in 1816 only £940,000. Silk and wool, coffee, flax, linseed, and most of the great staples of import, fell off in the same way between 1814 and 1816. Under any circumstances the exchanges must have risen without regard to the currency, and gold must have fallen, since considerable sums were actually brought from abroad during 1815 and 1816.

The force of this argument becomes evident by comparison with previous cases. If the rise in exchange and the appreciation of paper in 1815 and 1816 were caused by the withdrawal of private bank-notes, the same reason should hold good for the similar events in 1814. If at the later time the currency were so depreciated from excess as to regain its value only by contraction, it was certainly more in need of that relief at the earlier. Yet a fall of thirty per cent in gold was then coincident with an increase of paper throughout the country.

Allowing, however, that Mr. McCulloch is right, and that the restoration of paper was caused by involuntary contraction,

that contraction was at all events only temporary, and the re-establishment of the credit of the country banks of issue should have renewed the depreciation. The Bank issues rose in 1817 and 1818 to a higher point than ever before, and the country banks had again extended their credit in every direction. Under these circumstances, the depreciation should have been very great, even after every reasonable allowance had been made; yet in fact gold was at a premium of only about five per cent, and this slight advance appears to have been caused merely by a temporary pressure on the foreign exchanges which will presently be explained.

If these arguments seem still insufficient to show that the theory of excessive issues does not fully meet the difficulties of the case, we can only compare the circulation of 1814 and 1815, which is said to have lost twenty per cent or more of its value through its excess, with that which existed after specie payments were resumed. Such comparisons are not a fair proof of either excess or deficiency, since the public demand varies, and the same amount of circulation is at one time less and at another more than is required. Allowing for such variations, we may still venture to compare the three different periods of general expansion between 1813 and 1825. The small notes having been withdrawn at the resumption, and their place supplied by coin, it is necessary to exclude these in each case.

The highest point reached by the Bank circulation in any quarterly average between 1812 and 1815 was £19,067,000 in the third quarter of 1814; the price of gold being about 112. Between 1816 and 1822, the highest average was in the second quarter of 1817, or £21,517,000, and it remained above £20,000,000 until July, 1818, the country banks expanding generally. Gold was then at about 105. Between 1823 and the close of 1825, the highest average was in the first quarter of 1825, a time of universal expansion, when it reached £20,665,000, the Bank redeeming its notes in coin.

If, then, two thirds or three fourths of the whole depreciation was removed in 1814 without any withdrawal of paper; if the circulation was restored to its widest range in 1818 without any effect of consequence upon the price of gold; and if, after the resumption, the circulation remained undiminished in

amount, and its issue subject to the same general laws as before,—there seems to be no necessity for resorting to the theory of involuntary contraction in order to explain the fall of gold in 1816. There is no reason to dispute that theory, if it is understood to mean merely that this contraction was itself a part of a general movement of trade and credit, and as such that it contributed to hasten the result. But if more than this is intended, it appears to us that the effect produced was entirely out of proportion to the cause assigned.

The whole subject of private banking, for many years assigned as the source of all financial troubles, has in fact very little to do with the question of depreciation during the French wars. The country banks held then precisely the same position they had held before suspension, nor did the resumption change it. They never suspended payments. At any time gold might have been demanded for their notes. At all times they did in fact redeem their notes on demand, by exchanging them for those of the Bank of England. Their circulation, therefore, was limited by that of the Bank, and the same general laws controlled the whole.

Country bank paper could not have been in excess of the public wants then, any more than it could now, although the credit of such banks might be, and no doubt was, abused then, as it may now be. On the other hand, the Bank of England was not obliged to redeem its notes. There is no doubt that, through the channel of permanent loans to government, it might have forced any given amount of paper into circulation, had it chosen to do so. But it did not force a single note upon the public. It lent notes, but never paid them away. At the end of two months every such loan had to be paid back into the coffers of the Bank by the borrower; and although the advances to government were to some degree permanent, in the first place they were not excessive, and in the second place, as has been already shown, they tended directly to lower the private demand. Whatever action may have been caused by the Restriction was upon credit in the first place, and not upon currency. The encouragement it may have afforded to speculation could not, however, have been very great, or ten years would not have passed without showing it. But when taxes,

bad seasons, or the operations of war, or other causes, combined to raise prices and to stimulate speculation, the credit system was not then, nor is it now, adapted to check the rise. And when a stagnation in business and a fall in prices followed, as was sure ultimately to be the case, the circulation contracted as a necessary consequence. But in every instance, before the resumption and since, the rise in prices has preceded the expansion, and the fall has preceded the contraction.

In the early part of 1817 the supply of bullion in the Bank had risen to £10,000,000, the average total circulation for the quarter being somewhat in excess of £27,000,000, while the exchanges were considerably above par. The directors, therefore, considered it safe to try the experiment of partial resumption, and by a series of steps taken during this year they undertook to redeem all notes dated previous to the 1st of January. This was, in fact, resumption. During the next two years any holder of Bank notes could obtain gold for them at the Bank, either directly, or by exchanging them for such as were dated previous to the 1st of January, 1817. There is no reason to doubt that, had the exchanges remained firm, there would have been no further question as to an easy and regular return to the normal condition of the currency.

But, unfortunately, the year 1817 was one of renewed speculation, and the imports again rose to an extravagant point. Grain alone to the value of £17,300,000 was brought into England in the two years 1817 and 1818. Another cause which could not well have been foreseen tended powerfully to depress the exchanges and to carry gold abroad. Nearly all the governments of Europe were at this time borrowing large sums of money, and the English capitalists negotiated several of their largest loans. How much money was sent abroad for this purpose it is not easy to say, but certainly not less than £10,000,000. The effect upon exchange was immediate, yet the extreme variation in gold was not more than five per cent, although no effort of any kind was made to counteract the pressure. So far from resorting to the theory of excessive issues for an explanation of this temporary rise in gold, one may well feel surprise that, under the circumstances, there was not a much greater disturbance of the market. The return of peace

must have largely increased English resources, to enable them to bear so easily the pressure of enormous foreign payments.

But even the slight variation of five per cent which did exist was not of long duration. Again in 1819, as before in 1816 and in 1814, the system vindicated itself without artificial pressure, by the mechanical operation of its own laws. The excessive importations of 1817 and 1818 resulted in stagnation of business and decline in prices. The foreign loans were discharged. The exchanges, relieved from pressure, rose. The demand for gold ceased, and in July, 1819, the Bank note was again at par. There it remained thenceforward, and from that day to this there has been no depreciation in the value of Bank of England paper.*

In the mean while, however, Parliament had taken alarm. The Bank directors, after paying out £4,000,000 in redemption of their notes under the conditions specified in 1817, seeing no immediate prospect of a rise in exchange, and fearful of the entire exhaustion of their treasure, applied to Parliament early in 1819 to be relieved from the further performance of their own promises of redemption. Committees were appointed by both Houses, whose first act was to renew the Restriction in its whole extent. Then, with a view to the final establishment of a fixed government policy in regard to resumption, the two committees entered into a separate and most extended investi-

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* Bank Circulation.

Date.	Total.	Notes of £5 and upwards.	Bank Treasure.	Price of Gold.
1816, 29 February	£ 27,013,620	£ 18,012,220	£ 4,640,880	105
31 August	26,758,720	17,661,510	7,562,780	101.5
1817, 28 February	27,397,900	19,261,630	9,680,970	100.8
30 August	29,543,780	21,550,630	11,668,260	103
1818, 28 February	27,770,970	20,370,290	10,055,460	104.5
31 August	26,202,150	18,676,220	6,363,160	104.5
1819, 27 February	25,126,700	17,772,470	4,184,620	104
31 August	25,252,690	18,017,450	3,595,360	100
1820, 29 February	23,484,110	16,794,980	4,911,050	100
31 August	24,299,340	17,600,730	8,211,080	100
1821, 28 February	23,884,920	17,447,360	11,869,900	100
31 August	20,295,300	17,747,070	11,233,590	100
1822, 28 February	18,665,350	17,290,500	11,057,150	100
31 August	17,464,790	16,609,460	10,097,960	100

Average Circulation of Bank Notes of £5 and upwards for the years

1823.	1824.	1825.
£ 18,033,635	£ 19,927,120	£ 19,679,120

gation of the whole subject, resulting in two reports made in the course of April and May, which, with the accompanying evidence, fill an enormous volume, and still furnish a mass of readable matter not less interesting than bulky. We are obliged to omit any detailed examination of these papers, and of the Parliamentary debates that followed them; but it is impossible to close this history without some slight analysis of the measures finally adopted.

Mr. Peel, afterwards the celebrated Prime Minister, was chairman of the House committee. Hitherto an opponent of the bullionists, his opinions were changed by the testimony offered before his committee, and he became a convert to the doctrines which Mr. Horner and his friends had so ably advocated in 1810. He carried almost his whole party with him. It was now generally acknowledged in Parliament that Bank paper was depreciated in regard to gold, and that a forcible contraction would restore the equilibrium. This principle, therefore, lay at the basis of his report.

The most serious resistance to resumption now came, however, from a new party, which made an alarming use of this doctrine of depreciation. It was affirmed, and probably with truth, that the trifling difference between paper and gold was no measure of the actual depreciation in paper as compared with commodities generally. The rise in prices during the war had been, it was argued, as much as fifty or one hundred per cent upon the old scale. A return to the original standard would be a flagrant injustice to the community. The fundholders alone would be benefited by it, and the people would be ground down by additional taxes solely in order to pamper the wealthy capitalist. If Parliament were determined to restore specie payments, it should at least create a new standard, and reduce the value of sterling money by twenty-five per cent; or it should accompany the resumption by allowing an equivalent deduction to every debtor on the amount of his debt. In other words, a general repudiation to the extent of twenty-five per cent was demanded by a party which contained some leading and influential members of Parliament not in any way inclined to act the part of demagogues.

The House of Commons was, however, faithful to one main

principle, in which it justly considered the national honor to be involved. The Restriction had been a war measure merely. Since peace had been restored, Parliament, while consenting to renew the law from year to year, had repeatedly pledged itself to ultimate resumption. Every government loan had been raised on the faith of these pledges; the interest of the national debt had been paid in paper, on the ground of its equivalence to gold; every public or private debt since 1797 had been contracted under the influence of acts of Parliament prescribing the time of resumption; every Bank note bore a promise to pay upon its face. Four years had already been allowed to pass, and nothing had yet been done. It was felt that any further concession either to public timidity or to class interests would endanger the national credit, if indeed it did not proclaim a criminal dishonesty in those to whom the duties of legislation were intrusted.

All resistance, therefore, to the principle of resumption in its purest and simplest form was summarily swept aside. Yet it is curious to observe with what excessive caution Mr. Peel proceeded, and how clumsy and ponderous an engine he thought it necessary to invent in order to bring about a very simple result. At the time when his committee was sitting, there was a premium of about five per cent upon gold, and his object was to restore fully the equilibrium between paper and coin in the first place, and in the second to create a system under which it should be impossible for paper to fall again below par. The latter purpose could, as he believed, be effected by establishing the principle that the circulation should be forcibly contracted as the exchanges became unfavorable, or, in other words, that the Bank should diminish its issues whenever its treasure was diminished. But as the Bank directors were obstinate in denying the efficacy of this contrivance, Mr. Peel undertook to frame his bill in such a manner as to leave them no option but to follow out his theory.

The project, therefore, began by an order for the repayment by the government of ten millions out of the twenty-three millions advanced to it by the Bank. This repayment was not made, however, for the purpose of necessarily contracting the Bank loans or issues, but because the Bank could more easily

control its circulation when made in short private loans, than when made in more permanent advances to government, and would, therefore, be more able to act energetically should a fall in the exchanges threaten the success of the plan.

Having thus removed one possible impediment, Mr. Peel's next step was to move the following resolution: "That from the 1st of February, 1820, the Bank shall be liable to deliver on demand gold of standard fineness, having been assayed and stamped at his Majesty's mint, a quantity of not less than sixty ounces being required in exchange for such an amount of notes by the Bank as shall be equal to the value of the gold so required, at the rate of £4 1*s*. per ounce"; that is to say, any person presenting Bank notes to the amount of £243 at the Bank counter should receive in return a bar of gold worth £233. After the 1st of October he was to pay only £238 for the same quantity of gold, and after the 1st of May, 1821, the ingot of sixty ounces was to be purchasable at its par value in notes. After this experiment had been fully tried during a space of two years, the Bank was, on the 1st of May, 1823, to commence the redemption of its notes in coin.

Such was the famous bill of Mr. Peel, which excited the warmest controversies during a whole generation. So far as its ultimate purpose of effecting an unconditional return to specie payments is concerned, it deserves all praise; but we cannot think that the merits of Mr. Peel's bill, as a practical measure, were very great, or that, apart from its general tendency, it either did or could exercise any great influence on the result. A simple resolution requiring the Bank to resume on a certain day would have answered the purpose better.

In the first place, the elaborate mechanism by which the price of gold was to be forced down was based upon an official acknowledgment of depreciation, the Bank note being made the legal equivalent of a smaller sum in gold than that named upon its face. It is true that no actual coin was to pass, but the gold ingots were as much coin as if they had been guineas. To reverse the whole policy of the war, and at this late moment to proclaim that the government had for years steadily cheated its creditors by paying them in depreciated paper, was unnecessary, and, as we believe, wrong in principle.

In the second place, the radical difficulty with Peel's bill was, that if its provisions had been tested, — had the event occurred which they were designed to provide for, — they would probably have proved useless. We have no space to enter on the wide controversy still raging in England on this point as connected with Sir Robert Peel's Bank Charter Act of 1844; but there are few admirers of that act who can deny that the theory of regulating the currency by the movements of exchange does not and cannot exclude very violent fluctuations in credit, — in fact, that it for the time aggravates them. Had the exchanges, therefore, become unfavorable in 1820, as they did in 1825, no amount of contraction could have saved the specie of the Bank. If, therefore, in the face of such a drain, the Bank had undertaken to increase it by selling gold two per cent cheaper than before, as Peel's act required, there is every reason to believe that it would have again broken down.

As Mr. Ricardo pointed out to Parliament, its duty was to establish the principle, but it was for the Bank to carry that principle out in action. Mr. Peel's act was not merely for the resumption of specie payments; it was also one for the regulation of commerce and credit; it undertook to control both the currency and the exchanges. Such efforts have hitherto always failed, and we can see no reason for supposing that this one would have been more successful than the rest. The really valuable part of the bill was that which fixed a day for the resumption, and that which repealed the penal statutes against melting or exporting coin. Had all the rest been omitted, the measure would have been greatly improved.

Whatever may have been the theoretical merits or demerits of the scheme, in actual practice it was wholly inoperative. Within a few months of its adoption, and without any operation upon the currency, gold again fell to par, and there it has since remained. The Bank prepared its bars of bullion, but no one would have them. On the contrary, large amounts of gold were brought into its vaults. Weary of prolonging an obviously useless delay, the directors applied to Parliament early in 1821, and procured the passage of a new act, under which cash payments were at length entirely resumed on the 1st of May of that year. The public was unconscious of the event. The

Bank system was not altered, nor was the circulation diminished, except so far as sovereigns were substituted for notes of one and two pounds; and after twenty-four years of an irredeemable paper currency, Great Britain returned smoothly and easily to its ancient standard, and redeemed its pledged honor.

There was, however, between the years 1818 and 1822 a general and severe fall in prices, which was then, and is still, commonly referred to the action of Mr. Peel's bill. There may be a certain degree of truth in this theory, since the certainty of resumption would very possibly inspire for the time a salutary cautiousness in the extension of general credit. But in truth there were other causes which tended much more strongly to produce the same result. The agricultural class, which uttered the loudest complaints, had, under the influence of an excessive stimulus, brought more land under cultivation than was required by the public wants, and a long time passed before a proper equilibrium was again established. The shipping interest was in much the same condition. But the population at large did not suffer. On the contrary, it does not admit of doubt that the condition of the mass of Englishmen steadily improved after 1817. At the very time when prices were falling, the manufacturing interests were rapidly extending and enriching themselves; we hear less and less of political discontent and internal disorder, as reviving prosperity brought with it social repose, while even among the bankers and traders there were far fewer bankruptcies during the three years ending in 1821 than in any similar period since 1809. If the resumption was to be held responsible for the misfortunes of certain branches of industry, common justice requires that the general prosperity of others should outweigh the complaint; but if the views which we have taken are correct, both complaint and praise were equally thrown away, and the system after resumption was identical with that which had existed before. The only effect of the long suspension was to breed a race of economists who attributed an entirely undue degree of power to mere currency, and who for years to come delayed a larger and more philosophical study of the subject, by their futile experiments upon paper money.

We will not undertake to apply England's experience to other cases of depreciation, though no richer field could be wished. But we reiterate, in concluding this review, that a wide distinction must be drawn between inconvertible bank-notes, issued on good security merely as loans, payable within a short definite period, and inconvertible government paper, issued like so much gold or silver, yet not capable of being melted like the precious metals into an article of commerce, nor of being returned to the issuer and not again borrowed, like bank-notes. In one case the public regulates the supply by its own wants; in the other, it is compelled to regulate prices by the supply. No country laboring under the latter difficulty can draw consolation from England's example. But if, in addition to the £60,000,000 which we will suppose to have circulated in British paper during the last ten years of Restriction, there had been another £60,000,000 of government currency forced upon the public, and if the private banks of issue had been under a less rigorous central control, in this case there might indeed be some parallel between the difficulties of resumption in 1821 and those under which other nations have been weighed down. But in this case, too, we may freely venture to disbelieve that the return to cash payments on the old system would have been so easily brought about; and if England had, after all, succeeded in ultimately restoring her credit, if she had redeemed her pledges and vindicated her honor, she would have accomplished more than any nation has yet done, although many have been placed in a similar situation.

ART. IV. — *Letters and Remains of* ARTHUR HUGH CLOUGH, *sometime Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford.* For Private Circulation only. London. 1865. Crown 8vo. pp. 328.*

THE brief memoirs of Mr. Clough prefixed to the English and the American editions of his Poems were but incomplete

* The use made of this volume in the following article is by permission of its editor.

and unsatisfactory records of his life. This volume supplies what was needed and desired. His Letters and Remains, connected as they are by a thread of narrative, form a biography of peculiar interest, and the volume deserves the praise of giving a just account of a nature distinguished alike by genius and by character,—genius of rare individuality, and character of not less rare strength, independence, and delicacy. It is a biography of the best sort, in which the interest consists in the exhibition of character, and not in the succession of events. The circumstances of Mr. Clough's life were not extraordinary, it was the life itself that was remarkable.

In the six years that have passed since Mr. Clough's death, his memory has become constantly dearer to those who loved him living, and who knew not at first the extent of their loss in losing him; the course of time has not only confirmed, but increased, their sense of the manliness, simplicity, and integrity of his soul, has but raised their esteem for the qualities of his intellect and imagination, and has afforded them the means of a juster estimate of a life consistently directed to the highest ends. Meanwhile with the public at large his fame as a poet has been slowly but steadily growing.

Clough was born in 1819. When he was four years old he was taken to America, where his father was engaged in business, and there he remained till 1828, when he returned to England. In the summer of 1829 he was put at Rugby School, then rising into fame under Dr. Arnold. He was at this time a boy of remarkable maturity for his years, of a peculiarly sensitive and affectionate disposition, susceptible to impressions from the influence of character,—a thoughtful and manly, sweet and innocent youth. He soon distinguished himself at school, and early attracted the attention of Arnold. His school life was not only one of hard work, but during its continuance he was subjected to a severe and not altogether serviceable moral and mental strain. Arnold wrought upon the boys under his charge with a force which he himself was but imperfectly conscious of exercising. His own earnestness and his somewhat exalted temperament, resulting in a tendency to extreme and even morbid conscientiousness, told upon the young and susceptible spirits among the boys at the school alike for good

and for ill. They developed rapidly under his charge. Their admiration for their master, their respect for him and fear of him, the strong magnetism of his personal character, quickened in them the seeds of moral and intellectual life, stimulated them to exertion, and led them often to efforts beyond their strength. The process of education at Rugby was a forcing process, and it was only the natures that were of more than usually vigorous fibre or of dull sensibility that were not exposed to injury from being brought on too fast. In a letter which Clough wrote from school in 1835, he says: "I have been in one continued state of excitement for at least the last three years, and now comes the time of exhaustion." He was one of the leading contributors and for a time the editor of the Rugby Magazine in 1834 and 1835, and gradually rose, with constant distinction, to the highest place, not only nominally, but actually, in scholarship and in leadership. He became "the head of the school-house," so called, in October, 1835, an office, as he wrote at the time, "of considerable trust and great difficulty." He devoted himself with genuine earnestness to the good of the school, which Arnold had made almost an object of religion for himself and for the better boys, and, winning prize after prize during his course, he finally left the school in 1837, having won the head Balliol scholarship at Oxford.

He went up to Oxford tired. For his intellectual health he needed a long repose. But he found only a change of work and of excitement. His reputation had preceded him to the University, and he did not fail to support the great anticipations that had been formed of him. "I may be idle now," he wrote in 1852, "but when I was a boy, between fourteen and twenty-two throughout, I may say, you don't know how much regular drudgery I went through." But there was much more than mere drudgery to occupy him at Oxford. The University was at this time in a state of ferment, and a nature so fresh, vigorous, and sympathetic as Clough's could not but partake fully in the thought and emotion which were stirring to their depths the souls of the best men of his day. Newman was now at the height of his influence, not only in the Anglican Church, but also in the University. "Tracts for the Times" had be-

gun to appear, and the leaders of the Tractarian party at Oxford were distinguished by talents, by earnestness, and by powers of personal attraction and influence. There was something attractive, too, in the general character of the religious movement which these men were directing, so far as it took the form of a protest against the shallow formalism and insincerity of the prevalent religious system, and against the dry and superficial character of the services and literature of the English Church. The Tractarian movement was, moreover, but the form taken on at Oxford by the great intellectual and moral revival which, beginning a century ago, has continued with shifting manifestations up to the present time. Tractarianism, though leading to Rome, was in some sort in accordance with the spirit of the age, was better at any rate than insincere professions and empty devotions. "It was," as Dr. Newman said, "the result of the need which was felt both by the hearts and the intellects of the nation for a deeper philosophy."

Clough, with his imaginative temperament and receptive intelligence, did not fail to be impressed with the large and learned side of Newmanism, but his mental integrity was too strong to yield to the pressure of arguments in which fancy had a larger share than reason, or to listen to the claim of an authority which did not derive its validity from its harmony with the dictates of his own moral sense. From the very beginning the marked and most characteristic feature of Clough's life and inner development was his utter truth to himself. He would see things as they are, and if other men professed to see them differently, he would not, for the sake of gain or advantage, admit that he saw them as they did. But to attain to such independence, without loss of tenderness or humility or sympathy, was a moral conquest not achieved without hard and painful effort, without serious experience. The lesson of Clough's life at Oxford was to teach him this high manliness. Meanwhile his scholarship increased, his genius began to show itself in poetry, his powers of thought were recognized, his reputation rose very high; there was no undergraduate from whom more was anticipated, — there never was one from whom more might have been justly anticipated.

"It was towards the end of 1840," says Professor Shairp, "that I first saw A. H. Clough. As a freshman I looked with respect approaching to awe on the senior scholar of whom I had heard so much, stepping out on Sunday mornings to read the first lesson in Balliol Chapel. How clearly I remember his massive figure, in scholar's surplice, standing before the brass eagle, and his deep feeling tones as he read some chapter from the Hebrew prophets. At that time he was the eldest and every way the first of a remarkable band of scholars. The younger undergraduates felt towards him a distant reverence, as a lofty and profound nature quite above themselves whom they could not quite make out, but who was sure to be some day great. Profaner spirits, nearer his own standing, sometimes made a joke of his then exceeding silence and reserve, and of his unworldly ways."

Clough's thought was gradually leading him far away from Tractarianism and its kindred errors. He was busy at work on many things besides college studies, and there were things he cared more for than University honors. In November, 1841, he tried for a Balliol Fellowship and failed; but in the spring of 1842 he was elected Fellow of Oriel, an honor more than compensatory for his previous failure. Oriel was then specially distinguished by her band of Fellows, of whom Newman, soon to break from the University, was the senior in residence.

As Fellow and Tutor at Oriel, Clough remained for six years. They were years of great and various mental and moral experience, but of little variety of incident. Long-vacation reading parties in Wales and in the Highlands broke up the routine of college duties, and gave him for a time, each year, the delights of the mountains, the streams, and the woods, — delights which no one enjoyed more keenly than he. He was becoming steadily more and more conscious of, and master of, his great powers, and more and more independent in modes of thought and in his view of life. In 1843 he had signed the Thirty-nine Articles, "but reluctantly enough," and a year later he writes to a friend: "If I begin to think about God there arise a thousand questions, and whether the Thirty-nine Articles answer them at all, or whether I should not answer

them in the most diametrically opposite purport, is a matter of great doubt. If I am to study the question, I have no right to put my name to the answers beforehand, or to join in the acts of a body and be to practical purpose one of a body who accept these answers of which I propose to examine the validity."

This is a tone to which Oxford has been little accustomed. At Oxford doubt is a sin, and heresy a crime. Clough goes on: "I will not assert that one has no *right* to do this, but it seems to me to destroy one's sense of perfect freedom of inquiry in a great degree; and I further incline to hold that inquiries are best carried on by turning speculation into practice, and my speculations, no doubt, in their earlier stages, would result in practice considerably at variance with Thirty-nine-Article subscription."

It would have been well for Oxford and for England if a spirit like this had been more common among the leaders of the University. But Clough stands almost alone in independence. He resisted the force of the tempting fallacies to which even Arnold had succumbed. In 1847 he writes: "Newman falls down and worships because he does not know, and knows he does not know. I think others are more right who say boldly, We don't understand, and therefore we won't fall down and worship. . . . . I should say, Until I know, I will wait, and if I am not born with power to discover, I will do what I can with what knowledge I have, — trust to God's justice, and neither pretend to know, nor, without knowing, pretend to embrace."

The condition of mind and the quality of character indicated in these passages are remarkable. Nowhere in the Western world, except perhaps at Rome, has it been harder to be independent than at Oxford. The force of tradition, of manners, of habits, of prescription, of what is esteemed good taste and good feeling, all united to compel conformity with established modes of thinking and belief. *Quieta non movere* was inscribed over one of her gates; *Veterum sapientia*, over the other; and if the quiet was disturbed by such men as Newman, it was, even in their own eyes, for the sake of re-establishing the true wisdom of the elders. It is hard for us who belong to a generation and live in a country in which free thought is fast becoming, if

it have not already become, altogether common and respected, to estimate the strength of character required to take and hold such a position as that of Clough. All academic, all social powers were against him. The premium on conformity in England is still astonishingly great, and the penalty of nonconformity proportionately heavy. Clough succeeded in resisting the corrupting influence of his order, of his college, of society at large, of the temper of his times. No man has achieved a more noteworthy and honorable deed in our times. The effort was difficult, was full of pain; the moral independence he preserved was only preserved at heavy cost of elasticity of spirit and joy in living. But when, in 1848, he gave up his Tutorship and his Fellowship at Oriel, and in giving them up gave up all prospect of advancement and honors and easy livelihood, he had won for himself a position such as no University contemporary of his had strength and resolution to attain. Other men were content to stifle doubts which they were assured were unholy, to interpret language in a non-natural sense, to deny the authority of reason, to sink into comfortable chairs or curacies whence they might rise to deaneries or bishoprics, to seek through good and virtuous paths the rewards of this world. But what were such rewards to a man upon whom, in inward vision, Truth had shone in her perfection of majestic supremacy? What were academic or ecclesiastical preferments compared with the satisfaction of complete intellectual sincerity and the sense of honesty to one's self? When Clough left Oxford he had conquered the world. There was little need for him to do more than obtain a livelihood in any reputable way. Whatever might become of him, whatever he might become, his life was a success such as scarcely one man in a generation achieves.

It is needful to state all this with distinctness, because great injustice has sometimes been done to the memory and life of Clough by those who have spoken of them, by intimating that his career was in some true sense unsuccessful, and that it failed to fulfil a just promise. But whether viewed from the side of character or of public achievement we conceive this to be a wholly erroneous conception.

Of the strength, the solidity, the purity, the beauty of his

character, there is but one testimony. More than all, it was sufficient for itself. Clough never questioned that he had taken the course right for himself, never hankered after those flesh-pots of Egypt which he had given up. No doubt there was a certain permanent sense of weariness in his soul. The difficulties he had had to contend with had been successfully overcome only at heavy cost. A man who has faced such trials can never forget the experience. Life is not gay to him afterward, and no worldly success will be worth much in his eyes. He has gained the true best, but not without loss, for he has lost desire for that to the search for which most men devote their lives. The result of the struggle which Clough went through was in his case very different from what it would have been with an inferior man. It left no trace of bitterness in his soul. On the contrary, it deepened the tenderness of his nature, gave breadth to his sympathies, and left him healthy and active both in mind and heart.

The poems which he wrote while at Oxford, and which are to be found in the collection of his Poems, are the best record of his feelings and thought during the years to which they belong. They are the clear expressions of an original genius, not yet fully possessed of itself; and in the autumn of 1848, just as a volume containing them was in the press, he wrote to a friend, "I don't intend writing any more verses." But the resolution did not long hold, for in the same autumn he wrote "The Bothie of Tober-Na-Vuolich," upon which his sure fame as one of the chief poets of our time still chiefly rests. The heartiness, the healthiness, the manliness of this poem are beyond praise. It is distinguished not more by its fresh and vigorous description of nature and delineation of character, than by the evidences of rare culture and masculine thought.

In leaving Oxford, without fortune, without definite means of support, and without family influence to advance his prospects in life, a weaker man than Clough might have adopted the profession of poetry as his calling. But he had too much self-respect, and too much respect for the Muse, to fall into any such course. Poetry was to remain for him the play and the delight of the higher faculties of his soul, to be pursued only in rare hours. His work was to be of another kind. And it

is this which gives to his poetry an especial quality and charm, seldom found in the works of professed poets. Each of his poems is a sincere and unforced expression of character. He did not compel the Muse to drudgery, or force her to work for hire; and in return she chose him as a friend, and ministered to him with divine counsels and support.

In 1849 Clough accepted the Headship of University Hall, London, an institution then lately founded. In the same year he visited Italy, and was at Rome during the French siege; and he afterwards recorded some of the scenes which he then witnessed in his "Amours de Voyage," a poem of the most vivid realism, and of altogether peculiar interest, not so much from its story as from its delineation of a character of extraordinary sensibility, sharing with full sympathy in the emotions and thoughts which have pervaded the higher currents of the life of our time, and have more or less consciously been partaken of by every susceptible nature. There is much, indeed, in the feeling and thought of the poem which was individual to Clough, but it is the privilege of the few genuine poets of each age to be, through the very intensity of their individuality, typical of their contemporaries, and the utterers of their hidden souls.

"Clough's life in London," says the editor of his Letters and Remains, "was a great change from his Oxford life, and one in many respects trying to him. The step he had taken in resigning his Fellowship isolated him greatly; many of his old friends looked coldly on him; the new acquaintances among whom he was thrown were not in all ways congenial to him. The change from the intimate and yet highly refined society of Oxford to the more bustling, miscellaneous, outside life of London, to one not well furnished with friends, and without a home, was depressing. In his attempt to reach freedom he had found solitude, and the freedom was not complete. Though not bound by any verbal obligations, he found himself expected to express agreement with the opinions of the new set among whom he had fallen, which was no more possible to him than it had been at Oxford. He shut himself up, and went through his life in silence.

"But here, too, he gradually formed some new and valuable friendships. Among these, his acquaintance with Mr. Carlyle was one of the most important, and to the end of his life he continued to entertain the warmest feelings for that great man. It was part of the sensitiveness

of his character to shrink from going back on old impressions; and though he always retained his affection for early friends, yet intercourse with fresh minds was often easier to him than with those to whom his former phases were more familiar. Thus he drifted somewhat apart from old friends, while his immediate surroundings were far less agreeable to him than they had been at Oxford.

"After two years at University Hall, he offered himself as a candidate for the Principalship of a College at Sydney; he did not obtain it, but this became the occasion of his quitting University Hall. Being again without fixed occupation, his friends endeavored to obtain for him a situation in the Education Office; but the accession of a conservative ministry destroyed his chances for the time. He therefore determined to try his fortunes in America. He had formed a close friendship with Emerson during his visits to Europe in 1848, and had received him at Oxford and spent some time with him at Paris in the spring of that eventful year. Hoping to find some greater opportunity for turning his acquirements to practical purpose, he left England for Boston in October, 1852."

From November, 1852, to July, 1853, Clough was at our New England Cambridge, engaged in instructing private pupils, and in literary work of various kinds. He found old friends, and made new ones to whom his memory will be always dear. Of this period his own letters in the volume before us are the best possible record, needing only to be supplemented by the statement of the deep impression which his character made upon all with whom he was brought into any intimacy, and of the unusual affection and respect which he rapidly won. He had already made a distinct place for himself here, when he was called back to England by the offer of a position in the Education Department in the Privy Council Office.

"The certainty of a permanent though small income, joined to his natural affection for home, decided him to accept this place, and give up his chances in America, not without some regret, after he had brought his mind to the idea of adopting a new country. His genuine democratic feeling rejoiced at the wider diffusion of prosperity and substantial comfort which he found in America; at the same time, he would doubtless have suffered much from the expatriation, and would probably have always regretted his exclusion from what he calls 'the deeper waters of ancient knowledge and experience' to be found in the old country.

"He entered on the duties of his office in July, 1853, and retained

the place till his death. His life was henceforth settled; it was hard-working in every sense, and had no great change or variety in it. He completed his edition of Plutarch, begun in America, and also published a small selection from the Grecian Lives, intended for schools, which, had he lived, would have been followed by a similar selection from the Latin Lives.

"In the spring of 1856 he was appointed secretary to a commission for examining the scientific military schools on the Continent. He visited, in consequence, the great schools for artillery and engineers in France, Prussia, and Austria. This journey lasted about three months, and afforded him great enjoyment, and also much occupation for a considerable time afterward. It also in some degree prepared him for the great interest he took in the work of his friend and relation, Miss Nightingale, after her return from the Crimea. For her he had the greatest admiration and affection, and her friendship had a great place in the thoughts and feelings of his later years.

"His life, it will be seen, was at this time altogether taken up by practical work. He had not time, or strength, or leisure of mind to spend on his natural gifts of writing; and to his friends it must ever be a source of sorrow that his natural vocation, what he himself felt as such, was unfulfilled. He looked forward always to some time when greater opportunity might be granted him, when the various experience of later life, the results of his later thought, might 'assort themselves upon the brain,' and be given out in some definite form. In the mean time he *waited*, not impatiently or unwillingly, for he was slow to draw conclusions, patient in hearing others' views, and ready to appreciate them. But though the writings which he left are but few, his mind did not fail to exert a great influence. All who were much with him will bear witness to the strong impression left by his character, and by the force and originality of his intellect. He was not prompt to give out distinct opinions or answers to theoretical questions, but he seldom failed to find a practical solution to any immediate difficulty, practical or mental. His mind turned more and more to action as its natural relief; and in his family circle his gentle wisdom, and patience, and great tenderness of feeling, caused him to be constantly appealed to in all difficulties. It was indeed only in the intimacy of daily life that the full charm and grace of his nature was felt, the intense lovableness of it, the tender unselfishness, and the manly courage with which he met the difficulties of life, and helped others through them."

The last years of Clough's life were the happiest. He had married shortly after his return to England, and he found peace and joy in his home. His life was a very busy and la-

borious one, and in 1859 his health gave way under the strain of protracted over-work. In November of that year he died in Florence, whither he had gone on a journey undertaken in the hope of recovering health. Death came early to him; he was but forty years old, but in the best sense he had lived long, and he left a dear memory, a widening fame, and an enduring influence.

The volume of Clough's "Letters and Remains" contains several poems never before printed, which are among the most characteristic and important memorials of his genius. In the preceding sketch of his life we have endeavored to give to our readers such knowledge of the marked traits of his character as shall enable them fitly to enter into and appreciate the nature and qualities of his poetry. For his poetry was in a remarkable degree the expression of himself; not, indeed, that it was the result of morbid self-introspection, but that it was the true and unforced product of his intellectual and moral life. His sincerity of mind and heart are shown in its healthy realism, as the earnestness of his convictions is manifested in its frank and vigorous handling of the deepest questions and practical interests of the times. His poetry is the reflection of his soul. His liberal temper, his questioning habit of mind, his absolute devotion to truth, and his sense of her many-sidedness, are all expressed in his poems. The deepest spiritual conditions of his generation are represented in Clough's work. His imagination was keenly sensitive to the doubts which beset men, and to which no absolute answer can be given, — to the temptations which assail them, and against which no always adequate defence can be erected. His poetic gifts were those of a poet of the highest order, — gifts of the spirit even more than of the mere form of poetry. Verse with him is never the source, but the mere instrument, of inspiration. His large culture and his intimate study of the great poets, combined with his fine sense, made him a master not only of versification, but of diction; and there are passages in his more considerable poems which, for compact and nervous expression, in the perfect correspondence of language with thought, and for metrical harmony, are hardly to be matched in contemporary poetry. His nature partook of the qualities of the great

early poets, and his poetry is often like theirs in tone and feeling, in freshness and breadth. His scholarly tastes did not interfere with his love of nature; his descriptions of natural scenery are full of the out-door air, and his delineations of character are strongly and simply individualized, and drawn with the truthfulness of perceptions at once tender and humorous. His "Mari Magno, or Tales on Board," shows the fulness of his power in narratives of modern life, which are told with a directness and simplicity that recall the Canterbury Tales. In proportion to its essential excellence, all poetry expresses, not only the character of its author, but that of his times, its intellectual tendencies and its moral convictions; and if judged by this standard, little poetry of our day deserves a higher place than that of Clough.

Instead of illustrating the qualities of Clough's genius by extracts from poems already published, we propose to devote our remaining space to giving, nearly complete, a long poem, called "Dipsychus," taking it from the privately printed volume of "Letters and Remains." The readers of this poem will find in it the evidence of those highest qualities which give to Clough a chief place among the poets of the age.

"In the autumn vacation of 1850 Clough made a journey to Venice, and this poem, written then or soon after, shows the mark of Venice in all its framework and its local coloring."

PROLOGUE TO DIPSYCHUS.

"I hope it is in good plain verse," said my uncle, — "none of your hurry-scurry anapæsts, as you call them, in lines which sober people read for plain heroics. Nothing is more disagreeable than to say a line over two, or, it may be, three or four times, and at last not be sure that there are not three or four ways of reading, each as good and as much intended as another. *Simplex duntaxat et unum.* But you young people think Horace and your uncles old fools."

"Certainly, my dear sir," said I; "that is, I mean, Horace and my uncle are perfectly right. Still, there is an instructed ear and an uninstructed. A rude taste for identical recurrences would exact sing-song from 'Paradise Lost,' and grumble because 'Il Penseroso' does n't run like a nursery rhyme." "Well, well," said my uncle, "*sunt certi denique fines*, no doubt. So commence, my young Piso, while Aristarchus is tolerably wakeful, and do not waste by your logic the fund you will want for your poetry."

DIPSYCHUS.

PART I.

DIPSYCHUS AND THE SPIRIT.

SCENE I. — *The Piazza at Venice, 9 P. M.*

Di. The scene is different, and the place, the air
Tastes of the nearer north; the people
Not perfect southern lightness; wherefore, then,
Should those old verses come into my mind
I made last year at Naples? O, poor fool!
Still resting on thyself — a thing ill-worked —
A moment's thought committed on the moment
To unripe words and rugged verse: —

" Through the great sinful streets of Naples as I past,
With fiercer heat than flamed above my head
My heart was hot within me; till at last
My brain was lightened when my tongue had said,
Christ is not risen!"

Sp. Christ is not risen? O, indeed,
I did n't know that was your creed.

Di. So it went on, too lengthy to repeat, —
" Christ is not risen!"

Sp. Dear, how odd!
He 'll tell us next there is no God.
I thought 't was in the Bible plain,
On the third day He rose again.

Di. " Ashes to ashes, dust to dust;
As of the unjust, also of the just, —
Yea, of That Just One, too!
Is He not risen, and shall we not rise?
O, we unwise!"

Sp. H'm! and the tone, then, after all,
Something of the ironical?
Sarcastic, say; or were it fitter
To style it the religious bitter?

Di. Interpret it I cannot. I but wrote it, —
At Naples, truly, as the preface tells,
Last year, in the Toledo; it came on me,
And did me good, at once. At Naples then,
At Venice now. Ah! and I think at Venice
Christ is not risen either.

Sp. Nay,
Such things don't fall out every day:

Having once happened, as we know,
In Palestine so long ago,
How should it now at Venice here?
Where people, true enough, appear
To appreciate more and understand
Their ices, and their Austrian band,
And dark-eyed girls.

Di. The whole great Square they fill,
From the red flaunting streamers on the staffs,
And that barbaric portal of St. Mark's,
To where, unnoticed, at the darker end,
I sit upon my step, — one great gay crowd.
The Campanile to the silent stars
Goes up, above, — its apex lost in air, —
While these do what?

Sp. Enjoy the minute,
And the substantial blessings in it:
Ices, *par exemple*; evening air,
Company, and this handsome square;
And all the sweets in perfect plenty
Of the old *dolce far niente*.
Music! Up, up; it is n't fit
With beggars here on steps to sit.
Up, to the café! take a chair,
And join the wiser idlers there.
And see that fellow singing yonder;
Singing, ye gods, and dancing too, —
Tooraloo, tooraloo, tooraloo loo, —
Fiddledi diddledi, diddle di di;
Figaro sù, Figaro giù, —
Figaro quà, Figaro là! —
How he likes doing it! — Ha, ha!

Di. While these do what? Ah heaven! too true, at Venice
Christ is not risen either.

Scene Second is laid in the Public Garden, on the festival of the Assumption. Dipsychus is charmed with the beauty of the view, and the Spirit mocks at his sentiment. "What," says Dipsychus, —

"What is this persecuting voice that haunts me?
What? whence? of whom? How am I to detect?
Myself or not myself? My own bad thoughts,
Or some external agency at work,
To lead me who knows whither?
. . . . . .

Why did I ever one brief moment's space
But parley with this filthy Belial?
. . . . Was it the fear
Of being behind the world, which is the wicked?"

SCENE III. — *At the Hotel.*

Sp. Come, then,
And with my aid go into good society.
Life little loves, 't is true, this peevish piety;
E'en they with whom it thinks to be securest —
Your most religious, delicatest, purest —
Discern, and show as pious people can
Their feeling that you are not quite a man.
Still the thing has its place; and with sagacity
Much might be done by one of your capacity.
A virtuous attachment formed judiciously
Would come, one sees, uncommonly propitiously;
Turn you but your affections the right way,
And what may n't happen none of us can say;
For, in despite of devils and of mothers,
Your good young men make catches, too, like others.

Di. To herd with people that one owns no care for;
Friend it with strangers that one sees but once;
To drain the heart with endless complaisance;
To warp the unfinished diction on the lip,
And twist one's mouth to counterfeit; enforce
Reluctant looks to falsehood; base-alloy
The ingenuous golden frankness of the past;
To calculate and plot; be rough and smooth,
Forward and silent, deferential, cool,
Not by one's humor, which is the safe truth,
But on consideration.

Sp. That is, act
On a dispassionate judgment of the fact;
Look all the data fairly in the face,
And rule your judgment simply by the case.

Di. On vile consideration. At the best,
With pallid hotbed courtesies to forestall
The green and vernal spontaneity,
And waste the priceless moments of the man
In regulating manner. Whether these things
Be right, I do not know; I only know 't is
To lose one's youth too early. O, not yet —
Not yet I make the sacrifice.

Sp. *Du tout!*
To give up nature 's just what would not do.

By all means keep your sweet ingenuous graces,
And use them at the proper times and places.
For work, for play, for business, talk, and love,
I own as wisdom truly from above,
That scripture of the serpent and the dove;
Nor 's aught so perfect for the world's affairs
As the old parable of wheat and tares;
What we all love is good touched up with evil, —
Religion's self must have a spice of devil.

Di. Let it be enough,
That in our needful mixture with the world,
On each new morning with the rising sun,
Our rising heart, fresh from the seas of sleep,
Scarce o'er the level lifts his purer orb
Ere lost and sullied with polluting smoke, —
A noon-day coppery disk. Lo, scarce come forth,
Some vagrant miscreant meets, and with a look
Transmutes me his, and for a whole sick day
Lepers me.

Sp. Just the one thing, I assure you,
From which good company can't but secure you.
About the individual 's not so clear,
But who can doubt the general atmosphere?

Di. Ay, truly, who at first? but in a while —

Sp. O dear, this o'er-discernment makes me smile.
You don't pretend to tell me you can see
Without one touch of melting sympathy
Those lovely, stately flowers that fill with bloom
The brilliant season's gay parterre-like room,
Moving serene yet swiftly through the dances,
Those graceful forms and perfect countenances,
Whose every fold and line in all their dresses
Something refined and exquisite expresses.
To see them smile and hear them talk so sweetly,
In me destroys all lower thoughts completely;
I really seem, without exaggeration,
To experience the true regeneration.
One's own dress, too — one's manner, what one 's doing
And saying, all assist to one's renewing.
I love to see, in these their fitting places,
The bows, and forms, and all you call grimaces.
I heartily could wish we 'd kept some more of them,
However much we talk about the bore of them.
Fact is, your awkward parvenus are shy at it,
Afraid to look like waiters if they try at it.
'T is sad to what democracy is leading, —

Give me your Eighteenth Century for high breeding.
Though I can put up gladly with the present,
And quite can think our modern parties pleasant.
One should n't analyze the thing too nearly:
The main effect is admirable clearly.
" Good manners," said our good great-aunts, " next to piety " ;
And so, my friend, hurrah for good society !

SCENE IV. — *On the Piazza.*

Sp. Insulted ! By the living Lord !
He laid his hand upon his sword.
" *Fort*," did he say ? a German brute,
With neither heart nor brains to shoot.

Di. What does he mean ? he 's wrong, I had done nothing.
'T was a mistake, — more his, I am sure, than mine.
He is quite wrong, — I feel it. Come, let us go.

Sp. Go up to him ! — you must, that 's flat.
Be threatened by a beast like that !

Di. He 's violent ; what can I do against him ?
I neither wish to be killed, or to kill :
What 's more, I never yet have touched a sword,
Nor fired, but twice, a pistol in my life.

Sp. O, never mind, 't won't come to fighting, —
Only some verbal small requiting ;
Or give your card, — we 'll do 't by writing.
He 'll not stick to it. Soldiers too
Are cowards, just like me or you.
What ! not a single word to throw at
This snarling dog of a d—d Croat ?

Di. My heavens ! why should I care ? he does not hurt me.
If he is wrong, it is the worse for him.
I certainly did nothing : I shall go.

Sp. Did nothing ! I should think not ; no,
Nor ever will, I dare be sworn !
But, O my friend, well-bred, well-born, —
You to behave so in these quarrels
Makes me half doubtful of your morals !
. . . . It were all one,
You had been some shopkeeper's son,
Whose childhood ne'er was shown aught better
Than bills of creditor and debtor.

Di. By heaven, it falls from off me like the rain
From the oil-coat. I seem in spirit to see
How he and I at some great day shall meet

Before some awful judgment-seat of truth;
And I could deem that I behold him there
Come praying for the pardon I give now,
Did I not think these matters too, too small
For any record on the leaves of time.
O thou great Watcher of this noisy world,
What are they in Thy sight? or what in his
Who finds some end of action in his life?
What e'en in his whose sole permitted course
Is to pursue his peaceful by-way walk,
And live his brief life purely in thy sight,
And righteously towards his brother-men?

Sp. And whether, so you 're just and fair,
Other folks are so, you don't care;
You who profess more love than others
For your poor sinful human brothers.

Di. For grosser evils their gross remedies
The laws afford us; let us be content;
For finer wounds the law would, if it could,
Find medicine too; it cannot, let us bear;
For sufferance is the badge of all men's tribes.

Sp. Because we can't do all we would,
Does it follow, to do nothing 's good?
No way to help the law's rough sense
By equities of self-defence?
Well, for yourself it may be nice
To serve vulgarity and vice:
Must sisters, too, and wives and mothers,
Fare like their patient sons and brothers?

Di. He that loves sister, mother, more than me —

Sp. But the injustice, the gross wrong!
To whom on earth does it belong
If not to you, to whom 't was done,
Who see it plain as any sun,
To make the base and foul offender
Confess, and satisfaction render?
At least before the termination of it
Prove your own lofty reprobation of it.
Though gentleness, I know, was born in you,
Surely you have a little scorn in you!

Di. Heaven! to pollute one's fingers to pick up
The fallen coin of honor from the dirt, —
Pure silver though it be, let it rather lie!
To take up any offence, where 't may be said
That temper, vanity — I know not what —

Had led me on!
To have so much as e'en half felt of one
That ever was angered for one's self!
Beyond suspicion Cæsar's wife should be,
Beyond suspicion this bright honor shall.
Did he say scorn? I have some scorn, thank God.

Sp. Certainly. Only if it 's so,
Let us leave Italy, and go
Post haste, to attend — your 're ripe and rank for 't —
The great peace-meeting up at Frankfort.
Joy to the Croat! Take our lives,
Sweet friends, and please respect our wives;
Joy to the Croat! Some fine day,
He 'll see the error of his way,
No doubt, and will repent and pray.
At any rate he 'll open his eyes,
If not before, at the Last Assize.
Not, if I rightly understood you,
That even then you 'd punish, would you?
Nay, let the hapless soul go free, —
Mere murder, crime, or robbery,
In whate'er station, age, or sex,
Your sacred spirit scarce can vex:
De minimis non curat lex.
To the Peace Congress! ring the bell!
Horses to Frankfort and to ——!

Di. I am not quite in union with myself
On this strange matter. I must needs confess
Instinct turns instinct out, and thought
Wheels round on thought. To bleed for other's wrongs
In vindication of a cause, to draw
The sword of the Lord and Gideon, — O, that seems
The flower and top of life! But fight because
Some poor misconstruing trifler haps to say
I lie, when I do not lie,
Why should I? Call you this a cause? I can't.
O, he is wrong, no doubt; he misbehaves, —
But is it worth so much as speaking loud?
And things so merely personal to myself
Of all earth's things do least affect myself.

Sp. Sweet eloquence! at next May Meeting
How it would tell in the repeating!
I recognize, and kiss the rod,
The methodistic "voice of God";
I catch contrite that angel whine,
That snuffle human, yet divine.

Di. It may be I am somewhat of a poltroon;
I never fought at school; whether it be
Some native poorness in my spirit's blood,
Or that the holy doctrine of our faith
In too exclusive fervency possessed
My heart with feelings, with ideas my brain.

Sp. Yes; you would argue that it goes
Against the Bible, I suppose;
But our revered religion — yes,
Our common faith — seems, I confess,
On these points to propose to address
The people more than you or me, —
At best the vulgar bourgeoisie.
The sacred writers don't keep count,
But still the Sermon on the Mount
Must have been spoken, by what 's stated,
To hearers by the thousands rated.
I cuff some fellow; mild and meek
He should turn round the other cheek.
For him it may be right and good;
We are not all of gentle blood
Really, or as such understood.

Di. There are two kindreds upon earth, I know, —
The oppressors and the oppressed. But as for me,
If I must choose to inflict wrong, or accept,
May my last end, and life too, be with these.
Yes; whatsoe'er the reason, want of blood,
Lymphatic humors, or my childhood's faith,
So is the thing, and, be it well or ill,
I have no choice. I am a man of peace,
And the old Adam of the gentleman
Dares seldom in my bosom stir against
The mild plebeian Christian seated there.

Sp. Forgive me, if I name my doubt,
Whether you know "*fort*" means "*get out.*"

The Fifth Scene is laid on the Lido, and is mainly occupied with a bitter and sceptical dream of Dipsychus.

I had a dream; from eve to light
A bell went sounding through the night.
Gay mirth, black woe, thin joys, huge pain;
I tried to stop it, but in vain.
It ran right on, and never broke,
Only when day began to stream
Through the white curtains to my bed,

And like an angel at my head
Light stood, and touched me, — I awoke,
And looked, and said, 'It is a dream.'

PART II.

SCENE I. — *The interior Arcade of the Doge's Palace.*

Sp. Thunder and rain! O dear, O dear!
But see, a noble shelter here,
This grand arcade where our Venetian
Has formed of Gothic and of Grecian
A combination strange, but striking,
And singularly to my liking!
Let moderns reap where ancients sowed,
I at least make it my abode.
And now let's hear your famous Ode:
"Through the great sinful" — how did it go on?
For Principles of Art and so on
I care perhaps about three curses, —
But hold myself a judge of verses.

Di. "My brain was lightened when my tongue had said,
'Christ is not risen.'"

* * * * *

Sp. Well, now it's anything but clear
What is the tone that 's taken here:
What is your logic? what 's your theology?
Is it, or is it not, neology?
That 's a great fault; you 're this and that,
And here and there, and nothing flat;
Yet writing's golden word what is it,
But the three syllables "explicit"?
Say, if you cannot help it, less,
But what you do put, put express.
I fear that rule won't meet your feeling:
You think half showing, half concealing,
Is God's own method of revealing.

Di. To please my own poor mind; to find repose;
To physic the sick soul; to furnish vent
To diseased humors in the moral frame.

Sp. A sort of seton, I suppose,
A moral bleeding at the nose:
H'm! — and the tone too, after all,
Something of the ironical?
Sarcastic, say; or were it fitter
To style it the religious bitter?

Di. Interpret it I cannot, I but wrote it.

Sp. Perhaps; but none that read can doubt it,
There is a strong Strauss-smell about it.
Heavens! at your years your time to fritter
Upon a critical hair-splitter!
Take larger views (and quit your Germans)
From the Analogy and sermons;
I fancied, — you must doubtless know, —
Butler had proved an age ago,
That in religious as profane things
'T was useless trying to explain things;
Men's business-wits, the only sane things,
These and compliance are the main things.
God, Revelation, and the rest of it,
Bad at the best, we make the best of it.
Like a good subject and wise man,
Believe whatever things you can.
Take your religion as 't was found you,
And say no more of it, confound you!
And now I think the rain has ended;
And the less said, the soonest mended.

SCENE II. — *In a Gondola.*

Sp. Per ora. To the Grand Canal.
Afterwards e'en as fancy shall.

Di. Afloat; we move. Delicious! Ah,
What else is like the gondola?
This level floor of liquid glass
Begins beneath us swift to pass.
It goes as though it went alone
By some impulsion of its own.
(How light it moves, how softly! Ah,
Were all things like the gondola!)
How light it moves, how softly! Ah,
Could life, as does our gondola,
Unvexed with quarrels, aims, and cares,
And moral duties and affairs,
Unswaying, noiseless, swift and strong,
Forever thus — thus glide along!
(How light we move, how softly! Ah,
Were life but as the gondola!)

With no more motion than should bear
A freshness to the languid air;
With no more effort than exprest
The need and naturalness of rest,
Which we beneath a grateful shade
Should take on peaceful pillows laid!

(How light we move, how softly! Ah,
Were life but as the gondola!)

In one unbroken passage borne
To closing night from opening morn,
Uplift at whiles slow eyes to mark
Some palace front, some passing bark;
Through windows catch the varying shore,
And hear the soft turns of the oar!
(How light we move, how softly! Ah,
Were life but as the gondola!)
So live, nor need to call to mind
Our slaving brother here behind!

Sp. Pooh! Nature meant him for no better
Than our most humble menial debtor;
Who thanks us for his day's employment
As we our purse for our enjoyment.

Di. To make one's fellow-man an instrument —

Sp. Is just the thing that makes him most content.

Di. Our gayeties, our luxuries,
Our pleasures and our glee,
Mere insolence and wantonness,
Alas! they feel to me.

How shall I laugh and sing and dance?
My very heart recoils,
While here to give my mirth a chance
A hungry brother toils.

The joy that does not spring from joy
Which I in others see,
How can I venture to employ,
Or find it joy for me?

Sp. O come, come, come! By Him that sent us here,
Who's to enjoy at all, pray let us hear?
You won't; he can't! O, no more fuss!
What's it to him, or he to us?
Sing, sing away, be glad and gay,
And don't forget that we shall pay.

Di. Yes, it is beautiful ever, let foolish men rail at it never.
Yes, it is beautiful truly, my brothers, I grant it you duly.
Wise are ye others that choose it, and happy ye all that can use it.
Life it is beautiful wholly, and could we eliminate only
This interfering, enslaving, o'ermastering demon of craving,
This wicked tempter inside us to ruin still eager to guide us,
Life were beatitude, action a possible pure satisfaction.

Sp. (Hexameters, by all that 's odious,
Beshod with rhyme to run melodious!)

Di. All as I go on my way I behold them consorting and coupling;
Faithful it seemeth, and fond; very fond, very possibly faithful;
All as I go on my way with a pleasure sincere and unmingled.
Life it is beautiful truly, my brothers, I grant it you duly;
But for perfection attaining is one method only, — abstaining;
Let us abstain, for we should so, if only we thought that we could so.

Sp. Bravo, bravissimo! this time though
You rather were run short for rhyme though;
Not that on that account your verse
Could be much better or much worse.

This world is very odd we see,
We do not comprehend it;
But in one fact we all agree,
God won't, and we can't mend it.

Being common sense, it can't be sin
To take it as I find it;
The pleasure to take pleasure in;
The pain, try not to mind it.

Di. O let me love my love unto myself alone,
And know my knowledge to the world unknown;
No witness to the vision call,
Beholding, unbeheld of all;
And worship thee, with thee withdrawn, apart,
Whoe'er, whate'er thou art,
Within the closest veil of mine own inmost heart.

Better it were, thou sayest, to consent,
Feast while we may, and live ere life be spent;
Close up clear eyes, and call the unstable sure,
The unlovely lovely, and the filthy pure;
In self-belyings, self-deceivings roll,
And lose in Action, Passion, Talk, the soul.

Nay, better far to mark off thus much air,
And call it heaven; place bliss and glory there;
Fix perfect homes in the unsubstantial sky,
And say, what is not, will be by and by;
What here exists not must exist elsewhere.
But play no tricks upon thy soul, O man;
Let fact be fact, and life the thing it can.

Sp. To these remarks so sage and clerkly,
Worthy of Malebranche or Berkeley,
I trust it won't be deemed a sin
If I too answer "with a grin."

These juicy meats, this flashing wine,
May be an unreal mere appearance;

Only — for my inside, in fine,
They have a singular coherence.

O yes, my pensive youth, abstain;
And any empty sick sensation,
Remember, anything like pain
Is only your imagination.

Trust me, I 've read your German sage
To far more purpose e'er than you did;
You find it in his wisest page,
Whom God deludes is well deluded.

. . . . .

Come, leave your Gothic, worn-out story,
San Giorgio and the Redentore;
I from no building, gay or solemn,
Can spare the shapely Grecian column.
'T is not, these centuries four, for naught
Our European world of thought
Hath made familiar to its home
The classic mind of Greece and Rome;
In all new work that would look forth
To more than antiquarian worth,
Palladio's pediments and bases,
Or something such, will find their places:
Maturer optics don't delight
In childish dim, religious light,
In evanescent vague effects
That shirk, not face one's intellects;
They love not fancies just betrayed,
And artful tricks of light and shade,
But pure form nakedly displayed,
And all things absolutely made.
The Doge's palace though, from hence,
In spite of doctrinaire pretence,
The tide now level with the quay,
Is certainly a thing to see.
We 'll turn to the Rialto soon;
One 's told to see it by the moon.

We omit a portion of this scene, and the whole of the following one, in which Dipsychus parleys with the Spirit in regard to his demands, and the Spirit urges him to the choice of a profession.

Scene IV. — *In St. Mark's. Dipsychus alone.*

The Law! 't were honester, if 't were genteel,
To say the dung-cart. What! shall I go about,

'-e the walking shoe-black roam the flags
'hose boots are dirtiest? O the luck
-p and clean a pair!

Religion, — if indeed it be not vain
To expect to find in this more modern time
That which the old world styled, in old-world phrase,
Walking with God. It seems His newer will
We should not think of Him at all, but trudge it,
And of the world He has assigned us make
What best we can.

Then love: I scarce can think
That these bemaddening discords of the mind
To pure melodious sequence could be changed,
And all the vexed conundrums of our life
Solved to all time by this old pastoral
Of a new Adam and a second Eve
Set in a garden which no serpent seeks.
And yet I hold heart can beat true to heart:
And to hew down the tree which bears this fruit,
To do a thing which cuts me off from hope,
To falsify the movement of Love's mind,
To seat some alien trifler on the throne
A queen may come to claim, — that were ill done.
What! to the close hand of the clutching Jew
Hand up that rich reversion! and for what?
This would be hard, did I indeed believe
'T would ever fall. That love, the large repose
Restorative, not to mere outside needs
Skin-deep, but thoroughly to the total man,
Exists, I will believe, but so, so rare,
So doubtful, so exceptional, hard to guess;
When guessed, so often counterfeit; in brief,
A thing not possibly to be conceived
An item in the reckonings of the wise.

Action, that staggers me. For I had hoped,
Midst weakness, indolence, frivolity,
Irresolution, still had hoped; and this
Seems sacrificing hope. Better to wait;
The wise men wait; it is the foolish haste,
And ere the scenes are in the slides would play,
And while the instruments are tuning, dance.
I see Napoleon on the heights intent
To arrest that one brief unit of loose time
Which hands high Victory's thread; his marshals fret,
His soldiers clamor low; the very guns
Seem going off of themselves; the cannon strain

Like hell-dogs in the leash. But he, he waits;
And lesser chances and inferior hopes
Meantime go pouring past. Men gnash their teeth;
The very faithful have begun to doubt;
But they molest not the calm eye that seeks
Midst all this huddling silver little worth
The one thin piece that comes, pure gold; he waits.
O me, when the great deed e'en now has broke
Like a man's hand the horizon's level line,
So soon to fill the zenith with rich clouds,—
O, in this narrow interspace, this marge,
This list and selvage of a glorious time,
To despair of the great and sell unto the mean!
O thou of little faith, what hast thou done?

Yet if the occasion coming should find *us*
Undexterous, incapable? In light things
Prove thou the arms thou long'st to glorify,
Nor fear to work up from the lowest ranks
Whence come great Nature's Captains. And high deeds
Haunt not the fringy edges of the fight,
But the pell-mell of men. O, what and if
E'en now by lingering here I let them slip,
Like an unpractised spyer through a glass,
Still pointing to the blank, too high. And yet,
In dead details to smother vital ends
Which would give life to them, in the deft trick
Of prentice-handling to forget great art,
To base mechanical adroitness yield
The Inspiration and the Hope a slave!
O, and to blast that Innocence, which though
Here it may seem a dull, unopening bud,
May yet bloom freely in celestial clime!

Were it not better done then, to keep off
And see, not share, the strife; stand out the waltz
Which fools whirl dizzy in? Is it possible?
Contamination taints the idler first;
And without base compliance, e'en that same
Which buys bold hearts free course, Earth lends not these
Their pent and miserable standing-room.
Life loves no lookers-on at his great game,
And with boy's malice still delights to turn
The tide of sport upon the sitters-by,
And set observers scampering with their notes.
O, it is great to do and know not what,
Nor let it e'er be known. The dashing stream
Stays not to pick his steps among the rocks,

Or let his water-breaks be chronicled.
And though the hunter looks before he leaps,
'T is instinct rather than a shaped-out thought
That lifts him his bold way. Then, instinct, hail;
And farewell hesitation. If I stay,
I am not innocent; nor if I go, —
E'en should I fall, — beyond redemption lost.

Ah, if I had a course like a full stream,
If life were as the field of chase! No, no;
The life of instinct has, it seems, gone by,
And will not be forced back. And to live now
I must sluice out myself into canals,
And lose all force in ducts. The modern Hotspur
Shrills not his trumpet of To horse! To horse!
But consults columns in a railway guide;
A demigod of figures; an Achilles
Of computation;
A verier Mercury, express come down
To do the world with swift arithmetic.
Well, one could bear with that, were the end ours,
One's choice and the correlative of the soul;
To drudge were then sweet service. But indeed
The earth moves slowly, if it move at all,
And by the general, not the single force
Of the linked members of the vast machine.
In all these crowded rooms of industry,
No individual soul has loftier leave
Than fiddling with a piston or a valve.
Well, one could bear that also: one would drudge
And do one's petty part, and be content
In base manipulation, solaced still
By thinking of the leagued fraternity,
And of co-operation, and the effect
Of the great engine. If indeed it work,
And is not a mere treadmill! which it may be.
Who can confirm it is not? We ask action,
And dream of arms and conflict; and string up
All self-devotion's muscles; and are set
To fold up papers. To what end? we know not.
Other folks do so; it is always done;
And it perhaps is right. And we are paid for it,
For nothing else we can be. He that eats
Must serve; and serve as other servants do:
And don the lackey's livery of the house.
O could I shoot my thought up to the sky,
A column of pure shape, for all to observe!

But I must slave, a meagre coral-worm,
To build beneath the tide with excrement
What one day will be island, or be reef,
And will feed men, or wreck them. Well, well, well.
Adieu, ye twisted thinkings. I submit: it must be.

Action is what one must get, it is clear;
And one could dream it better than one finds,
In its kind personal, in its motive not;
Not selfish as it now is, nor as now
Maiming the individual. If we had that,
It would cure all indeed. O, how would then
These pitiful rebellions of the flesh,
These caterwaulings of the effeminate heart,
These hurts of self-imagined dignity,
Pass like the sea-weed from about the bows
Of a great vessel speeding straight to sea!
Yes, if we could have that; but I suppose
We shall not have it, and therefore I submit!

Sp. (*from within*). Submit, submit!
'T is common sense, and human wit
Can claim no higher name than it.
Submit, submit!

Devotion, and ideas, and love,
And beauty claim their place above;
But saint and sage and poet's dreams
Divide the light in colored streams,
Which this alone gives all combined,
The "siccum lumen" of the mind,
Called common sense: and no high wit
Gives better counsel than does it.
Submit, submit!

To see things simply as they are
Here at our elbows, transcends far
Trying to spy out at midday
Some "bright particular star" which may,
Or not, be visible at night,
But clearly is not in daylight;
No inspiration vague outweighs
The plain good common sense that says,
Submit, submit!
'T is common sense, and human wit
Can ask no higher name than it.
Submit, submit!

SCENE V. — *The Piazza at Night.*

Di. There have been times, — not many, but enough
To quiet all repinings of the heart, —
There have been times, in which my tranquil soul,
No longer nebulous, sparse, errant, seemed
Upon its axis solidly to move,
Centred and fast: no mere elastic blank
For random rays to traverse unretained,
But rounding luminous its fair ellipse
Around its central sun. Ay, yet again,
As in more faint sensations I detect,
With it too, round an Inner, Mightier orb,
May be with that too, — this I dare not say, —
Around yet more, more central, more supreme,
Whate'er, how numerous soe'er they be,
I am and feel myself, where'er I wind,
What vagrant chance soe'er I seem to obey,
Communicably theirs.

O happy hours!
O compensation ample for long days
Of what impatient tongues call wretchedness!
O beautiful, beneath the magic moon,
To walk the watery way of palaces!
O beautiful, o'ervaulted with gemmed blue,
This spacious court, with color and with gold,
With cupolas, and pinnacles, and points,
And crosses multiplex, and tips and balls
(Wherewith the bright stars unreproving mix,
Nor scorn by hasty eyes to be confused);
Fantastically perfect this low pile
Of oriental glory; these long ranges
Of classic chiselling, this gay flickering crowd,
And the calm Campanile. Beautiful!
O, beautiful! and that seemed more profound,
This morning by the pillar when I sat
Under the great arcade, at the review,
And took, and held, and ordered on my brain
The faces, and the voices, and the whole mass
O' the motley facts of existence flowing by!
O perfect, if 't were all! But it is not;
Hints haunt me ever of a more beyond:
I am rebuked by a sense of the incomplete,
Of a completion over soon assumed,
Of adding up too soon. What we call sin,
I could believe a painful opening out

Of paths for ampler virtue. The bare field,
Scant with lean ears of harvest, long had mocked
The vext laborious farmer; came at length
The deep plough in the lazy undersoil
Down-driving; with a cry earth's fibres crack,
And a few months, and lo! the golden leas,
And autumn's crowded shocks and loaded wains.
Let us look back on life; was any change,
Any now blest expansion, but at first
A pang, remorse-like, shot to the inmost seats
Of moral being? To do anything,
Distinct on any one thing to decide,
To leave the habitual and the old, and quit
The easy-chair of use and wont, seems crime
To the weak soul, forgetful how at first
Sitting down seemed so too. And, O, this woman's heart,
Fain to be forced, incredulous of choice,
And waiting a necessity for God!
Yet I could think, indeed, the perfect call
Should force the perfect answer. If the voice
Ought to receive its echo from the soul,
Wherefore this silence? If it *should* rouse my being,
Why this reluctance? Have I not thought o'ermuch
Of other men, and of the ways of the world?
But what they are, or have been, matters not.
To thine own self be true, the wise man says.
Are then my fears myself? O double self!
And I untrue to both? O, there are hours,
When love, and faith, and dear domestic ties,
And converse with old friends, and pleasant walks,
Familiar faces, and familiar books,
Study, and art, upliftings unto prayer,
And admiration of the noblest things,
Seem all ignoble only; all is mean,
And naught as I would have it. Then at others,
My mind is in her rest; my heart at home
In all around; my soul secure in place,
And the vext needle perfect to her poles.
Aimless and hopeless in my life I seem
To thread the winding by-ways of the town,
Bewildered, baffled, hurried hence and thence,
At all cross purpose even with myself,
Unknowing whence or whither. Then at once,
At a step, I crown the Campanile's top,
And view all mapped below; islands, lagoon,
A hundred steeples and a million roofs,
The fruitful champaign, and the cloud-capt Alps,

And the broad Adriatic. Be it enough;
If I lose this, how terrible! No, no;
I am contented, and will not complain.
To the old paths, my soul! O, be it so!
I bear the work-day burden of dull life
About these footsore flags of a weary world,
Heaven knows how long it has not been; at once,
Lo! I am in the Spirit on the Lord's day
With John in Patmos. Is it not enough,
One day in seven? and if this should go,
If this pure solace should desert my mind,
What were all else? I dare not risk this loss.
To the old paths, my soul!

Sp. O yes!
To moon about religion; to inhume
Your ripened age in solitary walks,
For self-discussion; to debate in letters
Vext points with earnest friends; past other men
To cherish natural instincts, yet to fear them
And less than any use them; O, no doubt,
In a corner sit and mope, and be consoled
With thinking one is clever, while the room
Rings through with animation and the dance.
Then talk of old examples; to pervert
Ancient real facts to modern unreal dreams,
And build up baseless fabrics of romance
And heroism upon historic sand;
To burn, forsooth, for action, yet despise
Its merest accidence and alphabet;
Cry out for service, and at once rebel
At the application of its plainest rules; —
This you call life, my friend, reality;
Doing your duty unto God and man, —
I know not what. Stay at Venice, if you will;
Sit musing in its churches hour on hour
Cross-kneed upon a bench; climb up at whiles
The neighboring tower, and kill the lingering day
With old comparisons; when night succeeds,
Evading, yet a little seeking, what
You would and would not, turn your doubtful eyes
On moon and stars to help morality;
Once in a fortnight say, by lucky chance
Of happier tempered coffee, gain (great Heaven!)
A pious rapture: is it not enough?

Di. 'T is well: thou cursed spirit, go thy way!
I am in higher hands than yours. 'T is well;

Who taught you menaces? Who told you, pray,
Because I asked you questions, and made show
Of hearing what you answered, therefore —

Sp. O,
As if I did n't know!

Di. Come, come, my friend,
I may have wavered, but I have thought better.
We 'll say no more of it.

Sp. O, I dare say;
But as you like; 't is your own loss; once more,
Beware!

Di. (*alone*). Must it be then? So quick upon my thought
To follow the fulfilment and the deed?
I counted not on this; I counted ever
To hold and turn it over in my hands
Much longer, much: I took it up indeed,
For speculation rather; to gain thought,
New data. O, and now to be goaded on
By menaces, entangled among tricks;
That I won't suffer. Yet it is the law;
'T is this makes action always. But for this
We ne'er should act at all; and act we must.
Why quarrel with the fashion of a fact
Which, one way, must be, one time, why not now?

Sp. Submit, submit!
For tell me then, in earth's great laws
Have you found any saving clause,
Exemption special granted you
From doing what the rest must do?
Of common sense who made you quit,
And told you, you 'd no need of it,
Nor to submit?

To move on angels' wings were sweet;
But who would therefore scorn his feet?
It cannot walk up to the sky;
It therefore will lie down and die.
Rich meats it don't obtain at call;
It therefore will not eat at all.
Poor babe, and yet a babe of wit!
But common sense, not much of it,
Or 't would submit.
Submit, submit!

As your good father did before you,
And as the mother who first bore you.

O yes! a child of heavenly birth!
But yet it *was* born too on earth.
Keep your new birth for that far day
When in the grave your bones you lay,
And with your kindred and connection,
In hopes of happy resurrection.
But how meantime to live is fit,
Ask common sense; and what says it?
Submit, submit!

SCENE VI. — *On a Bridge.*

Di. 'T is gone, the fierce inordinate desire,
The burning thirst for action — utterly;
Gone like a ship that passes in the night
On the high seas: gone, yet will come again:
Gone, yet expresses something that exists.
Is it a thing ordained, then? is it a clew
For my life's conduct? is it a law for me
That opportunity shall breed distrust,
Not passing until that pass? Chance and resolve,
Like two loose comets wandering wide in space,
Crossing each other's orbits time on time,
Meet never. Void indifference and doubt
Let through the present boon, which ne'er turns back
To await the after sure-arriving wish.
How shall I then explain it to myself,
That in blank thought my purpose lives?
The uncharged cannon mocking still the spark
When come, which *ere* come it had loudly claimed.
Am I to let it be so still? For truly
The need exists, I know; the wish but sleeps
(Sleeps, and anon will wake and cry for food);
And to put by these unreturning gifts,
Because the feeling is not with me now,
Seems folly more than merest babyhood's.
But must I then do violence to myself,
And push on nature, force desire (that 's ill),
Because of knowledge? which is great, but works
By rules of large exception; to tell which
Naught is more fallible than mere caprice.
What need for action yet? I am happy now,
I feel no lack, — what cause is there for haste?
Am I not happy? is not that enough?
Depart!

Sp. O, yes! you thought you had escaped, no doubt,
This worldly fiend that follows you about,

This compound of convention and impiety,
This mongrel of uncleanliness and propriety.
What else were bad enough? but let me say
I too have my *grandes manières* in my way;
Could speak high sentiment as well as you,
And out-blank-verse you without much ado;
Have my religion also in my kind,
For dreaming unfit, because not designed.
What! you know not that I too can be serious,
Can speak big words, and use the tone imperious;
Can speak, not honeyedly of love and beauty,
But sternly of a something much like duty.
O, do you look surprised? were never told,
Perhaps, that all that glitters is not gold.
The Devil oft the Holy Scripture uses,
But God can act the Devil when he chooses.
Farewell. But, *verbum sapienti satis* —
I do not make this revelation gratis.
Farewell: beware!

Di. Ill spirits can quote holy books I knew;
What will they *not* say? what not dare to do?

Sp. Beware, beware!

Di. What, loitering still? Still, O foul spirit, there?
Go hence, I tell thee, go! I *will* beware.

(*Alone*) It must be then. I feel it in my soul;
The iron enters sundering flesh and bone,
And sharper than the two-edged sword of God.
I come into deep waters — help, O help!
The floods run over me.

Therefore farewell! a long and last farewell,
Ye pious sweet simplicities of life,
Good books, good friends, and holy moods, and all
That lent rough life sweet Sunday-seeming rests,
Making earth heaven-like. Welcome, wicked world,
The hardening heart, the calculating brain
Narrowing its doors to thought, the lying lips,
The calm-dissembling eyes; the greedy flesh,
The world, the Devil, — welcome, welcome, welcome!

Sp. (*from within*). This stern Necessity of things
On every side our being rings;
Our sallying eager actions fall
Vainly against that iron wall.
Where once her finger points the way,
The wise thinks only to obey;
Take life as she has ordered it,

And come what may of it, submit,
Submit, submit!

Who take implicitly her will,
For these her vassal chances still
Bring store of joys, successes, pleasures;
But whoso ponders, weighs, and measures,
She calls her torturers up to goad
With spur and scourges on the road;
He does at last with pain whate'er
He spurned at first. Of such, beware,
Beware, beware!

Di. O God, O God! The great floods of the soul
Flow over me! I come into deep waters
Where no ground is!

Sp. Don't be the least afraid;
There 's not the slightest reason for alarm;
I only meant by a perhaps rough shake
To rouse you from a dreamy unhealthy sleep.
Up, then, — up, and be going: the large world,
The thronged life, waits us.
Come, my pretty boy,
You have been making mows to the blank sky
Quite long enough for good. We 'll put you up
Into the higher form. 'T is time you learn
The Second Reverence, for things around.
Up, then, and go amongst them; don't be timid;
Look at them quietly a bit; by and by
Respect will come, and healthy appetite.
So let us go.
How now! not yet awake?
O, you will sleep yet, will you! O, you shirk,
You try and slink away! You cannot, eh?
Nay now, what folly 's this? Why will you fool yourself?
Why will you walk about thus with your eyes shut?
Treating for facts the self-made hues that flash
On tight-pressed pupils, which you know are not facts.
To use the undistorted light of the sun
Is not a crime; to look straight out upon
The big plain things that stare one in the face
Does not contaminate; to see pollutes not
What one must feel if one won't see, what *is*,
And will be too, howe'er we blink, and must
One way or other make itself observed.
Free walking 's better than being led about; and
What will the blind man do, I wonder, if

Some one should cut the string of his dog? Just think!
What could you do, if I should go away?
O, you have paths of your own before you, have you?
What shall it take to? literature, no doubt?
Novels, reviews? or poems! if you please!
The strong, fresh gale of life will feel, no doubt,
The influx of your mouthful of soft air.
Well, make the most of that small stock of knowledge
You 've condescended to receive from me;
That 's your best chance. O, you despise that! O,
Prate then of passions you have known in dreams,
Of huge experience gathered by the eye;
Be large of aspiration, pure in hope,
Sweet in fond longings, but in all things vague;
Breathe out your dreamy scepticism, relieved
By snatches of old songs. People will like that, doubtless.
Or will you write about philosophy?
For a waste far-off *maybe* overlooking
The fruitful *is* close by; live in metaphysic,
With transcendental logic fill your stomach,
Schematize joy, effigiate meat and drink!
Or, let me see, a mighty work, a volume,
The Complemental of the inferior Kant,
The Critic of Pure Practice, based upon
The Antinomies of the Moral Sense: for, look you,
We cannot act without assuming x,
And at the same time y, its contradictory;
Ergo, to act. People will buy that, doubtless.
Or you 'll perhaps teach youth, (I do not question
Some downward turn you may find, some evasion
Of the broad highway's glaring white ascent,)
Teach youth, in a small way, that is, always
So as to have much time left you for yourself;
This you can't sacrifice, your leisure 's precious.
Heartily you will not take to anything;
Whatever happen, don't I see you still,
Living no life at all? Even as now
An o'ergrown baby, sucking at the dugs
Of instinct, dry long since. Come, come, you are old enough
For spoon-meat surely.

Will you go on thus
Until death end you? if indeed it does.
For what it does, none knows. Yet as for you,
You 'll hardly have the courage to die outright;
You 'll somehow halve even it. Methinks I see you,
Through everlasting limbos of void time,

Twirling and twiddling ineffectively,
And indeterminately swaying forever.
Come, come, spoon-meat at any rate.

Well, well,
I will not persecute you more, my friend.
Only do think, as I observed before,
What can you do, if I should go away ?

Di. Is the hour here, then ? Is the minute come, —
The irreprievable instant of stern time ?
O for a few, few grains in the running glass,
Or for some power to hold them ! O for a few
Of all that went so wastefully before !
It must be then, e'en now.

Sp. (*from within*). It must, it must.
'T is common sense ! and human wit
Can claim no higher name than it.
Submit, submit !

Necessity ! and who shall dare
Bring to *her* feet excuse or prayer ?
Beware, beware !
We must, we must.
Howe'er we turn, and pause and tremble,
Howe'er we shrink, deceive, dissemble,
Whate'er our doubting, grief, disgust,
The hand is on us, and we must,
We must, we must.
'T is common sense, and human wit
Can find no better name than it.
Submit, submit !

. . . . .

Scene VIII. — *In the Piazza.*

Di. Not for thy service, thou imperious fiend !
Not to do thy work, or the like of thine ;
Not to please thee, O base and fallen spirit !
But One Most High, Most True, whom without thee
It seems I cannot.

O the misery
That one must truck and practise with the world
To gain the 'vantage-ground to assail it from ;
To set upon the Giant one must first,
O perfidy ! have eat the Giant's bread.
If I submit, it is but to gain time
And arms and stature : 't is but to lie safe
Until the hour strike to arise and slay ;

'T is the old story of the adder's brood
Feeding and nestling till the fangs be grown.
Were it not nobler done, then, to act fair,
To accept the service with the wages, do
Frankly the Devil's work for the Devil's pay?
O, but another my allegiance holds
Inalienably his. How much soe'er
I might submit, it must be to rebel.
Submit then sullenly, that 's no dishonor.
Yet I could deem it better too to starve
And die untraitored. O, who sent me, though?
Sent me, and to do something — O hard master! —
To do a treachery. But indeed 't is done;
I have already taken of the pay
And curst the payer; take I must, curse too.
Alas! the little strength that I possess
Derives, I think, of him. So still it is,
The timid child that clung unto her skirts,
A boy, will slight his mother, and, grown a man,
His father too. There 's Scripture too for that!
Do we owe fathers nothing, — mothers naught?
Is filial duty folly? Yet He says,
" He that loves father, mother, more than me";
Yea, and " the man his parents shall desert,"
The Ordinance says, " and cleave unto his wife."
O man, behold thy wife, the hard, naked world;
Adam, accept thy Eve.

So still it is,
The tree exhausts the soil; creepers kill it,
Their insects them: the lever finds its fulcrum
On what it then o'erthrows; the homely spade
In labor's hand unscrupulously seeks
Its first momentum on the very clod
Which next will be upturned. It seems a law.
And am not I, though I but ill recall
My happier age, a kidnapped child of heaven
Whom these uncircumcised Philistines
Have by foul play shorn, blinded, maimed, and kept
For what more glorious than to make them sport?
Wait, then, wait, O my soul! grow, grow, ye locks!
Then perish they, and, if need is, I too.

Sp. (*aside*). A truly admirable proceeding!
Could there be finer special pleading
When scruples would be interceding?
There 's no occasion I should stay;
He is working out his own queer way,

The sum I set him; and this day
Will bring it, neither less nor bigger,
Exact to my predestined figure.

SCENE IX. — *In the Public Garden.*

Di. Twenty-one past, — twenty-five coming on;
One third of life departed, nothing done.
Out of the mammon of unrighteousness
That we make friends, the Scripture is express.
My Spirit, come, we will agree;
Content, you 'll take a moiety.

Sp. A moiety, ye gods, he, he!

Di. Three quarters then? O griping beast!
Leave me a decimal at least.

Sp. O, one of ten! to infect the nine,
And make the devil a one be mine!
O, one! to jib all day, God wot,
When all the rest would go full trot!
One very little one, eh? to doubt with,
Just to pause, think, and look about with?
In course! you counted on no less, —
You thought it likely I 'd say yes!

Di. Be it then thus, — since that it must, it seems.
Welcome, O world, henceforth; and farewell dreams!
Yet know, Mephisto, know, nor you nor I
Can in this matter either sell or buy;
For the fee simple of this trifling lot
To you or me, trust me, pertaineth not.
I can but render what is of my will,
And behind it somewhat remaineth still.
O, your sole chance was in the childish mind
Whose darkness dreamed that vows like this could bind;
Thinking all lost, it made all lost, and brought
In fact the ruin which had been but thought.
Thank Heaven (or you) that 's past these many years,
And we have knowledge wiser than our fears.
So your poor bargain take, my man,
And make the best of it you can.

Sp. With reservations! O, how treasonable!
When I had let you off so reasonable.
However, I don't fear; be it so!
Brutus is honorable, I know;
So mindful of the dues of others,
So thoughtful for his poor dear brothers,
So scrupulous, considerate, kind,

He would n't leave the Devil behind
If he assured him he had claims
For his good company to hell-flames!
No matter, no matter, the bargain 's made;
And I for my part will not be afraid.
With reservations! O, ho, ho!
But time, my friend, has yet to show
Which of us two will closest fit
The proverb of the Biter Bit.

Di. Tell me thy name, now it is over.

Sp. Oh!
Why, Mephistophiles, you know, —
At least you 've lately called me so.
Belial it was some days ago.
But take your pick; I 've got a score, —
Never a royal baby more.
For a brass plate upon a door
What think you of *Cosmocrator?*

Di. Τοὺς κοσμοκράτορας τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου.
And that you are indeed, I do not doubt you.

Sp. Ephesians, ain't it? near the end
You dropt a word to spare your friend.
What follows, too, in application
Would be absurd exaggeration.

Di. The Power of this World! hateful unto God.

Sp. Cosmarchon 's shorter, but sounds odd:
One would n't like, even if a true devil,
To be taken for a vulgar Jew devil.

Di. Yet in all these things we — 't is Scripture too —
Are more than conquerors, even over you.

Sp. Come, come, don't maunder any longer.
Time tests the weaker and the stronger;
And we, without procrastination,
Must set, you know, to our vocation.
O goodness! won't you find it pleasant
To own the positive and present;
To see yourself like people round,
And feel your feet upon the ground! (*Exeunt.*)

EPILOGUE TO DIPSYCHUS.

"I don't very well understand what it 's all about," said my uncle. "I won't say I did n't drop into a doze while the young man was drivelling through his latter soliloquies. But there was a great deal that was unmeaning, vague, and involved; and what was most plain was least decent and least moral."

"Dear sir," said I, "says the proverb, 'Needs must when the Devil drives'; and if the Devil is to speak —"

"Well," said my uncle, "why should he? Nobody asked him. Not that he did n't say much which if only it had n't been for the way he said it, and that it was he who said it, would have been sensible enough."

"But, sir," said I, "perhaps he was n't a devil after all. That 's the beauty of the poem; nobody can say. You see, dear sir, the thing which it is attempted to represent is the conflict between the tender conscience and the world. Now, the over-tender conscience will, of course, exaggerate the wickedness of the world; and the Spirit in my poem may be merely the hypothesis or subjective imagination formed —"

"O, for goodness' sake, my dear boy," interrupted my uncle, "don't go into the theory of it. If you 're wrong in it, it makes bad worse; if you 're right, you may be a critic, but you can't be a poet. And then you know very well I don't understand all those new words. But as for that, I quite agree that consciences are much too tender in your generation, — school-boys' consciences, too! As my old friend the Canon says of the Westminster students, 'They 're all so pious.' It 's all Arnold's doing; he spoilt the public schools."

"My dear uncle," said I, "how can so venerable a sexagenarian utter so juvenile a paradox? How often have I not heard you lament the idleness and listlessness, the boorishness and vulgar tyranny, the brutish manners alike, and minds — "

"Ah," said my uncle, "I may have fallen in occasionally with the talk of the day; but at seventy one begins to see clearer into the bottom of one's mind. In middle life one says so many things in the way of business. Not that I mean that the old schools were perfect, any more than we old boys that were there. But whatever else they were or did, they certainly were in harmony with the world, and they certainly did not disqualify the country's youth for after-life and the country's service."

"But, my dear sir, this bringing the schools of the country into harmony with public opinion is exactly — "

"Don't interrupt me with public opinion, my dear nephew; you 'll quote me a leading article next. 'Young men must be young men,' as the worthy head of your college said to me touching a case of rustication. 'My dear sir,' answered I, 'I only wish to heaven they would be; but as for my own nephews, they seem to me a sort of hobbadihoy cherub, too big to be innocent, and too simple for anything else. They 're full of the notion of the world being so wicked, and of their taking a higher line, as they call it. I only fear they 'll never take

any line at all.' What is the true purpose of education? Simply to make plain to the young understanding the laws of the life they will have to enter. For example, — that lying won't do, thieving still less; that idleness will get punished; that if they are cowards, the whole world will be against them; that if they will have their own way, they must fight for it. As for the conscience, mamma, I take it, — such as mammas are now-a-days, at any rate, — has probably set that a going fast enough already. What a blessing to see her good little child come back a brave young devil-may-care!"

"Exactly, my dear sir. As if at twelve or fourteen a roundabout boy, with his three meals a day inside him, is likely to be over-troubled with scruples."

"Put him through a strong course of confirmation and sacraments, backed up with sermons and private admonitions, and what is much the same as auricular confession, and really, my dear nephew, I can't answer for it but he may n't turn out as great a goose as you — pardon me — *were* about the age of eighteen or nineteen."

"But to have passed *through* that, my dear sir! surely that can be no harm."

"I don't know. Your constitutions don't seem to recover it quite. We did without these foolish measles well enough in my time."

"Westminster had its Cowper, my dear sir; and other schools had theirs also, mute and inglorious, but surely not few."

"Ah, ah! the beginning of troubles."

"You see, my dear sir, you must not refer it to Arnold, at all at all. Anything that Arnold did in this direction — "

"Why, my dear boy, how often have I not heard from you how he used to attack offences, not as offences — the right view — against discipline, but as sin, heinous guilt, I don't know what beside! Why did n't he flog them and hold his tongue? Flog them he did, but why preach?"

"If he did err in this way, sir, which I hardly think, I ascribe it to the spirit of the time. The real cause of the evil you complain of, which to a certain extent I admit, was, I take it, the religious movement of the last century, beginning with Wesleyanism, and culminating at last in Puseyism. This over-excitation of the religious sense, resulting in this irrational, almost animal irritability of conscience, was, in many ways, as foreign to Arnold as it is proper to — "

"Well, well, my dear nephew, if you like to make a theory of it, pray write it out for yourself nicely in full; but your poor old uncle does not like theories, and is moreover sadly sleepy."

"Good night, dear uncle, good night. Only let me say you six more verses."

ART. V. — 1. *Civil Service of the United States. Report presented by* MR. JENCKES, *from the Joint Select Committee of the two Houses of Congress appointed July* 19, 1866. Document of the House of Representatives, 39th Congress, 2d Session. Report No. 8. 8vo. pp. 114.

2. — *Speech of* HON. THOMAS A. JENCKES, *of Rhode Island, on the Bill to regulate the Civil Service of the United States and to promote the Efficiency thereof, delivered in the House of Representatives, January* 29, 1867. 8vo. pp. 14.

THE condition of the civil service of the United States is deplorable. Even in the early days of the Republic, although great care was taken to select for office only men of respectable character and qualifications, the need of a system of competitive examination was felt. But no such system was established, and, as far as the holders of office were concerned, a change for the worse took place in proportion to their increasing numbers and the vast increase of public business consequent upon the rapid strides of our progress. Nothing was done to adapt the civil service to the exigencies of the new times. Everything, on the contrary, combined to encumber its natural complications with abnormal difficulties growing out of partisan animosities.

For nearly a generation preceding the abolition of slavery, sympathy with the Southern policy was in many instances the main test of qualification for public offices at home and abroad, so that, when the war broke out, the government had not only to contend with the armed forces of the Southern States, but also with their more subtle, and hence more formidable, forces in the Departments at Washington, and in the legations and consulates in foreign countries.

The character of the District of Columbia exercised also an evil influence on the character of the civil service. Receiving its tone from the South, society at Washington possessed no intellectual activity, and afforded no stimulus to exertion. It held out no encouragement to cultivated minds, and its moral standard was as low as its intellectual. Only the most vigorous natures escaped from its baneful influence. The effect of such

a social atmosphere upon those employed in public offices was deplorable; and although some of the characteristics of the society have now changed, many of its worst features remain unaltered. The very air of New England and New York and the West is big with tacit rebukes against sluggishness; but there are no such admonishing voices in Washington. A lazy listlessness pervades the very aspect of the thinly populated streets. Hence, the Departments have become in many respects mental dormitories, and, in order to make up at least by the routine and force of discipline for what they lack in intellectual vitality, it has become necessary to establish semi-school-house, semi-penitentiary regulations, relative to the discipline of the various offices. Being made to feel that practically he is not an officer of the government, but only a clerk of the chief of his bureau or of the head of his division or department, the *employé* loses self-respect and ambition, and the more readily, if, as is not unfrequently the case, the person who happens to be his official superior is inferior to him in culture and gentlemanly manners.

If parts of the public offices thus degenerate into dormitories, other parts of them are nothing but asylums, where the aged and infirm luxuriate, as far as their scanty salary permits, in a kind of official hospital of invalids, constituting a formidable though venerable reserve force of incapacities.

Though this is the general character of the departmental forces, it would be obviously unfair to deny that, among the thousands of *employés*, there is a sprinkling of men of genuine ability and of admirable zeal, and that there is a still larger number whose talents could be made better available if they were placed in a more responsible position.

Under the present system, the subordinate officer is responsible only to his temporary superior, either to a chief clerk or to the director or head of the respective division or bureau; and these superior officers are again irresponsible as far as the state is concerned; they are responsible only to the chief of them all, the Secretary of the Department, who, in his turn, is practically irresponsible, so far as the power of appointment and removal is concerned, — no consent of the Senate being required for the appointment of the subordinate officers, and

there being no lawful remedy against arbitrary proceedings but impeachment.

The practical effect of all this is to lower the position of the Department clerks into that of private clerks, and to make them as irresponsible to the state as merchants' or bankers' or any other class of clerks in private establishments, while the secretaries and many of the heads of bureaus wield an absolute power. Any person who is in the habit of transacting business at the Departments becomes painfully aware of the irresponsibility which virtually pervades the whole service, and which will continue to exist until all the subordinate officers become, as it were, responsible to each other, and become all of them responsible to the state, — as proposed in Mr. Jenckes's Civil Service Bill. With the adoption of this bill, the shocking anomaly which now vests a formidable patronage in the hands of a few secretaries and a few directors of custom-houses would be forever destroyed. These functionaries would have no longer the power to appoint or to remove their subordinate officers. Stripped of these dangerous and improper prerogatives, they would be the better able to devote themselves exclusively to their official duties, without using them, as at present, as a cloak for ulterior personal or party purposes, or for otherwise selfish and unpatriotic designs. The subordinate officers, on the other hand, would begin to breathe more freely from the moment they felt themselves responsible to the state, instead of a mere servant of the state. Every officer would feel the sense of this responsibility. It would increase his self-respect, by penetrating him with the conviction that he was no longer doomed to be dependent upon the caprices of heads "dressed in a little brief authority," but that, if he performed his duties well, the state would recognize his services.

In the early days of the Republic, public officers were generally selected from well-known families. This was not only the case with the President and the Cabinet, but also, to a great extent, with subordinate officers. At the present day, all this is changed, owing to various circumstances, and chiefly to the vast extent of country from which public officers are recruited. Indeed, it may be safely asserted that the ignorance of the community regarding the moral and mental qualifications of

the highest officers of the state finds only a parallel in the ignorance of these officers in regard to their subordinates. With the adoption of the principle of competitive examination as a test of qualification, the community will not be any longer ignorant in regard to the competency of public officers; and though Mr. Jenckes's bill regards especially only the officers appointed without advice or consent of the Senate, it empowers that body to refer any appointee, whose nomination requires confirmation, to the Examination Commissioners, previous to the vote on his nomination. Few will deny that, if such a principle had been in force for several years past, the country might have been saved from the consequences of the nomination of Mr. Andrew Johnson to the Vice-Presidency of the United States; for such is the comprehensive character of Mr. Jenckes's bill, that, although it deals primarily with subordinate officers only, its moral effect will be to give to the principle of qualification an all-pervading popular prestige and sanction, so that the character of candidates will be submitted to the most stringent scrutiny. If such a scrutiny had been applied to Mr. Johnson's case, it would not have required a profound psychological knowledge to arrive at the conclusion, that a man may rise from the tailor-shop to the alderman's gown, and from thence to the senatorial ermine and the gubernatorial chair, and yet be morally and intellectually incapable of presiding with dignity, justice, and ability over the destinies of a great nation.

As long as there is no test of qualification established as the only lawful principle in official appointments, a large number of persons will always be found willing to accept the smallest salaries; and the insufficiency of pay can hardly be surprising when those receiving it are not possessed of attainments that will command higher compensation in other employments. There are, of course, always many persons engaged in government offices who are mere copyists, and whose remuneration is accordingly limited to small salaries. But wherever the occupation implies a certain kind of intellectual responsibility, even the smallest pay is too large when the person employed is incompetent. If, at the present day, the salaries of government officials are deemed in many quarters as sufficient, although

they are evidently out of all proportion to the increased expenses of living, it is only because the recipients are not considered worthy of higher remuneration; on the other hand, the principle of adequate pay should be fully recognized as soon as a system of qualification secures to the public service competent persons of cultivated intellects. In a country like ours, where many manual laborers command a remuneration of from three to five dollars a day, it cannot be expected that men of education and mental capacities will not demand a higher compensation than that granted to merely muscular or mechanical labor. Nor would it be wise to follow the example of foreign countries in their mode of remunerating their public officers. In England, for instance, where wages for manual labor are at starvation figures, a government clerk with two hundred pounds a year fixed salary, and a prospect of gradual increase and eventual pension after retirement from the public service, occupies a privileged position as compared to the masses of his proletarian fellow-countrymen. The same applies more or less to all European countries. But in this country, with its more equal distribution of property, and with the greater prospects which it holds out to an energetic young man, it would be obviously unwise to deter him from seeking employment in the service of the state by an insufficient salary.

Under a new system, offering adequate pay to the competent, and based upon the principle of open, competitive examination, young men of talent and ambition would seek public offices; and the same amount of intelligence which distinguishes all other avenues of American activity would appear in the civil service. As the service gained in efficiency its cost would diminish, inasmuch as ten competent persons, fairly compensated, might easily do the work of a hundred incompetent persons at low salaries. Indeed, it is estimated by a high authority that a saving of millions of dollars might in this manner be effected annually.

The immense increase of public offices consequent upon the new branches of administration growing out of the public debt, of an elaborate system of taxation, and of a constant accession of new territories, should be also borne in mind. The legions of officers in the New York Custom-House, in

the Departments at Washington, and in other public offices all over the United States, would seem to make the task of reform as difficult as was that of Hercules in cleansing the Augean stables. But formidable as these difficulties seem, we believe they may all be neutralized, if not altogether overcome, by the adoption of the system of competitive examination and qualification tests, such as are proposed in the Civil Service Bill, so auspiciously introduced in the Thirty-ninth and Fortieth Sessions of Congress by the Hon. Thomas A. Jenckes, member of Congress from Rhode Island, a statesman who has evidently bestowed as much care upon this measure as upon his already celebrated Bankruptcy Bill.

We have drawn a gloomy, but, as we believe, a truthful, picture of the civil service of the United States. It is fair, however, to state, that the old countries have all suffered more or less from the same evils, though not engaged, as we are, in civilizing a new continent, and in regenerating vast sections of country heretofore demoralized and distracted by the degradation of labor consequent upon the long prevalence of slavery. Their civil-service systems have only recently emerged from a disgraceful and chaotic condition.

Let us look first at England. In 1853 Sir Charles Trevelyan and Sir Stafford Northcote stated in an official Report: "Admission to the civil service is, indeed, sought after; but it is for the unambitious and the indolent or incapable that it is chiefly desired."

Macaulay, in his celebrated speech in the House of Commons (June 24, 1853) on the Government of India Bill, stated: —

"We have only to look back to those lamentable and shameful years which followed the first establishment of our power in Bengal. Then, as may be well known if you only look to any poet, satirist, or essayist of those times, you may see in what manner the system of appointments operated. Looking over only yesterday, for another subject, a file of newspapers of 1771, I was struck by a paragraph stating that Mr. So-and-so, who went out with the Governor-General only three years ago, had just landed with £40,000. But it was not only so. These were the sort of men who took no office, but simply put the Governor-General to a species of ransom; they laid upon him a sort of tax, — what the Mahrattas call *choret*, and the Scotch black-mail, — that is, the sum paid to a thief, in consideration that he went away without

doing harm. There was a tradition in Calcutta, where the story was very circumstantially told and generally believed, that a man came out with a strong letter of recommendation from one of the Ministers during Lord Clive's second administration. Lord Clive saw that he was not only unfit for, but would positively do harm in, any office, and said, in his peculiar way, 'Well, chap, how much do you want?' Not being accustomed to being spoken to so plainly, the man replied that he only hoped for some situation in which his services might be useful. 'That is no answer, chap,' said Lord Clive, 'how much do you want? Will one hundred thousand pounds do?' The person replied that he should be delighted if by laborious service he could obtain that competence. Lord Clive then wrote out an order for the sum at once, and told the applicant to leave India by the ship he came in, and, once in England again, to remain there."

Macaulay's efforts to improve the Indian civil service were eventually crowned with success. The principle of competitive examination was finally adopted, and the way was thus paved for its adoption in the various branches of the public service at home.

Among the distinguished men by whom the subject was subsequently taken up was John Stuart Mill. We extract the following passage bearing upon this subject from Mr. Mill's work on Representative Government, the same being cited in Mr. Jenckes's Report on the Civil Service: —

"We are triumphantly told that neither Clive nor Wellington could have passed the test which is prescribed for an aspirant to an engineer cadetship; as if, because Clive and Wellington did not do what was not required of them, they could not have done it if it had been required. If it be only meant to inform us that it is possible to be a great general without these things, so it is without many other things which are very useful to great generals. Alexander the Great had never heard of Vauban's rules, nor could Julius Cæsar speak French. We are next informed that book-worms, a term which seems to be held applicable to whoever has the smallest tincture of book knowledge, may not be good at bodily exercises, or have the habits of gentlemen. This is a very common line of remark with dunces of condition; but whatever the dunces may think, they have no monopoly of either gentlemanly habits or bodily activity. Wherever these are needed, let them be inquired into and separately provided for, not to the exclusion of mental qualifications, but in addition. Meanwhile, I am credibly informed that in the military academy at Woolwich the competition cadets are as supe-

rior to those admitted on the old system of nomination in these respects as in all others; that they learn even their drill more quickly, — as indeed might be expected, for an intelligent person learns all things sooner than a stupid one; and that in general demeanor they contrast so favorably with their predecessors that the authorities of the institution are impatient for the day to arrive when the last remains of the old leaven shall have disappeared from the place. If this be so, and it is easy to ascertain whether it is so, it is to be hoped we shall soon have heard for the last time that ignorance is a better qualification than knowledge for the military, and *a fortiori* for every other profession; or that any one good quality, however little apparently connected with liberal education, is at all likely to be promoted by going without it.

"Though the first admission to government employment be decided by competitive examination, it would in most cases be impossible that subsequent promotion should be so decided; and it seems proper that this should take place (as it usually does at present) on a mixed system of seniority and selection. Those whose duties are of a routine character should rise by seniority to the highest point to which duties merely of that description can carry them; while those to whom functions of particular trust, and requiring special capacity, are confided, should be selected from the body, on the discretion of the chief of the office. And this selection will generally be made honestly by him, if the original appointment take place by open competition; for under that system his establishment will generally consist of individuals to whom, but for the official connection, he would have been a stranger. If among them there be any in whom he or his political friends and supporters take an interest, it will be but occasionally, and only when, to this advantage of connection, is added, as far as the initiatory examination could test it, at least equality of real merit. And, except when there is a very strong motive to job these appointments, there is always a strong one to appoint the fittest person; being the one who gives to his chief the most useful assistance, saves him most trouble, and helps most to build up that reputation for good management of public business which necessarily and properly redound to the credit of the minister, however much the qualities to which it is immediately owing may be those of his subordinates."

It may, on the whole, be said of England, and of other countries, that the civil service suffers as much from the incompetency of the highest officers as from that of the subordinate *employés*.

In the foreign service of England much improvement has taken place in the subordinate branches, the secretaries of

legation being subjected to a severe examination. But the heads of the legations themselves, having been secretaries at a period when such stringent tests had not yet been introduced, are in many instances comparatively inferior men, often of elegant manners and social accomplishments, but not proficient in the higher branches of statesmanship and cosmopolitan culture, and thus incapable of grappling with the manifold relations of foreign countries, and unable to give to their own government comprehensive views of the respective countries to which they are accredited.

In France, the great political and social Revolution of 1789 led to a revolution in the French civil service. The first Napoleon confirmed and established the principle, that all public offices should be filled by the most competent persons. The system of examination has since been improved by Victor Cousin, the eminent philosopher and minister of public instruction in 1840, under whose auspices Mr. E. Laboulaye, since so well known in this country by his sympathy with American institutions, made a thorough examination of the systems of civil service in the various states of Germany. Mr. Laboulaye's Report (appended to that of the Congressional Committee), embodying the result of his careful investigations, has given a new impetus to the further improvement of the French civil service.

As far, however, as the highest officers of the state are concerned, they are liable to be changed by the caprice of the Emperor. But these arbitrary changes do not affect the civil service of France. This moves on with the regularity of clock-work and the inflexibility of fate. In a country liable as France was and is to be tossed about by political storms, the civil service may be said to be, next to the courts of law, the only organization which survives all changes, and furnishes an historic link between the past, present, and future generations.

The German states, particularly Würtemberg and Prussia, are more advanced than any other country in their system of examination.

In Russia, all the government officers have grades. There are fourteen grades, all of them implying the rights of nobility, the fourteenth grade being the lowest in the scale. No one can be appointed to a public office in Russia without fur-

nishing certificate of college education, and the offices are assigned according to these educational qualifications. Persons without such qualification are not entitled to any grade, but they may fill lower offices, as those of copyists, &c. They may be promoted, however, and there are not a few instances of copyists rising to the highest offices. Russia, however, is far from being purged of the abuses of favoritism, and the public offices swarm with mere parasites. But the principle of the civil service is, at any rate, established upon a sound theory, and the efforts of the present Russian government are strenuously directed to the enforcement of its practice.

In Greece, no person is admitted to the public service unless he has graduated at a university. In Italy, Portugal, Spain, Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, as in the German states, qualification tests prevail, together with the system of promotion. As an instance of this it may be mentioned that three of the foreign ministers residing at present at Washington, namely, those of France, Spain, and Portugal, had all held the post of director of their respective foreign departments previous to their nomination as ministers to the United States, and served in all the subordinate capacities of the Foreign Bureau before they attained to their present ambassadorial position. Lord Lyons, formerly English Minister at Washington, has recently attained to the most exalted position in his profession by being appointed ambassador to the Tuileries, after having served from his earliest life in the various subordinate offices of the diplomatic service.

In the remote East, — in China and Japan, — the persons employed in the government offices are the most learned men of the empires; and the perpetuity of the ancient civilization of these remarkable countries may be in part accounted for by the character of their civil-service organization.

Even in the mongrel empire of the Sultan of Turkey, a test of qualification is insisted upon. To be sure, a pachaship may be wasted upon a favorite of the Sultana, and the governorship of a large province upon a hanger-on of the Porte or a partisan of the Grand Vizier; but smaller offices in Turkey and Egypt are generally bestowed only upon qualified candidates, accomplished Greeks, Armenians, or Levantines, who are as re-

markable for their proficiency in languages and their general attainments as the Turkish or Egyptian "head" of the department is generally notorious for his ignorance. In fact, there is hardly a civilized country without a system of examination and promotion in the dispensation of its public offices.

Ours is probably the only country in the world where it does not exist in the civil service, though it exists in our military and naval service, the stringent discipline and efficiency of which are well known to all Americans. No doubt, the so-called localization of offices and political influences have heretofore impeded reform, nor do we desire to disregard this influence. Illinois, for instance, or Wisconsin, would be justified in complaining if their citizens were studiously kept out of all public offices, so that they might be filled exclusively by citizens of Massachusetts or of New Hampshire. The proper theory of the matter is, that all States should have the same right to competition, and that rejection should not take place upon any other ground excepting that of disqualification. Mr. Jenckes strikes the key-note in basing his bill upon the principle of *admission open to all.*

Another argument against the reform of the present chaos is the fear of a permanent bureaucracy, and of the anti-republican tendencies of such permanent institutions. We entertain no such apprehensions. A permanent bureaucracy is only dangerous when it is *incompetent and practically irresponsible.* We have already shown to what a great degree our service is now practically irresponsible, and we will proceed to show that it is a permanent institution, that we actually now have a permanent bureaucracy.

In the absence of a qualification test, it matters very little whether the incumbents of public offices represent the outgoing or the ingoing administration. If Jones, appointed in 1857, is of the same calibre as Smith, nominated in 1861, and Brown, in 1865, the fact of permanency is not in the least impaired by Jones being superseded by Smith, and by Brown supplanting Smith. Jones, Smith, and Brown, though three different persons, are, in point of fact, one and the same individuality as far as their unqualified office-holding and their unfitness are concerned. This, indeed, is the worst of all permanent bureau-

cracies, when the hydra-headed brood of office-holders has positively one head, as far as qualification is concerned, and that head a dead-head. Unfitness is consequently perpetuated to such an extent that, although Jones is removed, and Smith dies, and Brown resigns, and White is promoted, the permanency of stupidity is more and more consolidated as time passes on and generation succeeds generation. The spectre "Red Tape," which we all imagined to have been buried amidst the rubbish of antediluvian monarchies, is thus actually haunting the public offices of the Republic. The American citizen, buoyant with capacity, impatient of pedantry, finds himself, on crossing the threshold of government offices, suddenly transferred from the nineteenth century of steam and telegraphs, to "the good old times of King George the Fourth." Red-tape Jones of 1857 left a tradition of routine behind him, which is cherished by red-tape Brown of 1861, which is still more enthusiastically adored by red-tape Smith of 1865, and which becomes the official gospel of red-tape White of 1867.

Our only objection to Mr. Jenckes's bill is, that it does not go far enough. The foreign service of the government stands as much in need of reformation as the subordinate branches of the home civil service. Ministers and consuls might, under proper regulations securing the appointment of the most competent persons, become powerful auxiliaries to the increase of the commerce, industry, science, arts, and general civilization of the Republic.

With the revolution wrought in the modes of national intercommunication by steamers, railways, and land and submarine telegraphs, the services of ministers and consuls must be made to subserve very comprehensive aims, if they shall continue to be of any use at all. Considering that we pay large amounts for ministers and consuls in every part of the globe, is it not surprising how little information they impart to the American people as regards the social and industrial life of the masses of our fellow-men in foreign lands, — how little official information they furnish concerning the distribution of property, the agricultural and manufacturing activities, the arts and sciences, and educational and philanthropical institutions of the Old World? Almost every foreign country has its own specialties

in all spheres of human activity, and it would be the duty of competent ministers and consuls to investigate them, and give to their employers and countrymen the benefit of their investigations. The systems of agricultural improvement and irrigation, the co-operative associations, the various processes of manufactures, the respective incomes, wages, and resources of the various classes of the respective populations, afford ample scope for suggestive studies; and if men of comprehensive culture and varied attainments were to be appointed as ministers and consuls, they would have it in their power to instruct and benefit this country by submitting to its consideration those branches of civilization in which foreign nations excel us, while they could call their attention to those branches in which we excel them. In this manner the foreign service might become the handmaid of humanity and civilization, while at present it is only an imperfect and clumsy travesty of the obsolete diplomacies of bygone ages.

Mr. Jenckes's bill, however, deserves the warmest support, as much for the improvements which it actually proposes to enact by the introduction of open competitive examinations in the subordinate branches of the home civil service, and by the abolition of the system of irresponsibility and patronage, as for the way in which it prepares for the adoption of reforms in the foreign service and in all other administrative branches of the government.

The United States have gone through a formidable convulsion, the outbreak of which was fomented to a great extent by wrong men in wrong places; by faithless and reckless public officers at home and abroad; by a demoralization of the public service, which was at the same time the cause and the effect of treasonable practices and debasement of appointments to public offices to the vilest uses. The moral atmosphere of the land is now gradually clearing up. The destructive era is drawing to a close, and the constructive era is beginning to dawn. We have purged our civilization from the degrading system of slavery. We are now impelled, by all the considerations which are sacred to the lover of his country's fame, to complete this task by reforming those evils in the public service of the country that grew up to a great

extent under the fatal influence of sham-Democratic and Slave-State supremacy. In a recent debate in the House of Lords on the subject of the English Reform Bill, Earl Spencer referred very pointedly to the unwillingness of able and noble men to accept public service under democratic institutions. The fallacy of this proposition remains to be demonstrated by this Republic, and it can and will be demonstrated.

We bring our discussion of this important subject to a close, for the present, by submitting to our readers the bill introduced in Congress by Mr. Jenckes, with the expression of our earnest hope that it may be so supported by public sentiment as shortly to become a law of the United States.

"A Bill to regulate the Civil Service of the United States and promote the Efficiency thereof.

"*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled*, That hereafter all appointments of civil officers in the several departments of the service of the United States, except postmasters and such officers as are by law required to be appointed by the President by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall be made from those persons who shall have been found best qualified for the performance of the duties of the offices to which such appointments are to be made, in an open and competitive examination, to be conducted as herein prescribed.

"Sec. 2. *And be it further enacted*, That there shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, a board of three commissioners, who shall hold their offices for the term of five years, unless sooner removed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to be called the Civil Service Examination Board, among whose duties shall be the following: —

"First. To prescribe the qualifications requisite for an appointment into each branch and grade of the civil service of the United States, having regard to the fitness of each candidate in respect to age, health, character, knowledge, and ability for the branch of service into which he seeks to enter.

"Second. To provide for the examination of all persons eligible under this act who may present themselves for admission into the civil service.

"Third. To establish rules governing the applications of such persons, the times and places of their examinations, the subject upon which such examinations shall be had, with other incidents thereof, and the

mode of conducting the same, and the manner of keeping and preserving the records thereof, and of perpetuating the evidence of such applications, qualifications, examinations, and their result, as they shall think expedient. Such rules shall be so framed as to keep the branches of the civil service and the different grades of each branch, as also the records applicable to each branch, distinct and separate. The said board shall divide the country into territorial districts for the purpose of holding examinations of applicants resident therein and others, and shall designate some convenient and accessible place in each district where examinations shall be held.

"Fourth. To examine personally, or by persons by them specially designated, the applicants for appointment into the civil service of the United States.

"Fifth. To make report of all rules and regulations established by them, and of a summary of their proceedings, including an abstract of their examinations for the different branches of the service, annually, to the President, to be submitted to Congress at the opening of each session.

"Sec. 3. *And be it further enacted*, That all appointments to the civil service provided for in this act shall be made from those who have passed the required examinations, in the following order and manner: —

"First. The applicant who stands highest in order of merit on the list of those who have passed the examination for any particular branch and grade of the civil service shall have the preference in appointment to that branch and grade, and so on, in the order of precedence in examinations, to the minimum degree of merit fixed by the board for such grade.

"Second. Whenever any vacancy shall occur in any grade of the civil service above the lowest, in any branch, the senior in the next lower grade may be appointed to fill the same, or a new examination for that particular vacancy may be ordered, under the direction of the department, of those in the next lower grade, and the person found best qualified shall be entitled to the appointment to fill such vacancy. *Provided*, That no person now in office shall be promoted or transferred from a lower to a higher grade, unless he shall have passed at least one examination under this act.

"Third. The right of seniority shall be determined by the rank of merit assigned by the board upon the examinations, having regard also to seniority in service; but it shall at all times be in the power of the heads of departments to order new examinations, which shall be conducted by the board, upon due notice, and according to fixed rules, and

which shall determine seniority with regard to the persons ordered to be examined, or in the particular branch and grade of the service to which such examinations shall apply.

"Fourth. Said board shall have power to establish rules for such special examinations, and also rules by which any persons exhibiting particular merit in any branch of the civil service may be advanced one or more points in their respective grades; and one fourth of the promotions may be made on account of merit, irrespective of seniority in service, such merit to be ascertained by special examinations, or by advancement for meritorious services and special fitness for the particular branch of service, according to rules to be established as aforesaid.

"SEC. 4. *And be it further enacted*, That said board shall also have power to prescribe a fee, not exceeding five dollars, to be paid by each applicant for examination, and also a fee, not exceeding ten dollars, to be paid by each person who shall receive a certificate of recommendation for appointment or for promotion, or of seniority, which fees shall be first paid to the collector of internal revenue in the district where the applicant or officer resides or may be examined, to be accounted for and paid into the treasury of the United States by such collector; the certificate of payment of fees to collectors shall be forwarded quarterly by the commissioners to the Treasury Department.

"SEC. 5. *And be it further enacted*, That said board shall have power to prescribe, by general rules, what misconduct or inefficiency shall be sufficient for the removal or suspension of all officers who come within the provisions of this act, and also to establish rules for the manner of preferring charges for such misconduct or inefficiency, and for the trial of the accused, and for determining his position pending such trial.

"SEC. 6. *And be it further enacted*, That any one of said commissioners may conduct or superintend any examinations, and the board may call to their assistance in such examinations, such men of learning and high character as they may think fit, or, in their discretion, such officers in the civil, military, or naval service of the United States as may be designated from time to time, on application of the board, as assistants to said board, by the President or heads of Departments; and in special cases, to be fixed by rules or by resolutions of the board, they may delegate examinations to such persons, to be attended and presided over by one member of said board, or by some person specially designated to preside.

"SEC. 7. *And be it further enacted*, That the said board may also, upon reasonable notice to the person accused, hear and determine any case of alleged misconduct or inefficiency, under the general rules here-

in provided for, and in such case shall report to the head of the proper Department their finding in the matter, and may recommend the suspension or dismissal from office of any person found guilty of such misconduct or inefficiency; and such person shall be forthwith suspended or dismissed by the head of such Department pursuant to such recommendation, and from the filing of such report shall receive no compensation for official service except from and after the expiration of any term of suspension recommended by such report.

"SEC. 8. *And be it further enacted*, That the salary of each of said commissioners shall be five thousand dollars a year, and the said board may appoint a clerk at a salary of two thousand dollars a year, and a messenger at a salary of nine hundred dollars a year; and these sums and the necessary travelling expenses of the commissioners, clerk, and messenger, to be accounted for in detail and verified by affidavit, shall be paid from any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated. The necessary expenses of any person employed by said commissioners, as assistants, to be accounted for and verified in like manner, and certified by the board, shall also be paid in like manner.

"SEC. 9. *And be it further enacted*, That any officer in the civil service of the United States, at the date of the passage of this act, other than those excepted in the first section of this act, may be required by the head of the Department in which he serves to appear before said board, and, if found not qualified for the place he occupies, he shall be reported for dismissal, and be dismissed in the manner hereinbefore provided, and the vacancy shall be filled in manner aforesaid from those who may be found qualified for such grade of office after such examination.

"SEC. 10. *And be it further enacted*, That all citizens of the United States shall be eligible to examination and appointment under the provisions of this act, and the heads of the several Departments may, in their discretion, designate the offices in the several branches of the civil service the duties of which may be performed by females as well as males, and for all such offices females as well as males shall be eligible, and may make application therefor, and be examined, recommended, appointed, tried, suspended, and dismissed, in manner aforesaid; and the names of those recommended by the examiners shall be placed upon the lists for appointment and promotion in the order of their merit and seniority, and without distinction, other than as aforesaid, from those of male applicants or officers.

"SEC. 11. *And be it further enacted*, That the President, and also the Senate, may require any person applying for or recommended for any office which requires confirmation by the Senate to appear before

said board and be examined as to his qualifications, either before or after being commissioned; and the result of such examination shall be reported to the President and to the Senate."

ART. VI. — 1. *Act of Congress, approved July* 2, 1862, *entitled "An Act donating Public Lands to the several States and Territories which may provide Colleges for the Benefit of Agriculture and the Mechanic Arts"; with the explanatory Speeches of* HON. JUSTIN S. MORRILL, M. C. — *Congressional Globe.*

2. *Circular addressed by* HENRY BARNARD, *U. S. Commissioner of Education, to the Authorities in Charge of the Colleges and Schools established or aided by the Congressional Appropriation "for the Benefit of Agriculture and the Mechanic Arts."* Washington. September, 1867.

3. *Report of the Committee on Organization in the Cornell University.* By HON. A. D. WHITE, Chancellor. Albany. 1867. 8vo. pp. 48.

4. *Report relative to establishing a State University in California.* By PROF. J. D. WHITNEY and others. Sacramento. 1864. 8vo. pp. 30.

5. *Scientific Education in its Relations to Industry. An Address at the* 21*st Anniversary of the Sheffield Scientific School of Yale College.* By PROF. C. S. LYMAN. New Haven. 1867. 8vo. pp. 30.

6. *A few Things to be thought of before proceeding to plan Buildings for the National Agricultural Colleges.* [By FRED. LAW OLMSTED.] New York. 1866. 8vo. pp. 24.

7. *An Address on the Limits of Education, before the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, November* 16, 1865. By JACOB BIGELOW, M. D. Boston. 1865. 8vo. pp. 28.

THE influence of our recent war in developing the "national" sentiment of the people can hardly be over-estimated. It was the conclusion of a long series of conflicts between the

idea of a loose confederacy, exposed to the secession of a disaffected section, and the idea of States forever united to promote the common welfare of all the inhabitants. As the nation was vindicated in the final appeal to the decision of arms, so in a multitude of important although minor issues there has been a like assertion of the power of the people, acting through the general government, to secure for themselves benefits which cannot proceed from the action of independent States.

For example, national banks have almost superseded State incorporations, and their bills are current throughout the land. National securities have become the favorite investments, not of rich capitalists only, as heretofore, but of workingmen, farmers, mechanics, teachers, ministers, and other men of little income and less savings. A national railroad, stretching over half the continent, is in progress, to bind the East and West together. The nation has pronounced itself in favor of an international system of weights and measures. A National Academy of Sciences has been instituted. Appropriations have been made by Congress, and delegates have been sent abroad, to represent us at the exhibition of national industry in Paris. A national Commissioner of Agriculture has been appointed.

Nor has public instruction been neglected. A national Department of Education has been established, and a national Commissioner appointed to promote as far as possible the progress of sound and liberal views of intellectual culture. More than this, a vast domain, surpassing the area of many of the kingdoms and duchies of Europe, has been appropriated by Congress for the promotion, throughout the land, of industrial or scientific schools, colleges, and universities.

We shall not now discuss the tendency of such legislation, nor question how far it promotes the dignity, the prosperity, and the happiness of the United States, or how far it lessens the popular regard for States rights and the dread of a centralized government. We merely call attention to this noteworthy aspect of the times in its relations to popular education, and to the obvious fact that the withdrawal of the extreme sectional men from the halls of Congress has made it possible to mature and carry out some plans for the national welfare which in ear-

lier days would have been certainly voted down, and which in time to come, whatever be the conditions of reconstruction in the South, can never be undone.

Under these circumstances we think that the epithet employed for the first time in the heading of this article is a fit designation of a class of institutions rapidly organizing in all the loyal States. They are in fact, if not in name, the "National Schools of Science," distinguished from all other schools and colleges by the reception of an endowment from the nation, obliged to conform to certain requirements of the national legislature, and bound to print and publish annually a report of their progress. It is true that the general government has no other control over them than to insist upon a fulfilment of the requirements of the statute by which they were created. But the nation gave birth to them; the nation provided their dowry; the nation is to reap the benefits which they are designed to render.

Very few persons understand the momentous significance of the Act of Congress "for the Benefit of Agriculture and the Mechanic Arts," which was passed by Congress on the 17th of June, 1862, and became a law, by the approval of President Lincoln, on the 2d of July immediately following. Our New England readers will associate the earlier of these dates with the anniversary of the battle of Bunker Hill, the earliest occasion on which the force of the national arms and the self-determining power of the American people were exhibited to the world. Hereafter the same anniversary will recall to the minds of scholars the earliest act of Congress for the promotion of national popular education. Other grants there have been, we are well aware, for purposes of instruction, but this is the first which regards the wants of all the States.

It is very remarkable that so important a measure should have been carried through the House of Representatives by its friends under the operation of that summary procedure in parliamentary tactics known as "the previous question." The only broad and statesmanlike speeches, on the general principles of the bill and the probable influence of its enactment, were made by the author of the measure. Many other persons spoke upon the subject, especially in the Senate, but nearly all that was said had reference to minor points involved in the

general plan, and had little regard to its characteristic features. So, too, in the several States of the North there has been but little general conference or inquiry or discussion respecting the educational necessities of the country. Each State is solving the problem of what to do with the public grant in its own way, with reference to its own wants, and according to its own understanding of the Congressional intent. Some persons may not object to this, but will point to it as one of the many illustrations of the self-confidence and promptness of action which distinguish our countrymen. We are not sure that this mode of procedure is the best.

We cannot but regret that an educational problem so important as that which is involved in the establishment of these National Schools of Science is to be settled, at any rate for a time, with so little comparison of views among the educators of the country, and so little discussion of the principles of mental training. A grant of land, imperial in extent, is devoted to the creation and encouragement of five-and-twenty colleges, one in each of the loyal States, which are to be followed, it is probable, by the creation of five-and-twenty more in the reconstructed States of the South and the newly admitted States of the West. These colleges are to differ from most of those already established, in the classes of persons for whose special benefit they are founded, and in the modes of instruction they will employ. Yet there is no public conference of scholars or statesmen respecting the legitimate scope of the institutions; no inquiry in regard to the wants of this country or the experience of others; no sharp and clear announcement even, in the act of Congress which confers the grant, of the character to be aimed at in the new establishments; no thorough discussion in the periodicals of the day respecting the changes which are possible and desirable in the national education. All at once the country is involved in perplexing inquiries. The problem is complex as well as difficult, requiring time not less than wisdom to solve it. It involves so many unknown quantities, that well-defined conclusions cannot be reached at once, if indeed they are ever to be attained. The broadest culture, the deepest insight into the laws of intellectual progress, a thorough appreciation both of science and of letters as means of disci-

pline, and a sagacious power of adapting means to ends, are essential to the wise determination of the questions involved in the establishment of these institutions.

But, as usual, this country cannot wait for the slow gathering of wisdom. "Something must be done." The land has been granted, the schools must begin. Stated in its barest form, the problem to be solved is this: *How can the methods and results of modern science be made most conducive to the education of American young men?* Stated in its fullest expression, there is no point in the theory of intellectual discipline and the methods of human culture which the problem does not involve.

"This is a republic where the will of the people is the law of the land," says our highest military leader to the highest public functionary of the land. It is true in education as in politics and war. The people hold the power, the people will decide upon the methods. They will blunder, they will experiment, they will try exploded notions, but they will never lose sight of the end in view. They will secure "the liberal and practical education of the industrial classes." When that is accomplished, and not till then, universal education will be the characteristic of the continent, as in earlier days it has already been of some portions of New England.

We regard it as a promise of future good, that the new "Department of Education" in the general government at Washington has been first intrusted to one of the most experienced and enlightened advocates of public instruction in this country, and that one of his earliest official proceedings is to seek out and bring together the results during the last five years of the action in the different States respecting the Congressional appropriation for the purposes of national education. The circular mentioned at the beginning of this article presents a series of questions addressed to the authorities of the new Schools of Science, and when their returns are received we shall have a curious and instructive chapter of educational experience. The circular also contains copies of the original enactment of Congress, and of many of the separate State enactments upon this subject, with full accounts of two institutions already in vigorous progress. In no other place can so much be seen of the method in which the Congressional grant has been applied.

The titles of other pamphlets which we have prefixed to our remarks are selected from a large number which we might have given, as affording a good idea of the character of discussions which are now in progress. We shall not remark on them separately, for our intention is to present the general rather than the local aspects of the subject we have taken up. Prior to the bestowal of the Congressional grant, schools of science, under various designations, had been established in various places, and many of the older classical colleges had arranged for partial or optional courses of study, which were supposed to be called for by students who would not devote themselves to Latin and Greek. Some of the largest of the large endowments which have been bestowed on educational institutions in this country have been directed to institutions of science rather than of literature. The names of Stephen Van Rensselaer, James Smithson, Abbott Lawrence, Peter Cooper, Joseph E. Sheffield, Abiel Chandler, Blandina Dudley, and George Peabody will remind the reader of a series of princely gifts, the object of which has been to promote the knowledge of natural science among our countrymen. Most of these donors had acquired their own fortunes, and had clearly seen the value of training in mathematical, physical, and natural science as a preparation for life, as well as the importance of scientific researches in promoting the development of our natural resources. Other kindred benefactions might be named, but those now cited are enough to show that, independent of what the government might do, schools of science were not likely to be neglected by the people of this country.

The pioneer among these scientific schools was that at Troy, founded by the late Stephen Van Rensselaer, and long under the direction of Amos Eaton, the well-known naturalist. It was reorganized in 1850 as a special school of architecture and engineering. For a long time it stood alone. The gift of Abbott Lawrence to Harvard College, in 1847, for the foundation of a scientific school, attracted very general attention; and within a few years, at Harvard, at Yale, at Dartmouth, at Union, at Columbia, and at some other younger colleges, scientific schools were established, nominally on the footing of the professional schools of law, medicine, and theology, but

practically (in some instances at least) affording to the scholars a course of study parallel, but by no means equal in discipline, to the usual college course.

In New York, Pennsylvania, Michigan, Illinois, and other Western and Central States, vigorous efforts, with more or less success, had been put forth to organize agricultural schools, which should train practical farmers for their work, and should help forward the science of agriculture by investigations and experiments. An "Institute of Technology," on a very liberal plan, had been projected in Boston, having reference, though by no means exclusively, to the training of mechanical engineers and others engaged in manufacturing occupations.

Under all these different forms there may have been, when the Congressional Endowment Bill was passed, twenty institutions which could be grouped under the general title of scientific schools. They were variously termed, in popular or official phraseology, scientific schools, polytechnic schools, technological schools, agricultural schools; and they differed as much in worth and in influence as they did in name. In one respect they were alike: they were all imperfectly endowed. Most of them were also on an experimental basis, — no person being able to say exactly what they might, could, or should be. Still they were very significant indications of the spirit of the age. They showed a desire for an advanced education on some other basis than the literature of Greece and Rome. They showed the willingness of rich men to give to scientific colleges. They showed the popular craving for what was vaguely termed, for want of a better word, a *practical* education. They showed that, in some form or other, provision would be made for education in those branches of useful knowledge which tend to exhibit the Creator's works in their true aspects, and likewise in those which are immediately connected with the material advancement and civilization of mankind.

Such, in brief, was the provision made for scientific education in this country at the time when Congress gave a new and definite impulse to the movement. The private influences which were at work urging on our representatives at Washington to encourage "agricultural schools" by a gift of public lands, we cannot here attempt to rehearse. There were busy

and devoted men in New York, Pennsylvania, and Illinois, who spared no effort within their power to secure a national appropriation.

The history of Congressional action on this subject begins with the assembling of the Thirty-fifth Congress, in December, 1857, at the outset of Mr. Buchanan's administration, in the days of Kansas outrages, — the beginning of the end of the dominion of slavery. On the 14th of December, the chairman of the Standing Committee on Agriculture, Mr. Justin S. Morrill, introduced a bill appropriating to the several States a portion of the public lands, for the purpose of encouraging institutions for the benefit of agriculture and the mechanic arts. Opposition manifested itself at once, and the bill, instead of being referred, as the author desired, to the Committee on Agriculture, fell into the hands of its enemies in the Committee on Public Lands. Four months later, on the 15th of April, 1858, the chairman of the latter committee, Mr. W. R. W. Cobb of Alabama, reported back the bill, recommending that it should not pass. Mr. Walbridge of Michigan, from the same committee, presented a minority report favoring the measure. The introduction of the subject at this time led to very little debate or inquiry in respect to the various sections of the bill. Its author appeared determined that it should pass or fail to pass, *as a whole*, and that it should not be altered and ruined by attempts to satisfy all possible objections to its features. He made the only elaborate speech in its favor, and Mr. Cobb made the only effective speech in opposition. The "previous question" was ordered by the House, and the bill was called by the very small majority of one hundred and five to one hundred. A change of three votes would have killed it. This occurred on the 22d of April, 1858.

The Senate also referred the measure, when it came from the House, to the Committee on Public Lands, and they reported it back, without advising either its rejection or its passage, and Congress adjourned without action having been taken on the part of the Senate. Two months of the following winter passed by before this bill was reached. Then, by the energetic efforts of Senators Wade, Harlan, and Stuart, and in spite of the opposition of Senators Jefferson Davis, J. M. Mason, and

Pugh, the bill, slightly amended, was passed, by a vote of twenty-five to twenty-two, on the 7th of February, 1859. A change of two votes in the Senate would have defeated it. The House concurred in the amendments which had been made, and the bill went to the President. It soon came back with his veto. The objections which he raised, partly of a constitutional and partly of a theoretical character, were forcibly put; and they may be consulted by those interested in the history of the bill as a clear and strong statement of the views of the opposition.

When the bill returned to the House, it could not be expected that a two-thirds vote could be secured over the President's veto. On putting the question, the advocates of the measure stood firm, one hundred and five ayes; four of the opponents were gone, and the noes were ninety-six. So the bill was not passed.

Nothing illustrates the changing aspect of affairs throughout the land better than the legislation of the Thirty-fifth and Thirty-sixth Congresses respectively. In the new Congress of President Lincoln's administration, the very same bill which had failed before was introduced to the Senate by Senator Wade, on the 5th of May, 1862. It went to the Committee on Public Lands, and, eleven days later, was reported back favorably by Senator Harlan. For a month its fate was pending in the Senate. Its opponents asked for delay, and raised objections, not only to its general principles, but to specific provisions. On the 10th of June a vote was reached, and the Senate, by a vote of thirty-two to seven, passed the bill. The minority was composed of Senators Doolittle, Grimes, Saulsbury, Wright, Howe, Lane, and Wilkinson, — the three last named having taken the most active share in the debate.

The bill went to the House, and, without any other debate than an able speech from its author, Mr. Morrill, was adopted by the decisive vote of ninety to twenty-five. This occurred, as we have said, on June 17, 1862. In a few days it received the signature of Abraham Lincoln, and became a law of the land.

Thus, after nearly five years of Congressional delay and opposition, the author of the bill and its earnest advocate had

the satisfaction of seeing accomplished a most important service to the people of this land. We give a summary of the act in its author's own words.

"The bill proposes to establish at least one college in every State upon a sure and perpetual foundation, accessible to all, but especially to the sons of toil, where all the needful science for the practical avocations of life shall be taught, where neither the higher graces of classical studies, nor that military drill our country now so greatly appreciates, will be entirely ignored, and where agriculture, the foundation of all present and future prosperity, may look for troops of earnest friends, studying its familiar and recondite economies, and at last elevating it to that higher level where it may fearlessly invoke comparison with the most advanced standards of the world. The bill fixes the leading objects, but properly, as I think, leaves to the States considerable latitude in carrying out the practical details."

An analysis of the act, sufficiently full for the general reader, may be given in the following terms: —

I. Every State may receive a quantity of public land equal to thirty thousand acres for every one of its Senators and Representatives in Congress, under the census of 1860.

II. The mode in which this land may be selected and located is restricted by various provisions, the most important being that no State may locate its scrip within the limits of another State, — although its assignees may do so.

III. All expenses of location, management, taxation, etc. must be paid from the State treasuries, in order that the entire proceeds of the sale of lands may remain undiminished.

IV. The proceeds are to be invested in safe stocks, yielding at least five per cent per annum, and the interest "shall be inviolably appropriated, by each State which may take and claim the benefit of this act, to the endowment, support, and maintenance of at least one college where the leading object shall be, without excluding other scientific and classical studies, and including military tactics, to teach such branches of learning as are related to agriculture and the mechanic arts, in such manner as the Legislatures of the States may respectively prescribe, in order to promote the liberal and practical education of the industrial classes in the several pursuits and professions in life."

V. This grant is made on the following conditions: — 1. Each

State shall guarantee the entire capital of the fund it receives, except that one tenth of the capital may be devoted to the purchase of a site or of a farm. 2. No part of the fund or the interest thereof may be applied to building or repairs. 3. Any State receiving the grant must provide an institution within five years. 4. An annual report shall be made and distributed. 5. If lands improved by railroads are selected, the number of acres will be diminished. 6. No State while in rebellion may have the benefit of this act. 7. No State may receive the grant unless its Legislature formally accepts it within two years of its approval by the President.

VI. Certain provisions are made respecting the location of the land-scrip, and the reports to Congress of sales, appropriations, etc.

Some modifications of the law, not affecting its general characteristics, have been subsequently made by acts of Congress, approved April 14, 1864, and July 23, 1866. By the latter, the time in which a State may signify its acceptance of the grant is extended to three years from the date of the amendment, that is, to July 23, 1869, and Territories (which were not included in the original measure, though mentioned in its title) are allowed three years after their admission as States within which they may avail themselves of this national bounty. The time within which every State must establish at least one college is also somewhat extended. The tenor of these amendments is obviously such that the rebellious States of the South and the coming States of the West, so soon as they are received into good and regular standing as States, may share in the benefits now enjoyed by the old and loyal members of the Union. Thus the grant becomes completely national, and cannot by any possibility be construed into a favor bestowed in time of war for the special benefit of the North.

The law, then, contemplates the early establishment and endowment of not less than thirty-seven national schools of science. Including the Territories as now organized, this number rises to forty-four, that being, according to our count, the present number of States and Territories, loyal and disloyal, which constitute the Union, — not including Sitka. Any State

may elect, however, to establish more than one of the proposed colleges, and the number of Territories is sure to be increased. It is safe, therefore, to say that Congress has provided for the institution of nearly fifty colleges on a national basis. Let us now look more closely into the terms of this enactment.

Among the ideas which are often advocated in this country, but which are wisely kept out of the Morrill bill, are many crude and rash notions in respect to the objects and methods of instruction. Many persons, aiming to benefit the industrial classes, would have insisted on some particular form of institution to be adopted in every State, and would have hampered the bill with objectionable features. In proof of this, we need only turn to a pamphlet published by the Agricultural Department at Washington, with strong official commendation, in which the writer gives such directions as these: — "Let the model farm comprise, if practicable, *exactly* one hundred acres, and be of a regular shape." Let this be divided into portions comprising "*exactly* ten acres." One of these parallelograms, "the model garden," may be laid off "on the plan of Mercator's Projection, so that the prime meridian may pass through Behring's Straits"; the buildings will then "occupy the central vacancy in the Pacific Ocean, while each seed sown and shrub or bulb planted may be made to grow on such representative spot in the garden as it occupied in its native soil." Even if there were no danger that such extravagances as these would find place in legislation, it would not have been surprising if a spite had been shown against Latin and Greek, or a predilection for manual labor, or a determination that a farm should in all cases be secured. Some advisers would have thought it essential that the general government, in providing the endowment, should perpetually exercise the right of inspection or direction. Military men might have been tempted to insist on a military organization for the discipline of the students. But all such objectionable restrictions are happily omitted from the act of Congress. It contains everything which is essential, and nothing which is unessential, to the end in view. The people of every State are left free to determine how the scientific education of the industrial classes may be most efficiently promoted within their several limits.

The most noteworthy phrase in the bill is the clause which defines the character of the projected institutions, and which we have quoted *verbatim* in the fourth paragraph of the above analysis. It states in the clearest terms that the object of the national liberality is to provide instruction in "such branches of learning as are related to agriculture and the mechanic arts, without excluding other scientific and classical studies, and including military tactics." It does not seem possible to misapprehend this statement. Yet every week we are surprised to find that this broad and comprehensive basis of the grant is not understood, even among intelligent men, who should be correctly informed. The act is almost always called "The Agricultural College Bill," which is as truly a misnomer as if it were called "The Public Lands Bill." In the Indexes of the Congressional Globe and of the United States Statutes at Large, in the laws of most of the separate States, in the official messages of Governors, Comptrollers, and the like, "Agricultural College" is the term employed to indicate the essential feature of the law. This is an error, — an injurious and dangerous error, likely to lead to many popular complaints respecting the institutions established by Congress. Even so intelligent a writer as the accomplished Farmer of "Edgewood," in one of his latest volumes, gives an undeserved fling at the teachers in our agricultural colleges, based on the erroneous impression that only agriculture should be taught in these national schools of science. The mechanic arts, however, are placed on the same footing as agriculture, and the *liberal education* of the industrial classes is as much an object of the grant as their practical training. In short, any branch of human learning may lawfully receive attention in these schools, provided only that it does not preclude attention to the study of natural science in its applications to human industry. Even a university with all its faculties may be maintained with the proceeds of the grant, if they are adequate to such an outlay, provided always that the promotion of agriculture and the mechanic arts is kept prominently in view.

The popular misapprehension requires correction. If the title "National Schools of Science" does not find favor, let the term "Colleges of Agriculture and the Mechanic Arts,"

"Industrial Universities," or the more familiar and indefinite phrase "Scientific," "Polytechnic," or "Technological" School, be substituted; but let not the inaccurate and incomplete designation "Agricultural Colleges" continue to find favor. It has already led, in some places, to unpleasant discussions with farmers and their friends, who have claimed all the advantages of the grant, without reference to the many other "industrial classes" in the community. The truth is, that in our country all belong to the industrial classes. All are intent on work. No birthright, no entailed estate, no aristocratic title, no official position, exempts the American from laboring with brain or hand, or with brain and hand, for the benefit of his fellow-men and the promotion of the general civilization. It is the comprehensiveness of the Morrill bill which constitutes its highest excellence. At the same time, while we insist upon the catholicity of this measure, we cannot and would not overlook another fact which is just as clear. Scientific schools, not classical colleges, are established by the act. The terms of the law, the explanations of its author, the intent of its supporters, unite in showing this beyond a doubt. Mathematical, physical, and natural science, the investigation of the laws of nature, are to be the predominant study, rather than language, literature, and history. The latter may be, the former must be, included. No slight is cast upon the classics, the venerated means of human culture, the acknowledged instruments of high intellectual discipline. They may hold their place; but other studies must predominate in the new institutions. In other words, the general government lends its co-operation to the development of the national wealth, and bestows its bounty on institutions in which men of all political, ecclesiastical, and religious opinions may, if they will, unite.

A third point to be considered in the provisions of the Morrill bill is the magnitude of the domain set apart for these new institutions. The enactment furnishes them with a truly magnificent endowment, especially in the more populous States, and will enable them in their youth to outstrip in dignity and influence many of the older half-endowed colleges which are struggling for existence. The following table exhibits at a glance the number of "portions" each State is entitled to re-

ceive, and also the total number of acres. The reader will remember that thirty thousand acres is allotted for every Senator and Representative in Congress. It is not absolutely certain that all the States will accept the grant, but there is hardly a doubt that such will be the case. Delays in "reconstruction" afford the only occasion for doubt.

TABLE.

States.	Senators and Representatives in Congress.	Acres in Scrip.	States.	Senators and Representatives in Congress.	Acres in Scrip.
Alabama,	8	240,000	Missouri,	11	330,000
Arkansas,	5	150,000	Nebraska,	3	90,000
California,	5	150,000	Nevada,	3	90,000
Connecticut,	6	180,000	New Hampshire,	5	150,000
Delaware,	3	90,000	New Jersey,	7	210,000
Florida,	3	90,000	New York,	33	990,000
Georgia,	9	270,000	North Carolina,	9	270,000
Illinois,	16	480,000	Ohio,	21	630,000
Indiana,	13	390,000	Oregon,	3	90,000
Iowa,	8	240,000	Pennsylvania,	26	780,000
Kansas,	3	90,000	Rhode Island,	4	120,000
Kentucky,	11	330,000	South Carolina,	6	180,000
Louisiana,	7	210,000	Tennessee,	10	300,000
Maine,	7	210,000	Texas,	6	180,000
Maryland,	7	210,000	Vermont,	5	150,000
Massachusetts,	12	360,000	Virginia,	10	300,000
Michigan,	8	240,000	West Virginia,	5	150,000
Minnesota,	4	120,000	Wisconsin,	8	240,000
Mississippi,	7	210,000			
				317	9,510,000

From the foregoing table it appears that the total number of Senators and Representatives in Congress is three hundred and seventeen, so that this number represents the possible allotments of land-scrip without reference to claims from Territories like Colorado and others which are soon to become States. Thus a total of nine million five hundred and ten thousand acres of land is set apart for the promotion of scientific education. It appears safe to estimate that this will yield, on the average, one dollar per acre, although much has been already sold at a lower price, and the market value of the scrip is very much below a dollar.

Some of the States have taken measures, directly or indirectly, to dispose of their scrip, or to locate lands within their

own limits, in such a way as to secure a very much larger amount than a dollar per acre. In New York, for example, Mr. Cornell of Ithaca has taken the scrip at its market value, and is now devoting his rare financial ability to the disposal of it, in such quantities and on such terms as will enormously increase the proceeds, which he bestows on the institution, already endowed by a gift from his private purse of half a million dollars.

If our estimate is not too large, (and we feel confident that unless there is bad management it will be too small,) Congress has provided funds which will amount to ten millions of dollars for the endowment of the thirty-seven new colleges. The bounty of the several States and of private individuals is likely to make large additions to this amount. To begin with, the buildings must be provided from other sources than the national gift, and local generosity is not likely to stop with providing the house for so welcome a resident.

The smallest States receive for their share of the public domain ninety thousand acres. Twenty-one States receive over two hundred thousand acres each, and three receive over five hundred thousand acres. The Empire State gains the lion's share, nearly a million acres, — nearly three times as much as Massachusetts, and more than five times as much as Connecticut. If the land were in one parcel, it would make a territory of fourteen thousand eight hundred and fifty-nine miles, equal to the States of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut combined, and larger than either of the three kingdoms, Holland, Belgium, and Hanover.

Moreover, the proceeds of this gift are to be invested in permanent funds guaranteed by the several States. One tenth may be taken for sites or for farms, but no more, — not a dollar for bricks and mortar. Hence the entire capital, or at least nine tenths of the capital, will remain forever secured for the national schools or colleges of science.

A fourth point, which is worthy of special remark, among the requirements of the act, is the obligation of every institution to prepare an Annual Report, and to send copies of the same to all kindred institutions in the land and to the Secretary of the Interior. This secures publicity, — the safeguard

of all endowed institutions. The whole country will know what is done in every State to give efficiency to the Congressional grant, and the experience of every locality will be at the service of every other. This alone is a great protection against blunders and errors, as well as against improper appropriations or squanderings of the income.

Other points involved in the bill are worthy of consideration, but we have now considered its most significant features. A more liberal or a wiser educational endowment it would be hard to find proceeding from any government on the face of the globe.

The influence of Congress terminates, as we have already said, in these general regulations, all details of organization and management being left to the several States. By means of the laws collected in the Circular of the Department of Education, it is possible to trace out the second phase in this remarkable history, and to see in what different ways, from Maine to California, the same idea has been worked out. We should exhaust the space at our command if we undertook to give a complete narrative of the legislative enactments and discussions in the twenty-seven loyal States. We therefore refer the reader to the pamphlet just mentioned for accurate copies of what may be termed "the charters" of the institutions yet established, while we restrict ourselves to some points of comparison which are interesting and instructive.

The earliest question which has arisen in nearly or quite every State has been the expediency of establishing one or more than one national college with the proceeds of the grant. It was natural that, in States where several classical colleges were already in existence, all inadequately equipped, some hesitation should be felt about beginning a new institution, and that each existing college should desire to receive a portion of the endowment for industrial or scientific instruction. In New York such claims were earnestly urged upon the attention of the Legislature, and were skilfully answered by Mr. White (now Chancellor of Cornell University), in a speech in the Senate of that State, in March, 1865. We have thrown away, he said, in the collegiate system of New York, "the benefits arising from concentration of higher educational effort, and

have accepted the evils arising from scattering and division, until, instead of one or two strong institutions, we have a score of small colleges, each feeble, each poor, each incompletely equipped, each obliged to resort to continual beggary, each forced to abate something from thorough discipline."

Similar arguments against a division of the grant may be found in Professor Whitney's California Report, and in the Reports of Professor J. B. Turner of Illinois (who is known in that State as the pioneer advocate of industrial education), and also expressed in terms of great eloquence and force in a message of Governor Andrew to the Legislature of Massachusetts. These views have generally prevailed. In every State but one, the grant has been concentrated on a single institution. In Massachusetts alone, to the surprise of the rest of the country, a division was thought wise, and two institutions, one of agriculture, and the other of the mechanic arts, are already in successful operation. This, however, must be admitted, that the evils of division will be less serious in Massachusetts than in almost any other locality.

A second question, closely connected with the first, has been the wisdom of combining the national school with some already existing institution. In this respect, also, the friends of concentration have generally triumphed, — not always by bestowing the grant upon a corporation already existing, but commonly by creating a distinct corporation, and then locating the new institution adjacent to, or in connection with, some older college.

In New England, for example, all the States but Maine have placed the industrial colleges where the advantages of libraries and museums already collected may be freely made use of. In New Hampshire, though a separate corporation is organized, the "Agricultural and Mechanical College" is to be in fact a department of Dartmouth College. Vermont brings her scrip to the University at Burlington. Massachusetts gives one third of her grant to the Institute of Technology in Boston, and two thirds to an agricultural school established near Amherst College. Rhode Island bestows her scrip on Brown University. Connecticut finds in that department of Yale College known as the Sheffield Scientific School just such an institution as was

described in the act of Congress, and invigorates it by the gift of the national bounty. New Jersey follows the example of Connecticut, and bestows on the Scientific School of Rutgers College her share of land.

In Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Michigan, where agricultural colleges were already in successful operation, they have secured additional strength by the new endowment. In some of the Western States, the State Universities have been the recipients of the grant; for example, in Wisconsin and Kentucky. In other States, as West Virginia, Indiana, Iowa, Minnesota, Illinois, and California, it appears that new agricultural and mechanical colleges are to be organized, and not necessarily in connection with older institutions.

One State alone, the Empire State, has made the national grant the basis of a new University, distinct from all existing institutions in the State, and likely at an early day to eclipse them all in wealth, in collections, in instructors, and in students. A citizen of Ithaca, Hon. Ezra Cornell, offered to the State two hundred acres of suitable land, and half a million of dollars in money, provided that the Legislature would concentrate the national gift and his gift in a new University at Ithaca. The offer was accepted, and a scheme for the organization of the "Cornell University" is projected in a pamphlet of the Chancellor, which we give in our caption.

A third question has often arisen in respect to the desirability of procuring farms for the several colleges. In most of the States it has been thought expedient to do so, and permission to make the purchase has been granted by the Legislature. But among many of the wisest friends of agricultural improvement grave doubts are entertained whether a college farm can be wisely and economically administered. If it does not pay its expenses, farmers will be likely to scoff at "book larning" as very good for lawyers, but very poor for those who till the soil, and Legislatures will censure the management of a "model" farm which does not pay its own way. On the other hand, if experiments are to be made, the idea that they will pay expenses is as absurd as to expect that expenses will be paid by the experiments of a chemical lecture-room. Our Legislatures are so largely made up of gentlemen from the rural

districts, that we apprehend more disappointment and trouble in this particular than in any other. There will be great danger of complaints, whatever course may be adopted in the management of school farms.

We refrain from further inquiry into the action of the Legislatures in order to devote our remaining space to some of the grave questions which arise in the actual organization of the schools. In most cases the charters point out only in the most general terms the requisite characteristics, leaving all the details to the trustees and faculties. No other course would have been justifiable. But it is precisely here that some of the greatest difficulties and the most serious differences of opinion begin to appear.

Two critical epochs have been passed, — the Congressional and the Legislative. Now comes the third, the period of development, more critical and embarrassing perhaps than either of the others. Funds and charters have been provided, but they will not make a college. Regulations, courses of study, teachers, buildings, collections of books and apparatus, — all that pertains to the actual instruction of young men is still to be provided. We hazard little in saying that at the present moment more men of intellectual vigor are at work upon the problem of what these schools should be, than at any previous time in the history of the movement. In the hope that we may possibly be of service to some of them, we shall offer a few suggestions based on a comparison of all the reports and pamphlets which have come before us, and on the experience derived in organizing one such institution.

We regard it as highly important that the scientific schools of Europe should be understood in this country. The number, variety, peculiarities, and excellence of such institutions, on the Continent especially, are imperfectly understood by the people at large. Their influence, in the first place, on the advancement of science and its application to human industry, on invention and discovery, deserves to be unfolded; and in the second place, their influence on the training of manufacturers, agriculturists, miners, engineers, architects, for the various positions of the industrial world. Such schools abroad are liberally endowed, and are adapted to the wants of different

classes of students, — to those who are competent to pursue the highest scientific investigations, and to those who seek only a technical preparation for active life. We need very much at the present moment an examination of the influence of foreign scientific institutions in promoting the efficiency of industrial undertakings.

In England such an inquiry has been recently advocated, because it is thought that the International Exhibition in Paris of 1867, like that in London of 1851, reveals the fact that England is making less progress in manufacturing and mechanical industry than other European countries. Dr. Lyon Playfair, whose excellent pamphlet on "Industrial Education on the Continent," was of great use a few years ago, both here and in his own country, has recently called the attention of Lord Taunton, chairman of the Schools Inquiry Commission, to this subject.* He undertook to inquire into the causes of English inferiority, and found that among intelligent men "the one cause upon which there was most unanimity of conviction was, that France, Russia, Austria, Belgium, and Switzerland possess good systems of industrial education for the masters and managers of factories and workshops, and that England possesses none." Professor Tyndall confirms this opinion, and says that "he has long entertained the opinion, in virtue of the better education provided by the Continental nations, that England must one day, and that no distant one, find herself outstripped by those nations both in the arts of peace and war." Americans are apt to point to our reapers, sewing-machines, pianos, telegraphs, and other ingenious contrivances, in evidence of the rapid and successful development of national industry; but this proves nothing in respect to industrial education. If to the ingenuity of the New World, the thoroughness, the patience, and the science of the Old could be added, far greater results might be expected than those we now attain.

When Dumas, the celebrated chemist, says Dr. Playfair, saw anything excellent in the French Exhibition, his invariable question was, "Was the manager of this establishment a pupil of the École Centrale des Arts et Manufactures?" and in the

* See the Chemical News, August 16, 1867, p. 89.

great majority of cases he received an affirmative reply. It would be well if the characteristics of that school, of the Conservatoire des Arts et Metiers, of the School of Mines at Freiberg, of the Bauakademie at Berlin, the Polytechnic School at Dresden, and other first-class establishments, were well understood by those who are called upon to manage our incipient institutions.

At the same time, we do not believe in copying any foreign institution. The classical colleges of this country are the growth of this country. The technical colleges should be equally our own, adapted to our other institutions, our common schools, our modes of life, our national necessities. If they are not American colleges, they will not suit American students. Let us carefully study all that is good in the institutions of other countries, and adapt it so far as possible to our circumstances and needs.

Again, it seems to us very desirable that each of these State institutions should have its special and peculiar characteristics, its individuality. It will be a great pity if any one of them becomes so conspicuous for its excellence that all the others copy it. The wants of the country are various; each school should aim to supply some particular necessity, and should strive to be strong in certain directions. The older States will probably make their requirements for admission higher, and their courses of study more rigid and difficult, than the newer States. So, too, it will be well if the particular characteristics of each State receive attention in the organization of its school. In the agricultural States of the West, agriculture will naturally be prominent. In California, Nevada, Pennsylvania, the mining interests should receive particular attention. At the East the methods of education should be specially adapted to the instruction of engineers, mechanics, and chemists, and the directors and superintendents of great manufacturing establishments.

Where there is a university organization, the constant effort should be made to educate men of science, able to investigate, competent to teach, proficient in specialties. At all events, each institution should have a definite and declared object which everybody understands; there should be great caution

about undertaking too much, and so doing nothing well ; and it ought to be apparent, as the years go on, that among these national institutions provision is made for all the wants of the nation in technical education.

We observe a tendency, already manifest in a considerable degree, to mark out on paper long lists of " chairs " which it is proposed to fill. But in our opinion it is not half so important what the professorships as who the professors are. It is the men who make the college, not the titles of the catalogue. In a new and unorganized institution, the same person, though it may not be pleasant to him, may be obliged to teach several things. It is the ill luck of a new institution. But a corps of instructors, young, manly, thorough, truth-loving, able to teach, speak, and economize, will do more to give character and success to a foundation which is still dependent upon the favor of the people, than a corps of older men, who may have been titular professors for a quarter of a century, but who are not possessed with the spirit of modern inquiry. If those who are called upon to man the national colleges can secure a harmonious body of instructors, each able to do something beyond his specialty, and eager for the general good, success may be expected, but hardly otherwise. Our greatest fear at the outset of these institutions is, that a sufficient number of really competent teachers cannot be found in the country ready to manage them. It will be well for the older States to make a point of training professors for the various openings which are sure to be waiting for qualified men to fill them.

In regard to buildings, we seem fated in this country to sink large sums of money in unsatisfactory and often ill-designed buildings. The Smithsonian Institution, the Yale School of the Fine Arts, the Troy University, Vassar College, are among the instances which occur to us, where sums quite disproportionate to the remaining endowments have been invested in stone and brick. Congress has forbidden the use of the public money in the erection of college halls, but there is danger that other funds will be absorbed in injudicious structures. The admirable pamphlet of Mr. Olmsted, entitled " A few Things to be thought of before proceeding to construct Buildings for the National Agricultural Colleges," contains so many excellent hints on the

matter of college architecture, that we heartily commend it to all who think of building. His suggestions in respect to the construction of several small buildings on the college farm, rather than extensive brick barracks, and in respect to making college residences attractive homes, are worthy of general adoption. We hope to see them everywhere followed.

The predominance which will of necessity be given to scientific studies renders it important to be watchful that the study of language is not undervalued in the national institutions. No better discipline for the mind can be found than that which comes from a careful philosophical study of the modes of expressing thought. The study of Latin, at least to the extent of reading Cicero and Virgil with ready accuracy, is, on many accounts, of great importance. Teachers and text-books are everywhere at command, and none who aim to be educated men should stop short of this amount of linguistic culture, valuable in itself and valuable also as a help to other studies. Greek is less important. The critical study of English is indispensable, and a scientific man is not equipped for his work in life without some knowledge of French and German, in which so many of the results of modern investigation are recorded.

The military instruction required by Congress is likely to give some trouble. In some States, West Virginia, for instance, the agricultural school is to be made a military academy with a thoroughly organized corps of cadets. Probably the permission granted by Congress, on the 28th of July, 1866, to the President of the United States, to detail an officer of the army to act as president, superintendent, or professor in any college having one hundred and fifty students, may lead to some new developments respecting the feasibility of uniting military with scientific studies. An officer of the army, Major Whittlesey, has been recently conferring with officers of colleges in respect to the possibility of providing in them military instruction, and the report of his inquiries is now awaited with interest.

In one institution the opinion is maintained that instruction in the principles of strategy, the laws of military movements, the organization of armies, the power of ordnance, and other

such topics, is likely to be of far more service to the young men, if their services should be called for in time of war, than ordinary drill in a military company. "The School of the Soldier" can be mastered in the village militia company, under the orders of an orderly sergeant; but the principles of military science must be taught in a scientific method and by a scientific man. An annual course of lectures, illustrated by diagrams, may therefore give more correct ideas of military tactics, in the higher sense of the word, than any daily system of discipline and drill.

The educational value of museums ought to be constantly in mind in organizing these new institutions. Their influence upon the public is almost as important as upon the students. Each scientific school should not only be a place for the training of boys, but it should be a centre of light and instruction for the entire State, in which shall be collected examples of all interesting natural objects which can be brought together, and to which all the citizens of the State shall resort for information.

This leads us to a final remark. We trust that the managers of the National Schools of Science will feel that a great responsibility rests upon them to maintain these institutions on as elevated a plane as the means at their command will permit. We do not think it likely or desirable that they should train young men to go back and labor with the hoe or the anvil. They are rather to train men by scientific courses of study for the higher avocations of life, and especially to take charge of mines, manufactories, the construction of public works, the conduct of topographical and other scientific surveys, — to be leading scientific men. By and by we shall have industrial schools of a lower grade, in which more elementary and practical instruction will be given, suited to those who expect to labor with their hands behind the plough and at the file. As yet, however, we have not teachers enough to maintain many of such local schools. When our central schools are well in progress, the other schools will follow. Till then, mechanics and farmers must seek the knowledge they desire by the occasional courses of lectures in which the results of modern science may be clearly brought before them. Experience seems to show that the sons of farmers in this country,

if they spend three or four years in acquiring an education, will not return to the homestead except as managers of the paternal estate. They will almost always choose to enter other callings, than to be educated farmers handling the scythe and tending the cattle. If the friends of agricultural colleges expect to train up such laborers, we fear they will be disappointed. If, however, schools of science can be maintained where true science in all its departments is cherished, then the agriculture, the mines, and the manufactures of the country will alike be benefited.

The establishment of these National Schools of Science leaves the field clear for the older colleges to maintain more vigorously than ever the established discipline of Latin and Greek. In this we heartily rejoice. The more the course of study in the academic departments of Harvard and Yale is improved, and the more all the older classical colleges do for the advancement of classical culture, the better will it be for the interests of education. Never, probably, in the history of the country, was it more desirable that the study of History, Law, Political Economy, Philosophy, Literature, and all the humanities should be kept up, and that young men should learn to value the lessons of the past, and to take counsel from the thoughts of the wise men of every age and country. Heretofore the complaint has been, that the classics were the only means of liberal education. Henceforward science will offer its aids to intellectual culture in organized schools. Both classes of institutions will flourish side by side, and each will be strong in the other's strength. The Creator and his laws, man and his development, or, in other words, science and history, alike afford abundant discipline for the mind, and appropriate preparation for the active work of life.

ART. VII. — 1. *Quaeritur. The Sanskrit Language, as the Basis of Linguistic Science, and the Labours of the German School in that Field — are they not overvalued?* By T. HEWITT KEY, M. A., F. R. S., Professor of Comparative Grammar in University College, London. 1863. 8vo. pp. 48. [From Transactions of the Philological Society of London.]

2. *L'Aryanisme, et de la trop grande part qu'on a faite à son Influence. Discours de* M. JULES OPPERT *fait à la Bibliothèque Impériale, le* 28 *Déc.* 1865, *pour l'Ouverture de son Cours de Sanscrit.* [pp. 50 – 68 of the number for January, 1866, of the *Annales de Philosophie Chrétienne.* Paris. 8vo.]

THE highly important part which the comparative philology of the Indo-European family of languages and the study of Sanskrit have played in the wonderful development of linguistic science, during the past fifty years, is very generally, we may say almost universally, acknowledged. As a matter of fact, the three are clearly seen to have advanced together, progress in the general science depending on and measured by that in its special branch; and the latter, again, being to no small extent determined in its growth by the success of researches into the structure of the ancient language of India. In like manner, the establishment of the Indo-European family itself, with its seven great branches, — Indian, Persian, Greek, Latin, Letto-Slavic, Germanic, and Celtic, — is commonly regarded as a prime fact in linguistic ethnology, the value of which, both for its own sake and for its bearing upon the relations of language and race throughout the world, is not to be denied nor readily to be over-estimated.

All this, however, has from the beginning found its gainsayers, and finds them still. There are always conservative spirits who are slow to take in new truths, or truths from new sources. The change of ground and of point of view which philological science has undergone during its later history amounts almost to a revolution, and naturally provokes the opposition of ancient opinion and of the prejudices engendered by it. Moreover, such opposition never fails to find legitimate

matter for its attacks. New views and methods are pretty sure to be pushed at some points further than they can fairly bear, even by those who are, upon the whole, best qualified to assert and wield them; and yet more, by those who fall in with the current of a novel movement, in full sympathy with its innovating spirit, but lacking something of the sound learning and critical judgment which should make them its real helpers. In general, such a state of things may safely be left to work out its own result; the truth will appear in the end, and will be the more clearly brought forth if the efforts of its seekers be sharply criticised and questioned during the search. Yet it may be worth while sometimes to stand deliberately on the defensive, exposing the misapprehensions and unfounded assumptions of the critics and questioners. And the two papers whose titles we have given above are especially worthy of such treatment, because of the positions of their writers, as professors of comparative philology and of Sanskrit respectively, and men whose names are favorably known to philologists all over the world; because they have been made by these men the introductions to their courses of lectures, as containing considerations especially needing to be brought to the attention of students at the present time; and because they may be taken as types of two classes of objections which have a more or less general currency, and ought, if ill founded, to be removed.

A few words as to the nature of the relation of interdependence between the three branches of philological inquiry to which we have referred will be first in place.

When it is claimed that the science of language is mainly founded upon Indo-European comparative philology, this must not be understood as at all limiting the attention of the science to the languages of that family. The aim of linguistics is to comprehend language, in the largest and most unrestricted sense, — the whole body of human speech, in all its manifestations and all its relations, in all its known varieties, with their history and the reasons of their discordance. The study would be as truly incomplete, its views partial and its results one-sided, if the rudest and most insignificant of the families of speech were suffered to escape its notice, as if it overlooked the higher. Only a small part of the material which the scholar would wish

to command lies, at the best, within his reach, and of this part he cannot afford to neglect anything. If he is to understand the beginnings and the historical development of all the forms of human language, and to trace out the inner conditions and outer circumstances which have made them what they are, he needs to have access to authentic records of every part and period of them all; while, in point of fact, only the later phases of a few among them, only the very latest of the most, are placed before his view. His conclusions, then, have to be won by inference, from the careful study and comparison of more or less disconnected fragments. And it was evidently necessary to establish somehow a method in which this fragmentary material should be treated, to derive canons and principles of linguistic reasoning and interpretation of evidence, to lay down the general outlines of linguistic history, which should be confirmed or changed by further research.

Now how should this be accomplished, except through means of the special study of the Indo-European family? Here alone was there an almost illimitable body of related facts, with traceable ties running through and connecting them all together; here alone was offered an exceeding variety of highly developed structure, along with the possibility of following back the course of its development to a condition of primitive simplicity. There are elsewhere records of human speech of about the same age as the oldest Indo-European, or even perhaps older; but they are in every case accompanied with conditions which render them vastly less valuable to the linguistic scholar. Egyptian written words have come to us from a remoter time than any other; but the Egyptian is a language standing almost alone, and of a structure so exceedingly simple that it can scarcely be said to have a history. In this latter respect it is even surpassed by the Chinese, which also belongs to a class so exceptional that it can cast light upon only the scantiest portion of the general development of speech. The Semitic is the sole remaining rival in antiquity to the Indo-European; and the Semitic, too, is in variety and wealth of linguistic illustration greatly its inferior: the Semitic languages are a little knot, as it were, of sister dialects, sharing together a highly peculiar primitive development, the

explanation of which seems as unattainable, and is certainly as difficult, as anything in the whole range of linguistic problems, and whose effect has been to give them a rigidity and persistence cutting off the possibility of free and varied growth. It was only among the idioms, then, of Indo-European kindred, that any extended reach of linguistic history was exhibited in a connected and apprehensible manner. Here could be followed all the processes of growth, in their manifold workings, from the germs of speech up to the highest type of perfected language anywhere known. Here could be formed a nucleus, around which a whole science should later shape itself. Here could be drawn out those generalizations, here elaborated those modes of research, which might be applied in dealing with families of language presenting yet scantier and more difficult materials. Applied, indeed, not without various modification: it was unavoidable that not a few principles should be set up and regarded as universal upon the authority of this family, which a wider induction would overthrow, or show to be of only limited scope, — that many an observer should have his eye so filled with Indo-European phenomena that he would see them, and them only, in whatever direction he looked; yet practice in Indo-European philology could not but give, upon the whole, a much fuller training and more many-sided knowledge of language than was to be won in any other way.

There is, then, no undue exaltation of the merits of Indo-European languages, no reprehensible partiality for the tongues of our own kindred, involved in the claim that upon their study mainly reposes hitherto the whole science of language. That the labors of linguistic students have been to so great an extent engrossed by them is owing in part to the causes already explained, in part to the historical importance of the races speaking these tongues, and in part to the superiority of the tongues themselves and of the literatures which represent them. Nothing forbids the linguist, any more than the student in any other department, to dwell most upon those parts of his theme which are richest in instruction, and invested with the most interesting associations. Here, again, there is doubtless danger that some inquirers will have their views narrowed by too exclusive attention to one portion of the field, and will be led

to depreciate and neglect other portions; but such will be proper subjects of individual criticism,—their errors can bring no discredit upon the general method of the science.

Hardly less fruitful for Indo-European philology than the latter for the whole science of language was the study of Sanskrit. There has been a like historical connection and dependence in the one case as in the other. Its ground, too, has been of the same character, consisting in the superior facility afforded by this language for attaining desirable truth. The discovery of Sanskrit made an era in linguistic study; it afforded the needed organizing force among materials which were already rapidly gathering, but which the collectors did not yet know rightly how to dispose of. This it accomplished simply in virtue of its character as the oldest and the best preserved of all the Indo-European tongues. It occupies among them a position analogous with that of the ancient Mœso-Gothic among the Germanic dialects, only more advanced and prominent. It exhibits the phonetic structure, the elements, radical and formative, with their meanings and modes of combination, once belonging to the whole family, in a notably more unchanged condition than does any one of the other branches. It has, indeed, many peculiarities of its own, which are just as much local, and not Indo-European, as the peculiarities of the other branches are; its authority is by no means paramount; there is not one of its sister-dialects whom it does not fall behind in one or another point, or in many; and yet, when all due allowances have been made, it is still the main support of Indo-European philology; it guides our researches back into periods of the history of our common language which would else have been beyond our ken; it has yielded a host of results otherwise unattainable, and imparted a fulness and certainty to the principles of the science which nothing else could have given.

But it is wholly in the nature of things that the uses of such an auxiliary should have been often pushed beyond their true scope by incautious inquirers. The temptation is wellnigh irresistible to set up unduly as an infallible norm a language which casts so much light and explains so many difficulties; to exaggerate all its merits and overlook its defects; to defer to its authority in cases where it does not apply; to accept as of

universal value its features of local and special growth; to treat it, in short, as if it were the mother of the Indo-European dialects, instead of the eldest sister in the family. The belief that it is actually their mother, the tendency to trace back to India, as ultimate home, the various tongues, beliefs, institutions, and myths of all the Indo-European races, has been somewhat prevalent, not only through the general public, but even among the learned;— generally, of course, the more prevalent, the less the degree of learning, yet also infecting scholars of high rank, insidiously showing itself here and there in their work, and requiring ever to be strictly guarded against in general and in particular. And, also naturally enough, the exhibition and effects of this disposition have tended to bring about a reaction, and to provoke the distrust and repugnance of other scholars, who were acute enough to perceive that the language was improperly employed, but not sufficiently well-informed to be able to exercise an independent judgment, separating the bad from the good, distinguishing between the merits of the method and the errors of its application.

The first of the two papers we have undertaken to review is a fair representative of this reactionary movement. It is written in no unbecoming tone or style, and has the appearance of being a sincere inquiry on the part of an earnest student, who has been repelled by what he deems errors and absurdities on the part of some among the most prominent authorities in the modern school of comparative philology, and driven into a state of scepticism touching the value of the methods pursued by the school, particularly the use it makes of the Sanskrit language. The author, indeed, writes in such entire good faith, that he gives at the outset what we cannot but regard as the key to his whole state of mind, by acknowledging that he does not know Sanskrit. The confession is more creditable to his candor than to his character as a thorough and comprehensive scholar. For the professed teacher of comparative philology, of the comparative philology of the Indo-European languages, in this age, to omit the Sanskrit from his list of acquisitions preparatory or auxiliary to his work, is, to say the least, not commendable. What should we think of a Germanic scholar who had neglected to master the Mœso-Gothic? It makes no difference

whether or not the importance of the language in question has been exaggerated by some of those who employ it; it is at any rate a very ancient Indo-European tongue, standing in such remarkable relations to the rest of the family as absolutely to require to be made a prominent factor in their joint and comparative treatment. What if it be sometimes, or often, abused? what if its value be only a half or a quarter of what is claimed on its behalf? So much the more need that one who makes linguistic science the business of his life should put himself in a position to point out the abuses, and disprove the false claims. The world has a right to expect of him that he will give it positive enlightenment upon such matters, not that he will (p. 3) "enter into a contest for which he is confessedly so ill-equipped," merely as a mouthpiece to express the suspicions of others who, "like himself, are wholly wanting in the special qualification, a knowledge of Sanskrit." We wonder a little that, on finding himself in such company, he was not led, rather than write himself and them out in the way he has, to try what would be the effect of removing in his own case the special disqualification under which they all alike were laboring. We presume that, if he had taken the trouble to follow such a course, either the article which we are considering would never have seen the light, or its scope would have been greatly changed. He might have retained all, or nearly all, the opinions he now holds as to the points to which his exceptions are taken; yet he would have put them forward, not as reproaches against the general method of modern philology, but as faults of detail, errors of individuals, which needed to be set aside in order that the method might work out its true results. No authority, not even the highest, is infallible; and in a young and growing science, such as is linguistics at present, the most cautious constructors cannot well avoid building much which will require to be torn down and cleared away, or built over; but little attention will be likely to be paid to the destructive efforts of those who begin by acknowledging that they have omitted to master some of the fundamental rules of the art.

It is not quite ingenuous of Professor Key that, after declaring (p. 3) that he "does not purpose to enter into the domain of Sanskrit history and chronology, a task for which he is whol-

ly unfitted," he nevertheless proceeds to discourse upon it for several pages, in order (p. 7) "to show the unsatisfactory condition of the chronology of Sanskrit literature." This has too much the look of an attempt to cast discredit upon one department of the value of the language, in the hope that something of it will also cleave to another and a wholly independent department. The age of the Sanskrit literature has nothing more to do with the value of the language as a document illustrating the history of Indo-European speech, than has the age of the Arabic literature with the position of the Arabic among Semitic dialects. The Sanskrit would still stand at the head of Indo-European tongues, it would be worth to the comparative philologist nearly what it is now worth, though it were of the lowest age that any sceptic has yet ventured to suggest, and though we possessed no literature of it save a grammar and a vocabulary, or a version of some Christian book, as is the case with the Mœso-Gothic. We do not care, then, to enter into an examination of what our author says in this his parenthetical and unintended introduction.

The bulk of the paper besides is made up of detailed criticisms on the etymologies of words and forms given by two prominent authorities in comparative philology, Bopp and Max Müller. Professor Key appears to think that whatever accusations can be made to lie against these two, or either of them, will attach to the whole cause they represent, to the German school of philology and the Sanskrit language. To this, however, we demur, both for the general reasons given above and for other particular ones. The deserts of Professor Bopp toward comparative philology are of the most brilliant, and at the same time of the most substantial, character. It has rarely been the fortune of a single man so to lay the foundation, establish the principal methods, and gain many of the most valuable results, of a branch of study of such wide reach and great importance. But he is nevertheless a man to whose activity there are very distinct and somewhat narrow limits. He is a remarkable instance of one who is a great comparative philologist, without being either a great linguistic scholar or a profound and philosophical linguist. He knows but few languages, as compared with many another scholar of the present

day, nor are we aware that he is deeply and thoroughly versed in any, so as to hold a distinguished place among its students, — in the Sanskrit itself, certainly, he was long ago left behind by the great body of its special votaries. And of a science of language, as distinct from and developed out of comparative philology, in its relations to human nature and human history, he can scarcely be said to have a conception. Hence, although his mode of working is wonderfully genial, his vision of rare acuteness, and his instinct a generally trustworthy guide, he is liable to wander far from the safe track, and has done not a little labor over which a broad and heavy mantle of charity needs to be drawn. The progress of the science has been for some time past in no manner bound up with his investigations, and his opinion upon a difficult and controverted point would carry far less weight of authority than that of many another scholar whose name could not, upon the whole, bear even a distant comparison with his. In a considerable portion of the criticisms which Professor Key makes upon his works, the majority of comparative philologists, we believe, of the German or any other school, would be free to join, yet without abating a jot of the admiration and gratitude which they pay to the founder of their science.

As regards our author's other antagonist, Professor Max Müller, it is only in England that modern philology is looked upon as so identified with his name that a blot on the one must be presumed to sully the other. The learning and acuteness of this author, his power of ingenious and interesting illustration, no one will think of questioning; but for strictness of method, for consistency of views, for logical force and insight, he is much less distinguished; and he is sometimes carried away by a teeming fancy out of the region of sober investigation, or permits himself to be satisfied with hypotheses, and reasons for them, that have only a subjective value. A notable exemplification of his characteristic weaknesses is offered in his theory of phonetic types, instinctively produced as the beginnings of human speech; a theory which forms one of the principal counts of Professor Key's indictment, and which we should not think of defending in a single point from the latter's hostile criticism. Rarely is a great subject more

trivially and insufficiently treated than is that of the origin of language by Müller in the last lecture of his first series.

To go through all the points made by Professor Key, examining their grounds, and refuting or accepting them, would take much more time and space than we can afford, and we must limit ourselves to a few examples. In two respects, especially, his objections are to be regarded as valuable protests, requiring to be well heeded, against modes of etymologizing which are too common among Sanskritists; — namely, the over-ready referral to a Sanskrit root, of doubtful authenticity and wide and ill-defined meaning, of derivatives in the various Indo-European languages; and the over-easy persuasion that the genesis of a suffix is sufficiently explained when it is pronounced "of pronominal origin."

As regards the former point, we think our author entirely justified in casting ridicule upon the facile derivation of words meaning 'water,' 'earth,' 'cow,' and the like, from alleged Sanskrit roots claimed to signify 'go.' This is in no small part an importation into modern philology of the work of the Indian grammarians, the influence of whose artificial construction of roots and derivatives to fit one another, and of their general method of acute empiricism without sound philosophy, has not yet died out, though, as we hope, it is rapidly waning. The body of Sanskrit roots, in its shape as left by them, is a very heterogeneous collection, and not a little dangerous to handle for a person with only a moderate degree of learning in the language: a vast deal of worthless etymologizing has been done and is still doing upon them. A greater service could hardly be rendered to Indo-European philology than by thoroughly sifting the mass, separating the ancient from the modern and secondary, and the genuine from the spurious, and explaining the origin and accounting for the presence of the latter classes. It is the fault of the grammarians referred to, that so many of the roots have the meaning 'go' attributed to them, as a kind of indefinite sense enabling them to stand as etymons of almost any given word which may be conveniently referred to them, regard being had to the form alone: of such roots, a part cannot be made to bear the sense by any fair method of interpretation; others contain it in the same way as it is contained in

the Latin *vadere*, *ambulare*, *festinare*, *progredi*, *verti*, and the like. The etymologies which Professor Key cites in justification of his criticisms are of varied character: the smallest portion are sound, and defensible against his attack; others are mere conjectures, more or less wanting in plausibility, and wholly unfit to be put forward with confidence; the rest are palpably false, involving unreal roots or unreal meanings.

As regards, again, the use of pronominal elements in explaining the genesis of grammatical forms, we deem Professor Key's interpellations not less in place. The personal forms of verbs, and other parts of the verbal conjugation, were found to be so simply and beautifully accounted for by such elements, that men were naturally led to lay down the principle, "The verbal or predicative root gives the main idea, the pronominal defines its relations," and then to make an easy matter of tracing the endings of derivation and of declension to pronominal sources. But, as Professor Key points out, there is a vastly greater logical difficulty in the latter case, which is not to be passed over so lightly. Perhaps it may be found removable, but it certainly ought not to be ignored. We know well, from the reliable results of linguistic research, that the transfers of meaning through which elements originally independent are passed on their way to the condition of affixes are often distant and violent, such as we should never have guessed, and might have been inclined to pronounce impossible. We are willing, therefore, to allow it to be altogether probable that pronominal roots have played some part, perhaps a main part, in the production of the elements here in question. But how far, and how, is a matter of exceeding obscurity, which has hardly even begun to be cleared up. In order to its elucidation, we need a much wider and more penetrating investigation than any one has yet undertaken of the declensional and derivative apparatus belonging to languages of a simpler structure, or structureless. And meanwhile no one is to be blamed for feeling a kind of indignant impatience at seeing this and that ending complacently referred to such and such a pronominal root, as if no further explanation of it were necessary to satisfy any reasonable person.

When, however, Professor Key is led to question the exist-

ence of pronominal roots as a separate class altogether, he carries his scepticism farther than we can follow him. To our apprehension, the fact that there were such roots, constituting a distinct body and bearing a different office from verbal roots, preceding in time the development of the grammatical system, and playing a highly important part therein, is too clearly read in the results of linguistic investigation to admit of question. Whether in the absolute beginning they were of another origin than verbal roots, we do not care at present categorically to decide; so recondite and difficult a point may well enough be left for the next generation of scholars to settle. We know of no attempt to identify the two classes, or to derive the one from the other, which is to be deemed in any measure successful. The one our author makes is not less a failure than those of his predecessors. He asserts, namely, that a demonstrative root is but the natural conversion of an imperative verb, meaning 'look! see!' or the like, the utterance of which accompanied a pointing out of the object intended with the finger. And he gives us as an example the English root *ken* or *con*, which he claims to have traced through all the heterogeneous and disconnected tongues of Europe, Asia, and the Pacific Islands, in the sense of 'see' or 'know,' and which he regards as a satisfactory etymon for the demonstrative pronouns of all these languages. We cannot accept any part of this as a good philological process, either the establishment of the verbal root, or the recognition of the demonstrative, or the identification of the two, or the ground upon which this is founded. It all savors of the old helter-skelter method of etymologizing, which it was the main merit of Bopp and his school to have overthrown. If there is any one principle to whose establishment more than another's we have to attribute the reformation wrought by the school, it is this,—that strict regard is to be had to the demonstrated affinities of the languages whose material is compared and identified. The modern linguist keeps before his mind a distinct idea of what is implied in the historical correspondences of two tongues, namely, the receipt of common linguistic material, common words and forms, by common descent from the same original language; that community of descent is to be proved, not by sporadic items of superficial resemblance, which

may well enough be accidental, but by sufficiently pervading correspondence of material or of structure, or of both; and that one language must not be used to cast light upon the history of another, unless the two have been shown to be — or at least have not been shown not to be — of the same kindred. Professor Key, in the inquiry we are criticising, takes a part of his material, with approbation, from what is probably the very worst work Bopp ever did in his life, his attempt to prove the Malay-Polynesian tongues akin with the Indo-European. But, even here, Bopp really attempted to prove the relationship, by a searching and comprehensive investigation, and would never have thought of paralleling Polynesian roots or words with Indo-European until after such an investigation; while Professor Key, so far as we can see, is ready to take whatever he can find, there or elsewhere, without scruple of any kind. This method, or lack of method, is a simple reversal of the progress which etymologic science has made during the past fifty years; it is an error compared with which all that he alleges against Bopp and the German school quite disappears from sight. We are sorry to say that it is shared by more than one other English scholar of note. Philologists who bring in Chinese and New Zealand and Finnish analogues to explain Indo-European words are thoroughly unsound, and need to reform their science from the foundation.

Our author's views in phonetics are not less unsatisfactory to us than his etymological principles. His regarding (p. 20) an inspection and study of the *chordæ vocales*, or (we may perhaps generalize it by saying) an intimate knowledge of the hidden physical apparatus by which articulate sounds are produced, as "the proper basis of the study of oral language," seems about as serious a misapprehension as it were possible to make. As well assert that the study of composition for the piano is founded upon a comprehension of the delicate muscular anatomy of the hand and arm, and of the construction of pianofortes. Precisely what are the acoustic properties of articulate sounds, and precisely how they are generated, is doubtless a matter of great interest to the philologist, and he should receive with gratitude all the light which the physicist and physiologist may cast upon it; but it is a part of physics and

physiology rather than of philology. Articulate sounds, on the one hand, are only a part of the substance of language; and, on the other hand, they are not physical products, but voluntary productions, — as much so as gestures with arm and hand are; they are learned and imitated by repeated experiment upon the capabilities of the organs of utterance, of whose intimate structure and action the experimenter knows nothing. Such knowledge, carried beyond a certain point, does not aid appreciably our understanding even of the phonetic transitions of language; for habit comes in as a more powerful determining force than the niceties of physical organization. Again, Professor Key overrates not a little the absolute value of Willis's interesting experiments on the artificial production of vowel-sounds; that the latter was able to imitate them after a fashion by using different lengths of tube, no more proves that "the character of any vowel depends almost wholly on the distance for the time between the *chordæ vocales* and the margin of the lips, in other words on the length of the vocal pipe, the position of the tongue being of no moment so long as it does not close the passage of air," (p. 20,) than does the possibility of producing tones of different pitch by pipes of greater or less length prove that the variation of pitch in vocal sounds is brought about in that way. The suggestion (p. 19) that Bopp regards *a*, *i*, *u* (sounded as in Italian) as the original vowels because they alone have independent representatives in the Sanskrit alphabet, is wrong in every particular. If our author had understood better the theory of the syllable, and the relation of vowel and consonant, he would never have made an attempt to account for the Sanskrit "vowels" *r* and *l* in a manner so lacking in every element of plausibility (p. 21). Whether it is a whim or a false theory that makes him write of "*asperates*" (p. 22, *seq.*) instead of *aspirates*, or whether the fault is simply the printer's, we are somewhat puzzled to determine. And, coming from phonetic theory to phonetic fact, we are not a little astonished at finding him (p. 40) on the hunt after a remote etymological reason for the prefixed *e* of the French *étais*, *établir*, as if it were anything different from that of *étude*, *épais*, *esprit*, and the host of other words like them; and, again, at his paralleling (p. 37), in the face and eyes of

"Grimm's law," our *through* and German *durch*, with Greek *θύρα*, German *thür*, our *door*.

We pass unnoticed a number of other points, in which our author lays himself open to criticism not less severe than that which he deals out to the representatives of the German school, and merely add, in answer to his main inquiry, "whether the labors of that school are not overvalued," that, in fact, the merits of any school that is active and successful in the discovery of new truth can hardly avoid being both overvalued and undervalued, and that this one doubtless constitutes no exception to the general rule: that its labors are overvalued by those who assume that the etymologizings of even its leaders are to be accepted on authority, in all their details, without free and careful criticism; and undervalued by those who, on account of faults of detail, reject the whole method, as well as by those who, having the acuteness to detect such faults, yet lack the sound learning and enlightened judgment which should lead them to adopt the method wherever it is truly valuable. And we fear that our author is to be ranked in the latter class. The German school has its defects, but, at the same time, its influence is far from being yet so wide-spread and commanding as were to be desired; and no anti-German school can find any ground to stand upon.

We come now to consider the other article, which, both for its character and contents and on account of the very prominent position in the community of philological scholars held by its author, demands at our hands a still more careful and detailed examination. M. Oppert is especially known all over the world as a student of the Assyrian cuneiform monuments. Among the few who have occupied themselves with this difficult subject, no one has seemed to approach it with more thorough training and fuller preparation than he, or to conduct his investigations by more approved methods; and, among the learned of the continent of Europe, his views carry a weight superior to those of any other person. Moreover, he holds the position of Professor of Sanskrit in the School of Oriental Languages attached to the great Paris library, and therefore appears to speak *ex cathedra* upon whatever concerns that language and its bearings. Hence, if he advances opinions at

variance with what has usually been taken hitherto for sound philology, it is needful that they be not passed over in silence.

The object of M. Oppert's paper, unlike that of Professor Key's, is in a much higher degree ethnological than philological. He has no complaint to urge against the Boppian school of comparative grammar, as such; he speaks in the most approving, even complimentary, terms of its founder, of whom he is proud to own (p. 54) that he has been "personally the pupil"; he is willing to allow, as a harmless or laudable exercise of acuteness, the comparison of form with form, and of dialect with dialect, so long as the comparer confines himself strictly to such work, and never looks beyond to inquire what all this proves. Nay, he will go so far as to allow that certain petty notions, to which we need not theoretically deny any degree of importance at all, are capable of being derived from the study of language. He has himself, he says (p. 53), furnished an example of what can be done for history in this way, by pointing out that the form of the Greek word ὄριζα, 'rice,' demonstrates that rice came to Europe from India, not directly, but by way of Persia. M. Pictet's very lively and suggestive, but very unsafe, work on "Indo-European Origins" is to him, in respect both to wideness of limit and sureness of result, the *ne plus ultra* of what philology can accomplish toward gathering "curious, or rather piquant" items of information as to the knowledge and possessions of the "Aryans, *soi-disant* primitive": but there lies nothing of consequence behind these facts; no historical, no ethnological truths of wider range may be arrived at by inference from them; to conclude that there exists a tie of relationship between the peoples whose tongues are so nearly related is worse than inadmissible, it is palpably absurd. What M. Oppert proposes in explanation of the connection of languages we will presently inquire, after first seeing how he apprehends the scope of linguistic study.

At the very outset of his article, he is guilty of a totally incorrect statement of what is claimed on behalf of this branch of science by its students and advocates. It pretends, he says (p. 50), to "retrace with a sure hand the effaced pages of history, and to supply the place of missing documents, even previous to the remote period of the Pharaohs, whose monuments

seem to defy eternity" (if any one can tell what that means). Now no one, surely, who is worthy of M. Oppert's attention for a moment, thinks at the present day of setting up any such unfounded claim. Linguistic science is simply one, though one of the most fruitful, of the means whereby we win hints and fragments of knowledge respecting times and peoples of which we learn nothing from other sources, or whereby we check and supplement the defective information we receive from other sources. No method of historical inquiry stands alone, nor will they all together, it is likely, do more than most imperfectly and unsatisfactorily accomplish the task which it is here asserted that linguistic science proposes to achieve unaided. How fragmentary must be, at the best, our reconstruction of the immeasurable fabric of past human history, is a truth which is coming to be felt more and more every year, and which the profoundest scholars most fully realize. To take the random assertions of superficial dreamers for the present attitude of a whole class of students may be very convenient for him who wishes to depreciate their study, but it is very discreditable either to his ingenuousness or to his understanding of the real aspect of the science. When, then, M. Oppert winds up one of his chapters (p. 57) with this bodeful sentence, "Let us not forget the fact which many *savants* acknowledge to themselves, but which no one dares confess aloud, that comparative philology, in the narrow form in which it has had to be created in order to prove fruitful, cannot be the science of the future"! he simply exposes himself in the somewhat ridiculous attitude of one who knocks down, with gestures of awe and affright, a tremendous man of straw of his own erecting.

Next, like Professor Key, M. Oppert falls mercilessly upon the unfortunate Sanskrit literature; not, indeed, in order to prove its modern date, but for the purpose of showing up the exaggerations of which its literary and scientific value has been the subject. In much that he urges, there is a certain kind and degree of justice, but the use he attempts to make of it is unjustifiable. Fifty years and more ago, when this literature was first brought to our knowledge, the attitude of the public mind was very different from what it is now. Men were still

possessed with the notion that somewhere in the East, and somewhere in the past, there was an immense deposit of primeval wisdom, of which at least the scattered fragments might be recovered for our enlightenment. And India was one of the regions to which all eyes were turned with especial expectation and longing. When, therefore, the Sanskrit literature, of such evident antiquity, and containing so much that was engaging and valuable, made its appearance, the disposition to overestimate it was altogether natural; and some of its enthusiastic admirers extolled it as being grander and nobler than aught the world knew beside. The echoes of those ill-considered praises are still heard, it is true, in the opinions of certain persons, who get their learning and judgment at second hand; and there may possibly be here and there even an independent scholar, of a very peculiar turn of mind, who rates the Mahâbhârata above the Iliad, and Jaimini and Kanâda above Pythagoras and Plato; but the generality of students of literature have long since abandoned such errors. Juster views of the legacies from primitive times, and of the endowments and achievements of various races, are prevalent; we do not look farther back than to Greece for the first full development of true art and science and philosophy, nor expect from other quarters aught but the records of men's imperfect attempts at the realization of those highest ideals of human endeavor. And to this desirable result the study of Indian literature and language has in no small part contributed. It has helped to teach us that the literary productions of different races are to be examined as documents illustrating the history of each race, and so, along with it, that of all humanity, which cannot be understood in its totality, nor in any of its portions, without the concurrence of all. This whole kind of value appears to escape the notice of our author; if a body of works is not going to teach us how to think and reason better, or to furnish us new and superior models of taste, it is of no account in his eyes. That the hymns of the Veda are inferior as poetical productions to the Psalms of David, and cannot hope ever to displace the latter in our affections and daily use, constitutes in his eyes their condemnation. We, on the other hand, would maintain it as the grand merit of the Vedic poetry, that, like the lan-

guage in which it is written, it opens to us a view of a period in Indo-European history which careful comparison and induction show us to be of remarkable antiquity and primitiveness; which are therefore calculated to modify — and have, in fact, already powerfully modified — our views of primitive times and conditions in general.

It would not be easy to discover, without aid, the connection between exaggeration, on the one hand, of the value of Sanskrit literature, and that, on the other hand, of the ethnological worth of conclusions drawn from Indo-European philology; nor are we quite sure that we see it, even when pointed out by M. Oppert. Inferences from the material and structure of a language are not less independent of the literary rank of the works in which that language is preserved to us, than of their date. It appears, however, that, in our author's opinion, one sort of exaggeration has, by a natural contagion, founded in the perversity of human nature, led to another; that the Indianists, inflamed with false fancies, and casting about to see how and where they could depart most widely and wildly from the soberness of truth, have imagined those crazy theories respecting an Indo-European race as speakers of Indo-European tongues, which, as we shall presently see, he looks upon as their chief offence.

But he is able to bring forward yet another reason to account for their aberrations. These are in part a new and striking illustration of the well-known principle that "Satan finds some mischief still for idle hands to do." It is because the proper work of comparative philology is already pretty thoroughly done up, that the perplexed students of it, sighing for other worlds to conquer, have launched out into departments, and begun drawing conclusions, with which they had no business to meddle. Bopp's Comparative Grammar has not only the honor of being the brilliant initiator and model of a new science; it has also exhausted the field of study. Hear M. Oppert: "The work of Bopp is so complete in itself, it has so exhausted all the resources of the branch of learning which it has contributed to create, that after it the science will make no further progress worth noting." (p. 55.) Again: "This feeling which impressed itself upon the disciples of M. Bopp, this conviction that grammatical investigation had arrived at its extreme lim-

it, urged them to extend unduly the frame which the prudent master had been careful not to transcend." (p. 56.) And more of the same sort, which we forbear to quote. Of all M. Oppert's erroneous assumptions respecting linguistic science, this is perhaps the one which will be received with most derisive incredulity by the workers in that science, the one which will render it most definitively impossible that he should ever again claim to be included in their number. We see here the "personal pupil," exalting beyond all measure, for his own private ends, the merit of his master's work, and refusing to believe that there can be any progress beyond the point at which he himself has dropped the study, to turn his attention to others. What is actually to be held concerning Mr. Bopp's achievements has been pointed out above, when noticing Professor Key's very opposite opinion of them. Not a single department, even of Indo-European philology, can be mentioned, in which there does not remain an infinite amount of labor to be done, in rectifying Bopp's errors, and in extending and perfecting his researches; and that not only in detail, but also in general features and grand outlines. It is not, for example, yet determined, to anything like general satisfaction, which of the great branches of the family are most nearly related to one another. One authority puts forward the Greek, another the German, another the Slavonic, as of closest kindred with the Indo-Persian or Aryan branch; one scholar of the highest rank asserts the Celtic to be the very nearest cousin of the Latin, nearer than even the Greek; while the more common opinion makes it a wholly independent division, and the first of all to separate from the common stock. And of the genesis of the primitive forms, common to the whole family, and of the special developments of vocabulary, uttered form, and meaning, which the several branches exhibit, hardly more than sufficient is known to whet the appetite for more complete knowledge; enough results yet remain to be wrought out to occupy generations of acute and devoted investigators. But, even supposing it all already accomplished by Bopp and his personal pupil Oppert, there are a host of other families whose languages are waiting for a like treatment; and only when they have received it, and when the results they yield have been combined with one another, filling out our view of each special

family, and of the totality of human speech, will linguistic scholars be at liberty to shelve their grammars and dictionaries, and take to fancy-work for lack of more legitimate occupation.

M. Oppert refers with strong disapprobation to the attempts which have been made to introduce some of the fruits of comparative philology into the systems of instruction of the young in Latin and Greek. With remarkable closeness of logical reasoning, he declares: "I can think of nothing more disastrous to science, in the point of view of pure science, *for* the desire would be to introduce notions which are often far enough from being incontestable, and, in the instruction of youth, innovation is to be avoided." (p. 57.) And he goes on to point out that the rising generation has a hard enough time of it already with its classical tasks; and that to crowd in modern philology would be a cruel addition to them. Finally, nothing would be gained by it; for "all the living forces of comparative philology would be impotent to render easier the understanding of authors, or to cast new light upon any point whatever of classical antiquity." (p. 58.) There would be more ground for this objection, if the only end of learning Latin and Greek were that one be able to make a glib translation of classical authors, and explain their archæological and geographical allusions. But, in implying this, M. Oppert takes as low a view of classical philology as he takes elsewhere of comparative philology. A Latin grammar, for example, certainly ought not to be a mere instrumentality by means of which the greatest number of empirical facts may be beaten into a boy in the shortest time; it should aim to be a true presentation of the structure of the language, with as much account of the reasons underlying the facts it teaches as shall interest and enlighten the learner, and make them more apprehensible and retainable by him. M. Oppert does not at all contemplate the possibility that the better comprehension of grammatical facts and their relations which comparative philology brings, may be made of service in recasting their systematic arrangement, and lightening the load of solid memorizing which the young scholar has necessarily to bear. The effort which he seeks to discourage is mainly made in this direction. As for the

general truths of linguistic science, they are doubtless in the main beyond the reach of the boy at school, — as, indeed, some minds are impenetrable to them even at a later stage of education: there are those into whom we may fairly wish it had been possible to flog them in the earlier and more impressible period of life; who might, in that case, exhibit a better present understanding of their character and bearing. But it is not true that the new scientific philology does not aid the comprehension of authors and of antiquities in the classic tongues. It performs the same office in them as in the more recent languages; and M. Oppert might just as properly sneer at those French and German scholars who encourage a profound historic study of their native languages as a means of keener and more exact appreciation of the beauties of their literatures, and of the thought and culture and institutions there represented.

It is impossible, however, to do justice to the incoherence and aimlessness of our author's reasonings in this part of his essay, without quoting and commenting them at greater length than we can afford.

What M. Oppert most strenuously demands of comparative philology is, as already mentioned, that it should not venture to draw any ethnological conclusions from its grammatical and lexical data. He extols Bopp (p. 55) for his "absolute grammaticalism," in that he talks always of dialects and their relations, never once referring to peoples and their connections and mutual influences. Now it is, indeed, to the credit of the author of a "comparative grammar," that he keeps himself in that work strictly within the limits of his subject; but whether we should not have a higher opinion of the *savant*, and put a fuller faith in the results of his researches, if he showed more often that he appreciated their ultimate foundation and wider bearings, may well be made a question.

If our author will not allow the etymologists to ethnologize, so neither will he admit that peculiar mental and moral characteristics constitute an evidence of ethnic unity. That traces of an "Aryan spirit" are to be discovered among the races of Europe he denies, as also that monotheism or any other *ism* is the peculiar appanage of the Semitic mind. We

find no signs, moreover, of his putting any higher confidence in physical characteristics; at least, he only once refers to them, and then (p. 54) for the purpose of denying that there is any physical difference between "Aryans" and Semites, and that they can have been subjected to different climatic or territorial influences.

All this being so, we might fairly expect to find him a general sceptic with regard to ethnological connections, holding that nothing is or can be definitely learned respecting the migrations, the superpositions, the ejections, the mixtures of races which have laid the foundation of the grand communities now known to us. To our surprise, however, we find the truth to be quite the contrary of this. The most confident linguistic ethnologist, the most positive physicist, and the most daring ethnic moralist, if rolled into one, could hardly claim to know so much and so certainly of the history of races as does Professor Jules Oppert. That whole demolition of unfounded conclusions of which we have been witnesses was meant simply to clear the ground for the erection of his own magnificent edifice of absolute truth, — truth, as we must suppose, elaborated out of the depths of his own consciousness, or revealed through some spirit medium; for, on the one hand, he seems to have left himself no other sources than these to draw from; and, on the other hand, the doctrines he brings forward bear every internal mark of such an origin. Let us look at some of them, as set forth by himself.

His grand fundamental statement, which is to crowd out and replace the vulgar doctrine that the nations of Europe, speaking languages once demonstrably the same, are probably relations by blood to one another, is this: "There has detached itself from the populations inhabiting the heights of the Hindu-Kuh a stock of peoples which has directed itself toward the West, and has imposed its idiom and the character of its language upon the tribes which, later, mingling themselves with the primitive peoples of European countries, have formed the Greek, Roman, Germanic, Celtic, and Slavic nationalities." (p. 53.) Anything more definite than this, it will be seen, no reasonable man could ask for. We are pointed to the precise mountain summits where was formed the original

Indo-European tongue, in the mouths of a people possessed of a propagative force unknown elsewhere in the world; which people afterward, coming down, we may suppose, on sleds or with the avalanches, first taught certain tribes, not further identified, to speak, which tribes then, by further intermixture, made up the European nations. As M. Oppert gives us neither here nor elsewhere any account of the data whence he derives his wonderful conclusions, we can only conjecture why he should insert but two intermediate steps between his pure Aryans and their mixed modern representatives, rather than half a dozen, or twenty, or a hundred. They remind us not a little of the demiurges whom the Indian cosmogony reverently interposes between the awful Supreme Being and his humble human offspring; or of the animals which the cosmology of the same Indians sets, one after another, beneath the earth, before arriving finally at the elephants, which need no further supporters, because their legs "reach all the way down." We seem to recognize in them, therefore, the influence of the character of Sanskrit Professor, in which M. Oppert addresses us: — and with pleasure; for we can find no traces of that character anywhere in his essay, if not here. Yet it cannot be wholly out of veneration for the "Aryans" that they are set up at such a far-off height, barometrical and other, above us dwellers upon the surface; for our author exclaims later (p. 56), with unmistakable heartiness: "One has proclaimed that the Greeks were Aryans, which, luckily for them, they are not." Wherein has consisted this superior good luck of the Greeks we are fully informed in another place (p. 62): "This people of the Greeks itself has been formed out of divers Asiatic elements, ingrafted upon a foundation of primitive population not yet recognized; it has had to endure the invasion of the Aryan race, which has imposed upon it the Greek tongue"; — and he then goes on to point out that it has absorbed also a "powerful parcel" of Semitic blood and spirit. All this, again, without any statement of reasons. "Thus saith M. Oppert" is to be accepted by us as a sufficient ground of belief in anything whatever. Elsewhere (p. 58, *seq.*) he indicates in considerable detail how and in what proportions the Oriental element, the Ugrian, and the "aboriginal

European, or Iberian," have mingled to form the commonly reputed branches of the Indo-European family; he traces the difference of constitution among the different sections of the Letto-Slavic branch, as the Russians, Poles, and Lithuanians, giving the palm of purity as "Aryans" to the last. The Pelasgians and the Etruscans make a considerable figure in his combinations, as in those of all scholars who deliberately cut loose from tangible evidences, and prefer to carry on their calculations with factors of unknown value. He has (p. 63) nothing to say against the idea that the Etruscans are a Semitic race; and, "moreover, does not hesitate to see in the Etruscans the relatives of the Pelasgians, were it only for linguistic reasons of a certain importance": — the linguistic character which they possess in common being, in truth, simply the fact that nobody knows anything reliable about either of them.

We have here an intimation that, after all, our author would not wholly reject the aid of linguistic science in determining ethnological questions; that he only demurs to its being appealed to by other persons than himself, or to sustain views which do not accord with his preconceived notions. Other evidences to the same effect peep out here and there. A list of Greek words is given us (p. 64), selected from an asserted "very great quantity" in that tongue which are of Semitic origin; and we may infer (although it is not so stated) that our author's belief, already quoted, in the extensive infusion of Semitic blood into the Greek nation rests upon their evidence. Now there is, doubtless, in Greek, as in every other Indo-European tongue, no small number of words which are not to be traced back to roots recognized as Indo-European in other dialects of the family: but the assumption is by no means to be lightly made that they are not Indo-European; and it must be an exceedingly wary, circumspect, and profoundly learned etymological science — one, in short, as much unlike M. Oppert's as possible — which shall be entitled to declare them evidence of the admixture of any particular foreign element. That the list given is to be satisfactorily proved Semitic we have no confidence whatever: it is not hard to find in a variety of quarters superficially plausible derivations for such stray words, if a sufficiently loose method be followed.

Again, the theory that the Lithuanians are peculiarly pure Indo-Europeans cannot, so far as we see, rest on other grounds than the peculiarly primitive aspect of the Lithuanian language, which, as every comparative philologist knows, has more antique features by far than any other now spoken dialect of the whole great family. So that M. Oppert, after all, makes inferences from grammatical facts, in a manner quite unworthy a personal pupil of the great master whom he extols to us as a grammarian pure and absolute. The only feature by which his method differs from that of a mere ordinary comparative philologist is his unquestioning assumption that nothing but a mixture of blood can make the language of one branch of a family change more rapidly than that of another; and by this he may count on continuing to be distinguished from all the comparative philologists.

Yet again, we should be curious to know how he has found out that there was a primitive Iberian population of Europe, if not by deduction from the character of the language spoken by the Basques, the modern representatives of the old Iberian inhabitants of Spain. Even here, however, as in the case last cited, he shows that he is no mere comparative philologist. The latter would be likely to reason somewhat after this fashion: The Basque tongue is, so far as can at present be discovered, unconnected with any other upon the earth. The Iberians, then, cannot have been either an Indo-European or a Scythian (Altaic) people. And, considering their position, it is in a very high degree probable that the soil which they held at the dawn of history was occupied by them before the other great races which now possess Europe had entered it, or before these had extended themselves so widely. Geographical names which seem to be of Iberian extraction, too, indicate that they were once spread over a wider tract; and it is impossible to say of how large a territory they may have been dispossessed by intruders from the eastward; perhaps they are the scanty relics of a race which might, with reference to the latter, lay claim to the appellation of aboriginal European: these are points respecting which, in the absence of all decisive evidence, we can only form conjectures. Our author, however, being endowed with a direct intuition, such as is not vouchsafed to the world at large

in matters of this nature, is not limited to conjectures: to him the Iberians are, categorically, the aborigines of Europe, and an element which has powerfully influenced and altered the Celtic race in Gaul.

There are other and more important cases to be pointed out where M. Oppert takes up certain of the conjectures or contingent probabilities of linguistic science, and, in the mighty alembic of his interior consciousness, transforms them into indubitable facts. It is thus with regard to the summit of the Hindu-Kuh, as centre of dispersion of the Indo-European mother-tribe. The suggestion of such a thing has, we believe, only a linguistic ground, and that one, too, of no value whatever. We are called upon to assume, in the first place, that because the Aryan or Indo-Persian branch of Indo-European speech is less changed than any other from the inferable original tongue of the family, therefore those who speak it must have stayed in or close to the original family home. But the inference is a *non sequitur*, pure and simple. We might just as reasonably hold that the Icelanders are nearest to the original home of the Germanic tribes, or the Lithuanians to the place of dispersion of the Letto-Slavic races. Fixity of speech does not necessarily imply fixity of seat; nor the contrary. Then, in the second place, we are required to believe that, since the Hindu-Kuh range lies between the Iranian and Indian territories, these two peoples must have been born on its tops, and rolled off its opposite sides into their later places of abode; and this is, to say the least, as wild an assumption as the other. Beyond all question, the Sanskrit-speaking tribes made their way into India through the passes of the Hindu-Kuh, out of northeastern Iran; but they may have come in company with the Iranians almost from the ends of the earth to the point where their roads parted. A kind of support has been sought for this theory in the geographical records of the first chapters of the Vendidad, one of the books of the Zend-Avesta, but altogether vainly; anything more uncritical and futile is rarely attempted than the conversion of the scanty and confused notices of countries lying within the horizon of the author of that document into authentic traditions of the course of Aryan migrations. To find, now, this combination

of baseless hypotheses, not admitted even as hypotheses by any cautious linguist, set up as a truth unquestioned and unquestionable over the heads of the linguists, by one who is decrying their loose and arbitrary methods, is rather trying to the patience: we hope that such a use may at least have the good effect of discrediting still more widely and speedily the hypotheses themselves.

We will speak of only one other procedure of the same character, but one which is perhaps the most fundamentally important among them all. M. Oppert, as we have seen, puts forth the doctrine that the correspondence of Indo-European languages by no means shows a race connection, a common descent, of the nations speaking those languages, but is the result of propagation from a single centre through the heterogeneous masses of a widely extended population; that it represents an imposition of linguistic materials and usages by one tribe upon others: and he puts it forth as what no one who is less wrong-headed and untrustworthy than a comparative philologist would think of denying, or even of doubting, and as needing, therefore, no laborious demonstration. Accordingly, he is at the trouble to point out none of the grounds on which, in his own mind, the doctrine rests. Yet he does furnish, in an appended sentence which we did not translate above, an apparent hint at them. After laying down his thesis, and stating (p. 54) that the time of commencement of the propagative process is doubtful, but may be conjecturally set somewhere between the fortieth and the twentieth century before Christ, he adds: "The same phenomenon has since, with more force in a linguistic point of view, been twice brought about, first by the Romans, then by the Arabs." It is, as we are persuaded, doing no injustice to his argument to draw it out in full somewhat thus: The examples of the Latin and the Arabic show that the use of a language *may be* extended far beyond the limits of the race to which it originally belonged; that peoples of diverse lineage, over a reach of country ranging at least as far as from the mouths of the Danube to the Pillars of Hercules, *may* come to speak the dialect of a single petty district; therefore, he is a dolt who does not see that this *must* be the explanation of whatever likeness exists among the Indo-European languages, from

the western shores of Ireland to the mouths of the Ganges. That is to say, we have once more a linguistic possibility, which the philosopher's stone of M. Oppert's absolute knowledge has transmuted into a pure and shining certainty.

How arbitrary and unauthorized such a conversion is, needs not to be pointed out. We should be wasting time and labor if we set ourselves about making clear that, in order to prove the analogy a good one, and capable of explaining the spread of Indo-European language, it would be necessary for us to examine the circumstances which have rendered possible the extension of the Latin and Arabic, and to inquire whether the same were supposable as accompaniments of Indo-European migration or conquest; and that, even if they were found supposable, we should only have furnished an alternatively acceptable explanation of the facts we are seeking to account for: positive testimony from some other quarter would be required, in order to make us accept it instead of the other. We do not discover in M. Oppert's paper the slightest indication that he has ever looked at the subject in this light; and, so far as he is concerned, it would be enough to place it thus before him, and demand that he furnish us reasons and reasonings, instead of mere assumptions, before we either believe him or take the trouble to refute him. Yet, as the question is one of such consequence, and as the same analogy stands in many minds in the way of an acceptance of the ethnic coherency of the Indo-European nations, a brief discussion of it will not, perhaps, be out of place here.

The first point to be noticed is, that the Indo-European languages are really one, — one in their fundamental substance and essential structure. None of them is Indo-European in the same sense as the English is Romanic, as the literary Persian is Arabic, as the literary Turkish and Hindustani are Persian and Arabic, — namely, by the infusion of a store of words, ready made, into the vocabulary of a tongue to whose grammatical fabric they are strangers. It is, indeed, assumed by a few superficial and ill-informed scholars, rude sceptics as to all the results of comparative philology, that this is the case; but we have no idea that M. Oppert himself holds such an opinion. If Bopp and his school have accomplished any-

thing whatever, they have shown, beyond the reach of cavil, that the branches of Indo-European speech have sprung from a single stock; that they are not independent growths, upon which certain common elements have been ingrafted. They all count with the same numerals, call their individual speakers by the same pronouns, address parents and relatives by the same titles, decline their nouns upon the same system, compare their adjectives alike, conjugate their verbs alike, form their derivatives by the same suffixes. That any missionary tribe or tribes should, by dint of superior capacity, civilization, and warlike prowess, or by any other kind of superiority, have exercised an influence producing such results as these over so wide an area, is absolutely impossible. Nothing known to us in the history of language lends the slightest degree of support to a supposition like this; unless, indeed, we could assume that the peoples affected had, up to that time, been absolutely destitute of speech, and were obliged to learn to talk outright from their civilizers, — a thing which no sensible man has suggested, or is likely to suggest. The superiority of one race impresses itself upon the language of another race with which it is brought in contact, not by displacing that language, but by infusing into it a certain body of new expressions, varying in number and character according to the degree and kind of influence exerted. To displace a language outright, the community that has spoken it must be fairly incorporated into that whose speech it adopts. There is no other way. This was the process which Rome carried on upon a surprising scale, and which has made the history of the Latin language so unlike that of the tongues of other conquering races, as the Persians, the Mongols, the Germans, the Normans; or even of colonizing and civilizing races, like the Phœnicians and the Greeks. There was an intensity of assimilative force in the Roman organization, military and civil, for which the rest of the known history of the world affords no parallel, and hardly an explanation. We can point out the elements of the force exerted; but the degree and extent of their combined action exceed our expectation, and, as yet, our comprehension. The Romans fused together into one body, whose whole life was governed by pulsations from the central

imperial city, first, the discordant provinces of Italy, — then, one after another, the territories of Southern Europe in which we now find the Romanic tongues spoken. They carried everywhere a highly developed civilization, to which finally a new religion lent its aid, and which was strengthened by writing and a literature; and these, as the whole history of language shows, increase immensely the capacity of a dialect for extension and assimilation of other dialects among which it is intruded. Only the co-operation of all the forces we have mentioned, working for centuries at their highest rate of efficiency, enabled the Latin to crowd out the vernaculars of so many races. Its spread was not coextensive with the limits of Roman empire, yet less with the limits of Roman civilization and religion. It was confined to that part of the Empire which was longest and most thoroughly held in hand and trained, as it were, by Rome. Britain, though more than once overrun and fully conquered, though penetrated by military roads and sprinkled with colonies, though to no small extent civilized and Christianized, yet lay too far away, and was too soon relinquished, for the process of assimilation of speech to work itself completely out; and Britain retained its Celtic tongues. The countries of Asia and Africa were in a similar position, — protected, too, in part, by the possession of a high culture of their own. And no sooner did the aggressive force of the Empire become weakened, and the severity of its hold upon its possessions relaxed, than the extension of Latin speech, save by the migrations of Latin-speaking races, came to an end. Since then, the acceptance of Roman civilization and religion has no longer carried with it the adoption of the language of Rome, but only the reception and naturalization of a certain proportion of Latin words, according to the more general analogy of such cases. The exceptional conditions being removed, their abnormal effect has also ceased.

The spread of the Arabic presents a similar combination of exceptional conditions, but in a very inferior degree; and the whole phenomenon is much more easily explained by reference to them. Here, again, we have conquest and organized empire, a religion which carried with itself a whole compulsory system of institutions, and a literature of which the chie

work, the work of daily and hourly use by every true believer, the Koran, might never be translated; so that a Mohammedan nation in which the Arabic language was not taught was an impossibility. But the extension of the Arabic as a vernacular has not been wonderful, outside of the Arabic race. Compared with the immense area of the peninsula of Arabia itself, the neighboring territories into which that race overflowed, and in which, aided by the influences we have mentioned, it made its language the prevailing or exclusive one, are not excessively wide. They are merely Mesopotamia, Syria, Palestine, and Egypt, together with the line of coast-country bordering the north and northwest of Africa. Southern Spain was once a colony from this last region; but the boundaries of the language in Spain were determined by those of the Saracenic race, and with the expulsion of that race it went out also, leaving only scanty relics in the general tongue of the country. And if, in the other direction, abundant traces of Arabic speech are found all the way even to the heart of India, they only illustrate the ordinary case of infusion of foreign elements into a vocabulary; they offer nothing which is to be paralleled with the extension of Indo-European language.

From this exposition, brief as it is, may be seen, we think, with tolerable distinctness, what is involved in the assumption that the spread of the Latin and the Arabic furnishes a sufficient explanation of that of Indo-European speech. Organized empire, enforced unity of institutions, literary culture, are the influences that have made possible the former; let them be shown to have accompanied the latter, and we will allow that M. Oppert's thesis may, at least, be true. If, however, they are, as we believe them to be, excluded by the necessities of the case, — for who has ever found their traces, or will look to find them, among the wide-spread branches of this family, many of which are seen, at the dawn of history, in a state of utter wildness and absence of civilization? — then we must refuse to be satisfied with the parallel, and must continue to hold, as hitherto, that the boundaries of Indo-European language have been approximately determined by the spread and migrations of a race.

Of course, every sound and cautious linguistic scholar is

mindful that language is no absolute proof of descent, but only its probable indication, and that he is not to expect to discover, in modern tongues, clear and legible proofs of the mixture which the peoples that speak them have undergone. Such a thing as a pure and unmixed race, doubtless, is not to be met with in the whole joint continent of Europe and Asia, whose restless tribes have been jostling and displacing one another for ages past. And especially in the case of a great stock like the Indo-European, which has spread so widely from a single point over countries which were not before uninhabited, there must have been absorptions of strange peoples, as well as extrusions and exterminations; one fragment after another must have been worked into the mass of the advancing race; and, as the result of such gradual dilution, the ethnic character of some parts of the latter may, very probably, have been changed to a notable degree. These are the general probabilities of the case: how far we shall ever get beyond such an indefinite statement of them is, at present, very uncertain; perhaps they may always remain as elements of theoretic doubt in the inferences of the ethnologist, possessing a recognizable but indeterminate value; perhaps the combined efforts of physical and linguistic science and of archæology may, at some time, fix their actual worth. But a heavy responsibility rests upon him who, in the present condition of science, attempts to appreciate them, and puts forth a sharp-cut and dogmatic statement respecting what has been the pre-historic history of this and that nation. To M. Oppert's efforts in this direction we cannot ascribe any value whatever. Nor can we refrain from expressing our astonishment that a scholar of his rank should be willing to present to a class of pupils, and then to the world, such an ill-considered tirade, such a tissue of misrepresentations of linguistic science, combined with assumptions as compared with which the worst he charges against comparative philologists are of no account. Unless some explanation and palliation can be made out in his behalf, our confidence in him as a philologist and ethnologist, as an investigator of the memorials of ancient time, will be seriously undermined and shaken, if not altogether destroyed.

A kind of explanation of some of the vagaries of this paper

suggests itself to us with so much plausibility, that we cannot forbear giving it expression, even though doubtful how far we are justified in judging our author's motives. That his polemic is aimed with special directness against M. Renan and the latter's opinions is very evident, both from express references and from less open, but yet intelligible hints. He is particularly severe upon his colleague's denial to the Semitic race of a part of that importance in the history of humanity with which it is generally credited. M. Renan is an Indo-European, who, being a special student and teacher of Semitic philology, seems to abuse this position of vantage in order to decry the Semites, and extol unduly the race to which he himself belongs. It appears, then, as if M. Oppert, occupying a contrary position, — being, on the one hand, a Semite by birth, and, on the other, a professor of the chief of the Indo-European languages, — had thought it incumbent upon him to undertake to turn the tables, and give the *soi-disant* Indo-European race a thorough setting-down. We have no intention of assuming the defence of M. Renan's peculiar views; with many of them our own opinion is quite at variance. But we must say that we do not think M. Oppert the man to accomplish the task he has here taken upon himself. The positions of the two antagonists are not, after all, quite correlative. M. Renan is confessed, by foes as well as friends, to be a Semitic scholar of the highest rank, and a man of sincere enthusiasm and fervid genius, who clothes his thoughts in such beautiful forms that one cannot read them without a lively æsthetic pleasure, even when most disagreeing with them. M. Oppert has done nothing on the score of which he can lay claim to repute as a Sanskritist, nor is he known as a comparative philologist: these are subjects which lie outside his proper department. And if he cannot impose upon us by his authority, so neither can he attract us by his eloquence: his present essay is as heavy in style, as loose and vague in expression, as it is unsound in argument and arrogant in tone. We have seldom fallen in with the production of an author of his claims to attention, which has so thoroughly disappointed us, and moved us to opposition.

ART. VIII. — 1. *Report on the Prisons and Reformatories of the United States and Canada, made to the Legislature of New York, January*, 1867. By E. C. WINES, D. D., LL. D., and THEODORE W. DWIGHT, LL. D., Commissioners of the Prison Association of New York.

2. *Twenty-second Annual Report of the Executive Committee of the Prison Association of New York, transmitted to the Legislature, January* 29, 1867.

3. *The Journal of Prison Discipline and Philanthropy.* New Series, No. 6. Philadelphia. January, 1867.

4. *Third Annual Report of the Board of State Charities of Massachusetts.* Boston. January, 1867.

5. *First Annual Report of the California Prison Commission.* San Francisco. 1867.

6. *History of the Albany Penitentiary.* By DAVID DYER, Chaplain. Albany. 1867.

7. *Reports of the State Prisons and Penitentiaries of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin, Missouri, and Minnesota, for the Years* 1865, 1866; *of the County Prisons of Connecticut, Philadelphia, Detroit, and the District of Columbia, for* 1866.

8. *Report of the Board of Inspectors of Asylums, Prisons, etc.* (Canada.) Quebec. 1867.

9. *Seventh Annual Report of the Commissioners of Public Charities and Correction.* New York. For the Year 1866.

10. *Compte Général de l'Administration de la Justice Criminelle en France pendant l'Année* 1865. Presenté à Sa Majesté l'Empéreur par le Garde des Sceaux, Ministre de la Justice et des Cultes. Paris. 1867.

11. *Statistique Centrale des Prisons et Etablissements Pénitentiaires pour les Armées*, 1863, 1865. Par M. DUPUY, Directeur de l'Administration des Prisons, etc. Paris.

12. *Mittheilungen aus den amtlichen Berichten über die zum Ministerium des Innern gehörenden Königlich Preussischen Straf- und Gefängnissanstalten. Betreffend die Jahre* 1858–1866. Berlin. 1861–1867.

13. *Allgemeine Deutsche Strafrechtszeitung.* Herausgegeben von Dr. Franz von Holtzendorff, Professor der Rechte. 1861–1867. Berlin.
14. *Rückblick auf die Wirksamkeit und Erfahrungen der Strafanstalt St. Jacob bei St. Gallen in den ersten fünfundzwanzig Jahren ihres Bestandes.* Von J. Ch. Kühne. St. Gallen. 1866.
15. *Sul Governo e sulla Riforma delle Carceri in Italia. Saggio Storico e Teorico.* Da Martino Beltrani Scalia, Ispettore delle Carceri del Regno. Torino. 1867.
16. *Suggestions on Prison Discipline and Female Education in India.* By Mary Carpenter, author of "Our Convicts," etc. London. 1867.
17. *Eleventh Annual Report of the Directors of Convict Prisons for Ireland.* Dublin. 1867.
18. *De la Détention Pénale.* (Bonneville de Marsangy, in the *Revue Contemporaine* of July 15 and 31, 1867.) Paris. 1867.

By statements hitherto made in these pages, our readers have been made acquainted, at least partially, with the progress of prison discipline during the last twenty years, and the systems at present in use in several of the most advanced nations of the world. But these systems are constantly changing, sometimes by a gradual modification which does not alter the apparent form, (as in the ameliorations which have taken place in both the Auburn and the Pennsylvania systems in America,) sometimes by the abrupt substitution of one system for another, such as has been seen in Ireland. Moreover, as the experience of one country slowly transpires and is communicated by a sort of endosmosis to another, and then to another, there is always going on an eclectic reconstruction, in which the parts of different methods are sometimes joined together as strangely as the limbs of the Roman *What-is-it*, commemorated by Horace in the *Ars Poetica*: —

> "Humano capiti cervicem pictor equinam
> Jungere si velit et varias inducere plumas
> Undique collatis membris."

It will be well, therefore, to generalize a little from the great

array of facts and authorities, in order to see what is the tendency and what may be the results of the present movement, in all parts of the world, for a reformation of prison discipline.

The works named in the foregoing list relate to some phases of this question in the United States, in Canada, England, France, Italy, Prussia, Switzerland, Ireland, and India; but they do not constitute, except in this country, a tithe of the publications annually made concerning the management of prisons. For example, we have not enumerated the latest works of Desmaze, Davisiès des Pontès, and Bonneville de Marsangy, in France; nor those of Fuesslin, Zugschwerdt, Mittermaier, and Holtzendorff, in Germany; of Orelli, in Switzerland; of Brusa and Bellazzi, in Italy; nor the account given by Capadose of the prisons of Spain. Still less have we attempted to follow the wide wanderings of discussion in England, or to trace the successive ameliorations of the penal law in the Continental countries. It is enough if we point out the main current of European theory and practice, and how this has been or may be modified in America, with which we are most concerned. A new interest in the subject has been aroused here, which promises, before it dies away, to lead to such an improvement of our prisons as will make them second to none anywhere, and establish a greater uniformity and consistency in the legislation and administration of penal affairs throughout the Union.

No work yet written will do so much to promote these objects as the two volumes published by the Prison Association of New York. Together they make up more than a thousand pages, devoted to a statement of the general principles of penal law, and of the manner in which it is administered in the prisons of the United States, and especially of New York. The first volume, originally intended to make Part II. of the Annual Report for 1866, now appears as a special Report, and has just been laid before the public. It is the work of two gentlemen, Dr. Wines and Professor Dwight, admirably qualified for their task, who in 1865 undertook, in behalf of the Prison Association, to visit all the loyal States of the Union, except those on the Pacific shore, and to learn, by personal

observation and inquiry, their theory and practice of prison management. To show how thoroughly they performed this labor we quote their own words, which disclose a comprehensive plan, carried out with a diligence truly remarkable.

"The States actually visited by the commissioners were Connecticut, Delaware, Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Missouri, New Hampshire, New Jersey, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Vermont, West Virginia, and Wisconsin. Of these eighteen States, two, Delaware and West Virginia, have no state prisons, but confine their criminals, convicted of state-prison offences, the former in the jail at New Castle, and the latter in that of the city of Wheeling. Of the remaining sixteen, two, Pennsylvania and Indiana, have each two state prisons; the rest, each one. Five of the above States, Delaware, Indiana, New Jersey, Vermont, and West Virgina, had no reformatories at the time of our visit; but Vermont has since established one, New Jersey is about to do likewise, and Delaware is making efforts in the same direction. Of the other thirteen States visited, all have at least one reform school, Ohio has two, Pennsylvania three, and Massachusetts three. We inspected, more or less thoroughly, all the state prisons in the States visited, almost all the correctional institutions, and as many of the common jails, municipal prisons, workhouses, and houses of correction as our time would permit. Of course, it was not possible to make an exhaustive personal examination of so large a number of prisons. Years, instead of months, would have been required for such a labor. Therefore, to supplement our personal observations, we prepared five distinct series of interrogatories on as many different branches of the general inquiry with which we were charged, viz.: I. State Prisons. II. County Jails. III. Houses of Correction. IV. Juvenile Reformatories. V. The Administration of Criminal Justice. These interrogatories were drawn up with care, and were as exhaustive of the subjects to which they relate as we could make them.

"As in none of the States is there any central authority having charge of the county jails, and in none, except Massachusetts, any general system of houses of correction, or other prisons intermediate between the state prison and the common jail, but little use could be made of the questions relating to these two classes of prisons. The other series were committed to prison officers and other competent persons in the several States visited. No replies have been received in regard to state prisons from Delaware, Illinois, Maryland, New

Jersey, West Virginia, the Eastern Penitentiary, Pennsylvania, or that of Southern Indiana. From fourteen prisons of this class replies have been obtained, most of which are full and satisfactory, and must have cost their authors no little time and labor in their preparation. Answers have also been received, prepared with much care, from fourteen reformatories. Gentlemen of high legal ability and standing, in nine States, have responded to our interrogatories on the administration of criminal justice, sending us papers of very great value thereupon. A few answers have likewise been received relating to county jails and houses of correction, and a considerable number of private letters, from ladies as well as gentlemen, conveying valuable information, and offering no less valuable suggestions, touching the matters in which all the friends of prison reform feel so deep an interest. To all who have thus aided us, at the cost of so much time and toil, we tender our heartfelt thanks, trusting that they will find their reward in the consciousness of having helped forward a work which will not prove wholly fruitless of influences favorable to the progress of a just and enlightened prison discipline.

"In all the States visited, the commissioners sought opportunity to converse with governors, judges, attorneys-general, and private citizens of eminence, on the matters to which their mission related. Everywhere we were warmly welcomed. Everywhere a lively interest was expressed in our object. Everywhere the present labor was regarded as having a national scope and importance. All this was gratifying to the commissioners, as indicating that the investigation in which we were engaged had become a felt want of the country, and that it promises results not confined to the State in which it originated, though she claims to be an 'empire' in herself, but extending far beyond her boundaries." — pp. 2, 3.

In working up the mass of facts obtained by the commissioners, there was, of course, much room for choice as to methods of arrangement, and we are not sure that the best has been chosen. As the Report stands we have: — I. A statement of the prison systems in use in the United States and in Canada, accompanied by some general remarks on what a prison ought to be and do. II. A description of the general administration of the prisons, followed by a detailed account of each important prison visited, with suggestions for the improvement of its material arrangements. III. The characteristics of the prison officers, and of the discipline established by them, with criticisms thereupon. IV. Some account of the

moral and religious agencies allowed in the actual prison discipline, and of the secular instruction allowed or required. V. A view of the sanitary condition of the prisons. VI. An exposure of the very unsatisfactory method of employing the labor of prisoners. VII. A discussion of the modes, length, and proper execution of sentences. VIII. The reformatory character, or the want of such character, in our prisons. IX. The question of pardons. X. A discussion of the value of criminal statistics, followed by certain general statistics in regard to crime. XI. The county jails and houses of correction. XII. Juvenile reformatories. In the Appendix we have, besides letters and other documents in support of the statements made in the text, extended memoranda on the criminal administration of various States of the Union, furnished by legal gentlemen in those States. It will be seen at a glance how wide is the field opened for investigation and examination by such a work as this.

In order, however, to bring home to the people of New York certain special topics here touched upon, the Executive Committee of the Association, in their last Annual Report (the twenty-second), have discussed them still further and with more detail. One of these is the Irish convict system, which is recommended for adoption in New York, and which is admirably described by a member of the committee, Mr. Gaylord B. Hubbell, who last year visited and examined the Dublin prisons, as well as several of those in England. Another is the contract system of labor, with particular reference to its results in the State of New York, where it seems to do more mischief than anywhere else. A third point is the evil influence of partisan politics on the management of prisons, as illustrated in the experience of New York. In connection with these two subjects we have a detailed account of the state prisons and district penitentiaries of New York, supported by the evidence taken last year by a prison commission, of which Dr. Wines was the secretary.

Taking the two Reports together, therefore, we find that they contain a general description by competent eyewitnesses of the chief prisons of the United States, Canada, and Ireland, and a detailed exposition, based upon testimony under oath, of

the internal management of the state prisons of New York, — a collection of facts which furnish a broad basis for generalization. We find, also, that the inferences from the facts thus gathered have been made by able men, accustomed to weigh, compare, and generalize; and that these have been expressed with sufficient force and plainness to serve as the outlines of a new system of prison discipline. What is the nature of this may be gathered from the following extracts. Speaking of existing systems, Drs. Wines and Dwight say: —

"Notwithstanding the encomiums bestowed, in a former paragraph, on the comparative excellence of the prison system of Massachusetts, we have no hesitation in expressing the opinion that there is no approach to perfection in any of the systems which have fallen under our observation. The one supreme aim of all public punishment is the protection of society by the prevention of crime. A system of prison discipline, which, combined with other agencies to be hereafter indicated, would banish crime from society, and secure a universal observance of the laws, would be fairly entitled to be regarded as perfect; and in proportion as such system should approximate the result stated would be its approach to the standard of perfection. . . . .

"There is not a prison system in the United States, which, tried by either of these tests, would not be found wanting. There is not one, we feel convinced, — always excepting the department which has the care of juvenile delinquents, — not one which seeks the reformation of its subjects as a primary object; and even if this were true of any of them, there is not one, with the exception above noted, which pursues the end named by the agencies most likely to accomplish it. They are all, so far as adult prisoners are concerned, lacking in a supreme devotion to the right aim; all lacking in the breadth and comprehensiveness of their scope; all lacking in the aptitude and efficiency of their instruments; and all lacking in the employment of a wise and effective machinery to keep the whole in healthy and vigorous action." — pp. 61, 62.

After pointing out the necessity of a gradation of prisons, properly classified according to the age, sex, and degree of criminality of the persons confined in them, they proceed to speak of the changes necessary in the higher prisons, which come immediately under the control of the State.

"Even supposing the buildings to be retained as they are, and the system in its substratum to continue unchanged, still important modifi-

cations are needed to bring our state prisons into harmony with the true design of a penitentiary system, considered as an agency for reforming and reclaiming fallen men and women. *A complete separation of the government of these prisons from party politics;* permanence in their executive administration, effected by a permanent tenure of official position therein; the employment of officers possessing a higher grade of qualifications; the investiture of the wardens with the power of appointing and removing all the officers who constitute the police force of the prisons; *the total abolishment of the contract system*, and the organization of the convict labor upon a principle which, in seeking to make the prisons self-supporting, will seek still more to make their industries an agency in reforming the prisoners and restoring them to society, masters of a business that will enable them to earn an honest livelihood; *greater breadth and efficiency given both to religious and secular instruction; the introduction of a carefully devised system of rewards as an encouragement to good conduct and industry, so that the principle of hope shall act with even greater vigor than that of fear;* and the making of the reformation of the prisoners the real, as it is admitted to be the proper, object of the discipline of the prisons, and of the efforts of the officers in carrying it into effect; — such are the essential reforms needed in the system, supposing it to remain in other respects what it is at present." — p. 72.

We have here Italicised some of the most important and the most difficult to effect of these proposed reforms. The exclusion of the party politician and the prison contractor, followed by the introduction of the good schoolmaster, the natural teacher of religion and of the never-ceasing inspiration of hope, would indeed transform our prisons, and make them approximate to what in theory they are. But how Herculean the labor necessary to accomplish this in the State of New York, for example! The language used in the Annual Report to describe the present condition of things in that State is not a whit too strong.

"The official management of the prison fails in a great measure to accomplish the imperfect and narrow ends for which it is designed. It is pecuniarily expensive, it is inefficient, oppressive, and corrupt. The officers are, in many instances, unfit for their position; the morals of some of them are not much better than those of the convicts; they take little interest in the performance of their duties, — good men are weighed down by the burdens and incumbrances of the system. There

is little interest on the part of the public in the subject. It is deemed by many to be enough if the bad men who are convicted of crime are simply out of the way. Before conviction the criminal is the subject of interest, — often he excites sympathy, at other times awakens terror or causes horror; after conviction he is in general forgotten, or, if remembered at all, is the subject of aversion and loathing. He has the brand of the law upon him, and the treatment which he receives is regarded with apathy. The want of interest on the part of the public reacts on the officials. They care in general but little for the reformation of prisoners. The theory of reformation is laughed at and scouted by the keepers, and treated as altogether a visionary thing.

"Among all these men is a class of persons who have no real connection with the prisoners or the system. They are present to promote their own interest, without reference to the welfare of the prisoners or of the State. They too scout and scoff at reformation; their sole business is to 'buy and sell and get gain.' They thwart the efforts of well-meaning wardens; they corrupt the corruptible; they eject the honest; they or their agents lead the prisoner to violate the prison rules, and to adopt a course of deception and fraud. Fraud without and fraud within, — such is the convict's life." — pp. 338, 339.

Yet it is in the very centre of such outrageous mismanagement that we find the first vigorous movement for a more perfect method. In the Constitutional Convention, in session while we write, for revising the fundamental law of New York, a strong effort is making to place the control of the prisons where the better sentiment of the State can reach to regulate and reform them. The first step will be to take the office of Prison Inspector out of the market of political bargain and sale, and allow the Governor to bestow it for a longer term of years on persons for whose conduct he shall be in some degree responsible. This is already done with regard to the Police Commissioners, the Health Commissioners, etc. of New York City, and the newly established Board of Charities for the State.* The principle is a good one, and there is hope that it may be adopted. After that, however, will come the weary labor of correcting in detail the mischief ingrained in the old

* The term of office for the New York Board of Charities is eight years, — nearly double the average term of the Massachusetts Board, which in most respects served as a model for the Legislature of New York. We believe a shorter period would have been better.

system, — a labor so great that it would be better at once to throw aside the system, as Mr. Hubbell recommends, in all new prisons which it may be necessary to build in New York, and to introduce there the Irish system, which could thence be gradually extended to the older prisons. As it is sometimes maintained that Sir Walter Crofton's system could only succeed in Ireland, and would be quite impracticable in America, it may be well to hear the opinion of Mr. Hubbell, an experienced prison officer, on this point. In his report of visits made to English and Irish prisons, he says: —

"Can the Irish system, then, be adopted to advantage in our country? For my own part, I have no hesitation in returning an affirmative answer, with emphasis, to this question. There are, to my apprehension, but two obstacles in the way. These are, the vastness of our territory, and the inefficiency of our police; the former of which offers great inducements to prisoners to attempt to escape, and the latter being impotent to prevent escapes, or to re-arrest to any great extent. But, on the other hand, in the first place, a system of photography could be so well arranged as to make it difficult for escaped prisoners to remain in the larger towns to lead a criminal life without detection; and in the second place, this country has greatly the advantage over England or Ireland in the more numerous chances of employment for men of this class after discharge. . . . .

"The Maconochie mark system, the gratuities, the school teaching, the library, the course of lectures, competitive examinations, debates, &c., &c., could all be introduced here, as well at least, and, in my opinion, much better than in Ireland. I have always entertained the belief that a very large proportion of the criminals, especially the young men, who get into our prisons, might be reformed, and made good citizens; and I feel quite sure, that, if some such plan as the one here proposed should be tried in our State, the good results would be such as equally to astonish and delight the friends of prison reform." — 22*d Ann. Rep.*, pp. 186, 191.

In this connection, it may be said that an act passed by the Legislature of Massachusetts at its last session (chap. 301 of 1867), in regard to conditional pardons, has established the principle of the Ticket-of-Leave in this State. The old law, allowing pardons to be granted conditionally, (which was reported by Mr. Rantoul, in 1837, in compliance with a suggestion in the message of Governor Everett, and passed without

opposition,) had the fatal defect of requiring a trial by jury to determine whether the pardoned man had broken the conditions of his bond. The new law places the supervision of a prisoner, conditionally pardoned, in the hands of the State constables, and makes the Governor and Council judges of the fact whether he has broken the conditions, so that he can be at once remanded to the prison from which he was discharged. Under this law, it only requires energetic and discreet action on the part of the Executive, to give us the benefit of this feature of the Irish system, while the others can be adopted as they are found useful.

We cannot enlarge upon the details presented by the Report of Messrs. Wines and Dwight, in regard to the various prisons of the United States; nor is it essential that we should do so, since, in the main, they corroborate the statements made in these pages a year ago. But there are some facts to which it will be well to call attention. It seems that almost the first, if not the very first, attempts made in the United States to establish prison libraries, and to give school instruction to convicts, were tried in Kentucky, where also the first organized penitentiary was established. In 1802 we read, among the rules of this penitentiary, that "the convicts shall be encouraged to employ any leisure time in reading, and donations of books will be thankfully received; and the keeper shall take care of them, and procure a list, with the names of the donors." This was some approach to a prison library, if books were actually given for the purpose, as is probable. In 1829, the Legislature of Kentucky required the keeper of the penitentiary "to cause the convicts who are unlearned in reading, writing, and arithmetic to be taught in one or other of these branches at least four hours every Sabbath day," provided the expenses should "not exceed $250 per annum." Meagre as this supply of teaching must have been, it was yet better than is even now furnished by law to any of the convicts of Massachusetts, Michigan, Missouri, Rhode Island, or Vermont, in which States, as we learn, no secular instruction is given; while in Kentucky itself the law of 1829 seems to be no longer in force. In Canada they manage things better in this respect. Dr. Wines says: —

"The provision made for the instruction of the convicts in the Pro-

vincial Penitentiary of Canada, in the elementary branches of a common education, is worthy of a humane and enlightened government. A teacher is employed, who gives his whole time to the work. He is aided by as many assistants as may be needed, who are selected from the best educated and best conducted of the convicts. The co-operation of these convict teachers in the work of instruction is found to be of essential service. Under the direction and superintendence of the schoolmaster, they teach the classes assigned them to the entire satisfaction of the prison authorities. The school is attended by all the inmates of the prison who need instruction in reading, writing, or arithmetic, and who are not incapacitated from learning by defective sight, deafness, mental imbecility, or other infirmity. There are four distinct sections of prisoners, whose members come under instruction in the course of the day, as follows: a morning class, commencing at six o'clock in summer and seven and a half in winter, and closing at nine; a noon class, commencing at twelve and a half, and closing at one; an afternoon class, commencing at one, and closing at three; and an evening class, from six to seven and a half in summer, and from five to seven in winter. The noon class, which is the largest, numbering sixty or more members, is composed of convicts who are engaged on contract work, and who devote to lesson learning one half of the time allotted to the midday meal. The evening class is made up of prisoners who labor on the Rockwood Asylum for Criminal Insane, at the quarry, and on farm and garden work. Between two and three hundred convicts are, in this manner, brought under daily instruction, for a period varying from half an hour to three hours." — p. 230.

"*There is no prison in the United States, we are sorry to say,*" adds Dr. Wines, "*in which so much time and toil are given to this department of reformatory agencies.*" Yet the necessity for it exists here, as well as in Canada; for we are told that

"The proportion of prisoners in the state prisons who are unable to read at the time of their committal varies a good deal in the several States; the extremes, as reported, being from one twentieth in Vermont, where the proportion of the wholly illiterate is smallest, to one third in Wisconsin, where it is greatest. In other States, the proportion fluctuates between these extremes. In Maine, it is reported at one fifteenth; in Massachusetts, at one tenth; in Connecticut, at one eighth; in New Hampshire and Pennsylvania, at one seventh; in Indiana and Ohio, at one fourth; in New York, one tenth (at Auburn, one fifth, and one third at Sing-Sing). Of convicts who give themselves in as able to

read, from a fourth to a half cannot, as a general thing, do so without spelling out more or less of the words; and, in most prisons, few really good readers are received." — p. 231.

Considering how much ingenuity has been expended, in this country, on plans of ventilation, it is discouraging to find that our prisons are not, after all, well ventilated. In respect to this, the Report says: —

"In general, the ventilation of American state prisons is very imperfect; and the same is true of the Provincial Penitentiary of Canada. On entering them, one is met by an odor made up of animal secretions, damp walls, pent-up dormitories, and musty clothing. Yet, with the exception of a few in the more newly settled States, our prisons, for the most part, appear to be kept thoroughly clean and well whitewashed. Whence, then, this disagreeable odor? It can come only from the want of adequate ventilation. Many of the prisons, probably the most of them, have ventilating flues in the walls of the cells, but there is no heat in them to create a current; and on trial with a lighted match, while in some the flame was slightly drawn into the opening, in others there was no draft at all. The best ventilation we found was in the Massachusetts State Prison and the Albany Penitentiary." — p. 239.

These things being so, and the size of the cells, in many prisons, being too small to admit of a sufficient supply of wholesome air, unless there is an actual ventilation, it is a matter of regret that the convicts are compelled to spend so many hours shut up in their cells. An evening school, or anything else that would take an hour or two in each day from this solitary confinement, would greatly benefit the health of the men. It is possible, however, to improve the ventilation of even the worst-built prisons, by some contrivance like that described by Mr. Hubbell as in use in England: —

"A high tower of brick or stone, well proportioned, and resembling in the distance an old English castle, is attached to every prison. This tower is made useful as well as ornamental. It rises to the height of sixty to eighty feet, and serves as the ventilator to the whole edifice. Each cell is provided with a valve, which can be worked by the prisoner at pleasure, to admit cold air from the yard; a second, to admit warm air; and a third is placed in the upper part of the cell, which enters a flue connecting with the great tower. The opening of this tower is five or six feet in diameter, and the smoke-pipe from the hot-air furnace and cooking apparatus passes up through it to the top, thus forming a cur-

rent of warm air, which operates with so much power upon the flues connecting with the cells, that the foul air is effectually and completely carried off. *No offensive odor, such as is usually found in prisons, and is peculiar to them, can be detected in any of the English prison buildings thus ventilated.* On inquiry of a warder, who had been a prison officer more than thirty years, how he accounted for the universal purity of the atmosphere in the English prisons, he replied, that he did not believe that it was all due to the mode of ventilation in use, but thought the kind of employment largely adopted did much to aid in this respect. Picking oakum is the first work performed by all prisoners, and, for this purpose, a small quantity of tarred rope is placed in each cell. The prisoners pick this rope to pieces, fibre by fibre, and it is thus made to emit a fume of tar, which mingles with the air in the entire building. This, he says, is always agreeable, and, he thinks, goes far towards purifying and deodorizing the atmosphere."

It may be remarked, in passing, that the general construction of the modern English prisons is much superior to that of ours. The prisons at Concord, Windsor, Wethersfield, and Sing-Sing, though considered well built at the time of their construction, would be instantly condemned by an English inspector, accustomed to the spacious cells and broad corridors of the British prisons.

There is one feature of the American prisons, much commented upon by Dr. Wines, which is now coming into notice unfavorably all over the country. We refer to the contract system of convict labor, to which some allusion was made in these pages a year ago. The opinion of Dr. Fosgate was then cited, and some criticism was made upon the ruinous financial consequences of the system. But what was then said was as nothing to what has been developed by the inquiries of the New York Prison Association. No such searching exposition of the real working of this system has ever been made as that contained in the two Reports at the head of our list. It is proper that all who have at heart either the welfare of prisoners, the economy of public money, or the honor of the State, should look at the testimony taken by the Commission of 1866 in regard to the contract system in New York. The evils there complained of, and apparently proved, may not be so flagrant elsewhere, but there is no certainty that they will not become so, and in some measure they do exist

in Massachusetts and other States. In summing up the evidence presented, the Commissioners say: —

"In all this testimony there is a most surprising unanimity. Here we have a score of men speaking without concert, with deliberation and under oath, whose utterances are of the same purport. Wardens and chaplains, physicians and clerks, have but one word to utter on the subject of the contract system, and that word is condemnation. Not a voice is raised in its defence, not a word by way of apology, so far, at least, as it is employed in the *state prisons of New York*. Here, whatever it may be elsewhere, it is the fruitful and most mischievous source of discontent and insubordination in the convicts, favoritism and oppression by the officers, weakness and laxity in the discipline, and corruption in various forms. It entails most serious pecuniary losses upon the State, and often makes the prison a seminary of vice rather than a school of reform. To all these men the contract system is an utter abomination. Its continued existence does not admit of discussion; prison discipline will be destroyed, if there is any serious delay in abolishing it. Some of the witnesses say that it were better that the prison doors should be thrown open, and all punishment of criminals abandoned, rather than longer to tolerate this most evil and corrupting system of convict labor." — 22*d Ann. Rep.*, p. 320.

These general denunciations are supported and explained in detail. In regard to the frauds practised and the losses falling on the State, the Commissioners say: —

"There are various modes whereby the labor of men engaged in task-work is secured at a much less rate than is usually paid by employers. In the first place, the bids for labor are purposely made very low, and there is reason to believe that there is frequently a combination among contractors to keep the rates very moderate. Convict laborers earn two thirds or perhaps three fourths of the wages received by other workmen, while the State is paid only about one third of that amount, thus obtaining only one half of the sum which it should receive. Again, after the contract has been entered into, the contractors resort to various devices to cause the State not to realize the amount which is justly to be paid by the very terms of the contract. Among other artifices, a workman's name is often retained on the invalid list after he has been restored to perfect health, so that his labor may be obtained at half price. Another laborer may be reported as stupid and unable to work, for the same reason. Another is claimed to deserve only the compensation of an apprentice, as the work is new to him. This claim is altogether un-

founded, as an allowance for inexperience has already been made in the original contract of letting the men. Moreover, if the contractor makes little or no profit from his contract, whether the cause be his own negligence or misfortune, he asks the State for a deduction, in which application he is almost always successful; while, as might be anticipated, the State receives from him nothing beyond the provisions of the contract, though he has realized enormous profits. To understand how these results are accomplished by the contractors, it must be remembered that they are often active politicians, influential at nominating conventions, and that the authorities who have the management of the prisons have good reason to hold them in awe and to fear their opposition. For some reason the contractors succeed in carrying measures which are most advantageous to themselves and disadvantageous to the State." — *Ibid.*, pp. 323, 324.

But this is not the worst of it. The discipline of a prison in which contractors have become the controlling parties is fearfully demoralized. The Report goes on to say: —

"The contractor introduces into the prison a class of persons who are unfit to associate with the prisoners, and who greatly abuse the facilities there afforded them for intercourse with convicts. These persons are of two classes, — laborers, and instructors of the convicts. While some of them are men of good character, a large proportion of them are of a low order of morals, being addicted to habits of profanity and intemperance. They enter the prison precincts under the influence of liquor, and are often the subjects of the jeers of the men whom they supervise. They introduce surreptitiously into the prison forbidden wares, such as articles of food or spirits. They bring these in large quantities, under the guise of materials to be used by the contractors, and then sell them to the prisoners at enormous profits of one or two hundred per cent. They also furnish the convicts, at exorbitant rates, the means of carrying on clandestine correspondence, by letters to their friends, at the same time robbing the 'mail' which has thus been intrusted to them. The utmost difficulty is found in detecting this villany, because the word of a convict cannot be taken, and because, when complained of, they assume and maintain, with skill and surpassing impudence, the air of injured virtue. . . . . These men keep horses and carriages upon the premises, thus furnishing a convict to whom they are friendly a favorable opportunity for escape, and sometimes even drive the vehicle by means of which he departs.

"More than all this, they not unfrequently interfere directly with the discipline, thus subverting the control and influence of the warden.

They not only insist, in some cases, that the convict shall be punished, but in other instances endeavor to screen him from the punishment which the interests of the institution demand that he shall receive. They even lay plans to entrap prisoners, so that acts may be done by which punishment may be sustained. . . . . As long as fixed notions of morality govern the action of the keepers, the contractor is powerless for wrong, whatever his disposition may be, or however much his supposed interests call for injustice to the prisoner. The contractor, under such circumstances, naturally applies to persons in authority, when a keeper may be appointed who follows out his views. To any person who is willing to make use of such means, the great objection to a keeper is not his want of experience, but his desire and purpose to carry into practical effect the rules laid down by the authorities for his government. *It is therefore to be expected that many officers who understand the state of the case have learned that the easiest course for themselves is to make the interests of the State and its prisoners subordinate to the will of the contractor or his agent. If the keepers are thus made, by outside pressure, to bend from the course which they have deliberately marked out for themselves, they lose their self-respect, become vacillating and servile in their conduct, forfeit the respect of the prisoners, and thus conduct the prison as the external power exercising the pressure requires.* The evil steadily increases, until, as an experienced officer testifies of Sing-Sing, the discipline grows more and more lax year by year." — *Ibid.*, pp. 326 – 330.

Let us now see some of the evidence on which these statements are made. Rev. B. I. Ives, for eight years chaplain at the Auburn Prison, when questioned in regard to the effect of the contract system on the State finances, said : —

" *Q.* Will you mention in what respects it is injurious to the State financially? *A.* First, the State loses large sums by letting the labor of its convicts at prices far below those paid for the same kinds of labor outside. Secondly, the State loses by surrendering profits which she might realize. A capable, honest man at the head of the prison might make all the profits which are now made by contractors. Thirdly, the State loses by often compromising, at large discounts, her own just claims against contractors. Fourthly, the State loses by paying heavy damages, most if not all of which rest on no basis of right.

" *Q.* Will you give some instances of these unrighteous claims for damages? *A.* There have been instances in which five or six men have been absent, for a fortnight or so, from the shops, on account of which absences the contractors have claimed damages equal to the

wages of all the men in the said shops for an entire month. There have been other cases where revolts have taken place or work been damaged, and the contractors have come upon the State for large damages in consequence. At other times, difficulties have occurred in shops, on account of which men have been taken out and locked up in dungeons for punishment, and here, again, claims for heavy damages have been set up." — *Ibid.*, p. 418.

Mr. L. L. Wilkinson, formerly a keeper in the Auburn Prison, gave the following replies to questions : —

" *Q.* What is your idea of the profits made by contractors ? *A.* They all make money, and many of them have accumulated fortunes. I know of but one exception to this.

" *Q.* Do not the contractors, nevertheless, often come upon the Legislature for large damages on the ground of alleged losses ? *A.* They do ; I will mention one case in illustration : a contractor who was allowed the use of the valuable water power of this prison without charge, and yet paid less for the labor of his men than other contractors who furnished their own power, has gone back on the State for heavy damages, claimed to have been accruing for a long series of years, in consequence of some deficiencies, from time to time, in the supply of water. The damages claimed, if I rightly remember, were some $ 200,000 ; and they were allowed to the amount of $ 125,000 certainly, and I think more. *This sum was paid by the State, in effect, for the privilege of making a present to the contractor of the use of the prison water power.*" — *Ibid.*, p. 437.

The following is from the examination of the same witness : —

" *Q.* Are contraband articles ever introduced into the prison by these outside parties ? *A.* They are ; such as whiskey, tobacco, provisions of various kinds, &c. Some of these are largely introduced, and also no small amount of yellow-covered literature. These articles are, I think, usually sold at an advance of not less than four hundred per cent on what the same could be obtained for outside.

" *Q.* As far as you know and believe, is bribery, direct or indirect, ever employed on keepers to induce them to wield the discipline of the prison, or to perform other acts in the interest of the contractors ? *A.* Yes, that is so. For instance, where the State receives fifty cents per day for a convict's labor, and his labor is worth one dollar to the contractor, if he does a half-day's work over his assigned task, earning for the contractor a dollar and a half, and receiving for himself twenty-five

cents for his extra work, the difference between seventy-five cents and one dollar and fifty cents will be divided equally between the contractor and the keeper. A keeper has stated to me that he received more from the contractors than he did from the State in the shape of salary. Keepers also very often receive favors from contractors in the form of presents, loans of money, &c., &c.

"*Q.* What do you say of the power of contractors in our prisons? *A.* The power of contractors is predominating; it destroys the independence of the keepers, and is a constant source of irritation among the convicts." — *Ibid.*, p. 442.

Rev. John Luckey, for eighteen years chaplain of the Sing-Sing Prison, was questioned, and replied as follows: —

"*Q.* How do contractors make their power felt in the administration of the discipline of the prison? *A.* They often interfere in the discipline directly, by dictating as to the punishment of the convicts in their shops. I have often seen contractors accompany prisoners to, and return with them from, the punishment-room. On one occasion, I saw a man bucked in a very cruel manner; and when, as his neck would be wrenched, and under the agony thus inflicted he would plead for mercy, a contractor's agent, standing by, and fairly gritting his teeth, would say to the officer who was administering the punishment, 'Give it to him, the villain! he is not subdued yet.' I have known contractors to stimulate certain prisoners, by special rewards, to do more than an ordinary day's work, and then insist upon others coming up to that standard, and, when they failed to reach it, to have them punished as idling and wasting their time.

"*Q.* In what ways do contractors make their power felt, in obstructing the moral agencies employed, or desired to be employed, as a means of reforming prisoners? *A.* They oppose everything of this kind which would consume any part of the time of the convicts that might be employed to their own pecuniary advantage. Some years ago, as a means of softening the feelings and improving the hearts of the convicts, I got up a prison choir, composed of the prisoners. The hour from four to five every Saturday afternoon, in summer, and from three to four, in winter, was devoted to practice, in my presence. *At length, the contractor, in whose shop the leader of the choir worked, forbade him to attend the rehearsal, unless a deduction of one fourth should be made from his wages on that day, for this loss of a single hour.* There was a convicts' prayer-meeting, held for an hour once a fortnight, during a part of the time of my incumbency; the contractors objected to any of their men attending this service at the sacrifice of a single hour of their time. *In the year* 1844, *I proposed a burial service for the dead, at which the*

convicts should be assembled in the chapel. To the propriety and wisdom of such a service, as a moral agency potent for good, the inspectors, at once and cordially, assented; but in their response to my written application, they said that a difficulty presented itself as to carrying out my recommendations, in the fact that a large number of the convicts were employed by contractors at certain per diem *rates.*" — *Ibid.*, pp. 481, 482.

Mr. Gaylord B. Hubbell, formerly warden at the Sing-Sing Prison, made these statements on his examination: —

"*Q.* What, in general, has been the character of the citizens brought into the prison by contractors, as well those whom they are authorized to introduce as those whom they are not? *A.* They are, as would naturally be expected, of a variety of characters; and this applies to both classes, except that the permanent foremen, or instructors, are generally the most intelligent. This would naturally be the case, as the foremen must, generally, be better business men and more skilled workmen. Some of both classes are men of good character; *but a very large proportion of them are of a very low order of morals, being addicted to habits of profanity and intemperance.*

"*Q.* Do contractors or their employees ever make use of profane or abusive language to prisoners? *A.* Contractors' employees have been reported to me for using such language to convicts, and have been forbidden the prison premises therefor.

"*Q.* Do they ever enter the prison precincts under the influence of liquor? *A.* I do not now remember that I ever saw them enter the premises in such a condition, but such cases were reported to me; and contractors' foremen have, for such offences, been dismissed, and prevented from ever again acting as foremen or having any intercourse with prisoners.

"*Q.* Are contraband articles ever introduced into the prison by these outsiders? *A. They are, by contractors' agents, and not unfrequently by contractors themselves.*

"*Q.* What kinds of articles are so introduced? *A.* Sugar, tea, coffee, butter, pies, cakes, liquor, looking-glasses, combs, brushes, &c. These sometimes come in by the barrelful, under the guise of materials to be used by contractors.

"*Q.* How are these articles disposed of? *A.* They are sold to prisoners, sometimes for money, but chiefly for overwork, at prices double, and many times treble and quadruple, their market value. The foremen keep an account with the prisoners for overwork, and draw the money for the same from the contractor; but they pay the prisoners in these contraband articles at the exorbitant prices above mentioned, and thus make large gains for themselves." — *Ibid.*, p. 393.

It is needless to continue these citations, which cover all and more than all the charges made by the Commissioners. Since it may be said, however, that these statements in regard to the financial inefficacy of the contract system, so far as the State is concerned, are mere opinions, let us see what the pecuniary result has been in our state prisons for the year 1866. During that year the number of convicts was everywhere large, the wages of labor outside were high, and, with a good system and good management under it, every one of these prisons, except those in Pennsylvania, ought to have more than paid its expenses. This was actually done by the Detroit House of Correction, where the sentences average less than four months, and where a large proportion of the convicts are women, who earn less than men. It was nearly the same at the Albany Penitentiary, where the sentences are of about the same length. But in the twenty or more State prisons, only four paid their expenses with their earnings. This, and other curious facts, will be shown by the following table, which, with some modifications, is the same in character as that printed in the North American for October, 1866. By a comparison of the two tables, several interesting particulars will be seen. For example, it will be noticed that the average number is this year some three thousand (or more than forty per cent) greater than in the previous year; yet the annual deficit of the prisons as a whole will be considerably greater than last year, when it rose to half a million of dollars. And it will generally be seen that the largest deficit occurs in prisons where the contract system has reached its full development, — where, as in New York, it controls everything, sooner or later, — and not where it is carefully kept in check by strict regulations, or where only a part of the convicts are set to work under its provisions. It must be borne in mind, too, that all these prisons except those in Pennsylvania seek to be self-supporting, to pay their expenses with their earnings. Most of them, at some period, have done so, but have gradually lapsed into their present condition, not usually because their expenditures are excessive, but because their receipts from labor are so small. In New Jersey, for example, these receipts were but $25,000, with an average number of 475 prisoners, — a dollar a week for each convict.

A Table, showing the Number, Date, Location, Number of Prisoners, and Annual Cost of the State Prisons in Twenty-one States, 1866–67.

States.†	Prison Established.	Location of Prison.	Average No. of Prisoners, 1866.	Deficit of Earnings, 1866.	Excess of Earnings, 1866.	No. in Prison at latest Dates, 1867.
				$	$	
Maine	1824	Thomaston	114	.....	288.57	154
New Hampshire.	1812	Concord	114	.....	646.89	119
Vermont	1808	Windsor	78	7,308.98	.....	90
Massachusetts	1805	Charlestown	470	6,104.65	.....	537
Rhode Island	1838	Providence	55	1,500.00*	.....	56
Connecticut	1827	Wethersfield	201	.....	1,078.85	194
New York	1821	Auburn	688	30,444.93	.....	944
" "	1825	Sing-Sing	1339	94,555.04	.....	1,420
" "	1845	Dannemora, Clinton Co.	440	.....	1,735.66	500
New Jersey	1835	Trenton	475	45,000.00*	.....	520
Pennsylvania	1826	Pittsburg	330	19,037.58	.....	424
"	1829	Philadelphia	510	50,000.00*	.....	589
Maryland	1815	Baltimore	541	13,000.00*	.....	661
Ohio	1834	Columbus	799	16,239.86	.....	1,029
Michigan	1838	Jackson	412	60,000.00*	.....	528
Illinois	1857	Joliet	960	7,000.00*	.....	1,004
Indiana	1846	Jeffersonville	350*	20,000.00*	.....	417
"	1859	Michigan City	150*	25,000.00*	.....	272
Iowa	1852	Fort Madison	90*	25,000.00*	.....	120
Wisconsin	1849	Waupun	133	1,256.88	.....	200
Minnesota	1859	Stillwater	27*	12,000.00*	.....	44
Missouri	....	Jefferson City	500	50,000.00*	.....	700
Kansas	1863	Leavenworth	75*	20,000.00*	.....	123
Kentucky	1798	Frankfort	400*	.....	14,000.00	524
California	1851	San Quentin	700*	50,000.00*	.....	800
			9951*	535,697.95*		11,969

* Approximate.

† Few of the Southern States are included in the above table, for the reason that there are very scanty returns from their state prisons since the war, and it is impossible to give their financial results without such returns. In Delaware, West Virginia, and Florida there are no state prisons. That of Virginia is at Richmond; of North Carolina, at Raleigh; of South Carolina, at Columbia; of Georgia, at Milledgeville; of Alabama, at Wetumpka; of Mississippi, at Jackson; of Louisiana, at Baton Rouge; of Texas, at Houston; of Arkansas, at Little Rock; of Tennessee, at Nashville. Several of these prisons were burnt during the war, — those at Columbia, Milledgeville, and Baton Rouge, — and all were much disorganized. At present there are at Nashville four hundred and fifty convicts, working at the rate of forty-three cents a day. At Richmond there are three hundred convicts, nearly half of them colored persons; at Little Rock there are sixty-four.

The number seems to be fast increasing in the Southern prisons, particularly of colored convicts, of which, before the war, there were but few. When every planter held court-baron as often as he pleased, and extended the privileges of that feudal tribunal to the taking of life and limb, there was little need to sentence slaves to the state prison. But now, when the blacks are free, they are charged not only with their own sins, but those of their neighbors, and they get sentenced without stint. In Virginia, Georgia, Tennessee, and perhaps elsewhere, efforts are making to improve the prison system. At the Kingston Penitentiary in Canada there are now 869 convicts, and about sixty in Halifax in Nova Scotia.

Notwithstanding this large increase in our prison population, which has crowded nearly every state prison in the country far beyond its capacity, we see that they fell far short of being self-sustained. Some of them will do better this year, — perhaps most of them. Massachusetts will have a surplus revenue from her state prison of perhaps $25,000; Ohio, of from $5,000 to $10,000; and a few other States will be added to the list of the self-supporting. Michigan will reduce its deficit from $60,000 to $25,000, and New Jersey will make a considerable reduction. On the other hand, at Sing-Sing, Philadelphia, Pittsburg, and perhaps elsewhere, the deficit will this year be greater than in 1866.

That there is no necessity for such financial results may be learned, as we have already intimated, from the experience of the Albany Penitentiary and the Detroit House of Correction. The latter is a new prison, opened in 1862. Since January, 1863, the earnings, derived chiefly from the labor of county prisoners committed for an average of only about one hundred days, have amounted to nearly $30,000 above all expenses, or an average of $7,500 a year from less than two hundred prisoners. Within that time the Michigan State Prison has cost more than $100,000. The contrast is a striking one.

The history of the Albany Penitentiary, as given by Mr. Dyer, for twelve years its chaplain, is interesting in several aspects. Contrary to the universal custom in this country, this prison was built and has been managed for more than twenty years by the same person, — Amos Pilsbury, the most remarkable prison officer in America. The Boston House of Correction has been for a considerably longer time under the charge of one person, — Captain Charles Robbins; but he did not build his prison, nor has he had so much voice in controlling it as General Pilsbury has had in his. The latter is now sixty-two years old, and more than forty of those years have been spent in the government of convicts. He aided his father, Moses C. Pilsbury, for some years, in the management of the New Hampshire State Prison; then went with him to Wethersfield to build and control the Connecticut State Prison, of which he became Warden in 1830. In 1845 he was invited to Albany, where, with a brief interval, he has ever since had charge of

the Penitentiary. This is a district prison for minor offences, owned by the county of Albany, but tenanted by convicts from eleven other counties of New York and from the District of Columbia, which, having no penitentiary of its own, sends its sentenced persons three or four hundred miles to place them under the control of General Pilsbury. It was built during the years 1845 – 1848, in part by convicts directed by their warden, and at a cost of less than fifty thousand dollars. At that time it contained but one hundred and fifty-four cells, so that the average cost of each cell was about three hundred dollars. It has now been so much enlarged as to contain about three hundred cells, of which the average cost is about the same, the whole establishment costing less than one hundred thousand dollars. When it is remembered that the Boston jail with its land cost nearly half a million, though the number of cells is smaller, and that the Lowell jail, with only a third part as many cells, has cost nearly two hundred thousand dollars, the frugality of General Pilsbury will be appreciated. But when it is added, that he has received and supported in this penitentiary an average of three hundred prisoners for twenty years, without drawing upon the treasury of the county for a single dollar, but that he has, on the contrary, paid into it, in one way and another, nearly one hundred thousand dollars, or the cost of his prison, his frugality seems still more praiseworthy. In Albany, as in Connecticut, he has so managed the prison finances that criminals have been restrained, punished, and to some extent reformed, without the cost of a penny to the public.

It is easy to deride such economy, and still easier to charge its success to hard treatment of the convicts. But though the rule of General Pilsbury has been severe, it has been just, and apparently has led to the reformation of as many criminals as the more costly methods pursued in most of our prisons. And it is necessary to say that an honest parsimony practised by any public officer in the State of New York becomes of the greatest moral value; while the importance of it in prison discipline is but little understood by those who denounce it. *Magnum est vectigal parsimonia*, — a saying as worthy of regard now as when Burke mispronounced it in the House of Commons. There are limits to the patience with

which a community will endure to be taxed for the reformation of rascals; and they are more quickly reached when it is generally understood that the rascals are not made better. Any prison officer, therefore, who can make his establishment self-supporting, secures a hold on public confidence which will allow him to make those generous experiments for the reformation of convicts that alone can elevate prison discipline to the rank of philanthropy. And it is because we believe that frugality is not inconsistent with a high standard of prison discipline, — nay, is essential to it, — that we look with so much satisfaction upon the career of General Pilsbury. He has shown that the extravagant cost of prisons is needless; now let those who believe themselves more humane than he go forward and accomplish as much in their own specialty.

Mr. Brockway, the Warden at Detroit, is a pupil of General Pilsbury; but in some respects he has deviated from the severe discipline of his instructor. He allows his prisoners certain privileges which at Albany would be thought questionable, but which he finds to be productive of good. In his response to the inquiries of Dr. Wines, Mr. Brockway says: —

"In the administration of the discipline kindness is employed, and is esteemed a very important means. Prompt attention to the seasonable requests of prisoners, considerate treatment, and the maintaining of a kind, benevolent demeanor in the intercourse of officers and prisoners, produce the most gratifying effect. Rewards are also employed as a stimulus to good conduct, viz. commutation of sentence three days per month; the allowance of overwork (paid only at the expiration of the sentence); and, in the female prison, the division of the prisoners into two grades." — p. 341.

The whole of the letter here cited deserves to be carefully read, for the admirable suggestions which it contains. It is not without reason that the Commissioners say: "As we have not hesitated to avow the conviction that the Massachusetts State Prison is, all things considered, the best which it has been our fortune to visit, so we have as little hesitation in expressing the opinion that, so far as our own knowledge goes, the Detroit House of Correction holds a like pre-eminence among the prisons of its class. This establishment is under the care and direction of Mr. Z. R. Brockway. There are few

prison officers in this country, or probably in any other, who combine, in an equal degree, the varied qualifications requisite for the successful management of a penal institution." (p. 339.)

Mr. Brockway's prison is one of that class, small in this country, which receives persons convicted of minor offences, and gives them steady employment. In all the States except Massachusetts, New York, and Michigan, such convicts are sent to the county jails, where, generally speaking, they have no regular employment. In Michigan there is but one of these district prisons; in New York there are six, namely, at Albany, Brooklyn, Buffalo, New York, Rochester, and Syracuse; in Massachusetts there are virtually fourteen, including the State Workhouse and the Boston House of Industry. At Cincinnati, St. Louis, Philadelphia, and other large cities, there are prisons which approximate to this character, and in Chicago a house of correction is contemplated. In Connecticut, and to some degree in New Hampshire, there is a regular system of employment in the county jails. Nothing would do more for the great mass of our convicts than the establishment of good district prisons, on the model of the Detroit House of Correction, in all the States; and this, we are glad to see, is urged by the Commissioners. The number of persons passing through this grade of prisons is vastly greater than the number sent to the state prisons in all the States where both classes of prisons exist. In Michigan, for instance, 620 persons were confined in the state prison in 1866, while not less than 907 were confined in the Detroit House of Correction, receiving only the convicts of a few counties. In the New York State Prisons in 1866, 3,400 persons were confined; but in four of the district prisons, 5,383 persons; in the Massachusetts State Prison, 626 persons; but in the houses of correction and industry no less than 6,400 persons, — more than ten times as many. Any instrumentality which can affect these prisons of the second grade, therefore, will influence a far greater number of convicts at an age when they are generally more susceptible to good impressions.

A year ago allusion was made in these pages to the rapid filling up of our prisons with men who had seen service in the army or navy. At that time, we are confident, at least *two*

thirds of all commitments to the state prisons in the loyal States were of this class. In the two prisons which make up their statistics most carefully, — the Massachusetts State Prison and the Eastern Penitentiary at Philadelphia, — the following facts have been noted among the male prisoners: —

	Massachusetts Prison.	Eastern Penitentiary.
Committed the first half-year, 1866,	179	197
" " second " "	68	152
Army and navy men, first period,	124	138
" " second period,	47	108
Total for the year, Committals,	247	349
Total for the year, Army and navy,	171	246
Total for the year, Percentage,	69.1	70.5
Committed the first half-year, 1867,	91	160*
Army and navy men,	60	98
Percentage,	66	61.25*

It thus appears that throughout 1866 the percentage of army and navy prisoners committed was nearly *seventy*, and that it has since fallen off but little. The effect of this state of things, of course, has been to make up nearly or quite half of the existing prison population from the ranks of the soldiers and sailors. In the Connecticut Prison, out of 179 male convicts now in confinement, 97, or 54 per cent, have seen service. In Massachusetts and Pennsylvania, the proportion must be quite as large.

Probably this is the case in the other prisons named in the foregoing table, in few of which have any inquiries been made on this point. If so, there cannot be less than *five or six thousand* soldiers and sailors who fought for the Union now confined in the state prisons of the Union; to say nothing of the tens of thousands besides, who during the year have been confined in the lesser prisons. These things are arousing the interest of many who have never before felt the importance of reforming the discipline of prisons.

It is curious to observe how all suggestions for such a reformation take one direction in this country. The official opinions quoted by Dr. Wines, the reports of prison establish-

* Including perhaps six or seven females, which would increase the percentage among the male prisoners to 63.6.

ments, the newspaper articles that treat this subject, are all pitched in the same key. Longer sentences, steadier discipline, rewards for good conduct, and assistance to discharged prisoners, are recommended by all, while the main current of opinion sets strongly in favor of conditional pardon, and the other characteristics of the Irish convict system. This opinion we believe to be well founded; and that it prevail speedily ought to be desired by all philanthropists.

In Europe, however, the Irish system is either ignored or strenuously opposed in several of the principal nations. In England it has at last triumphed over its opponents, and in substance has become the law of the land. It is to be administered there, too, under the eye of its founder, Sir Walter Crofton, who will give it all the efficacy which English prejudices will allow. But in France it is as yet but little known, although advocated in one form or another for the last twenty years by Bonneville de Marsangy. The recent papers of this writer in the *Revue Contemporaine* give the reader a general history of the various methods of prison discipline, with special remarks on the condition and defects of the French prisons. He declares that, in spite of the efforts of MM. de Tocqueville, de Beaumont, de Metz, Aylies, Blouet, Béranger, Moreau Christophe, and others, the French system of imprisonment remains essentially the same as that established by Napoleon in 1810. This is hardly credible, unless we understand it to mean that all the attempts made to modify particular portions of the systems have failed to affect the majority of the French prisons as a whole, though they have entirely changed the character of special prisons. In 1810 there were none but *congregate* prisons, which had not even the Auburn improvement of separation by night. The reports of De Tocqueville and others convinced some of the authorities in France that their congregate prisons were faulty, and a few were built on the Philadelphia plan. But the work of reconstructing prisons always goes on slowly, and before the ideas of the reformers could be completely carried out a reaction took place. The advocates of the cellular (Philadelphia) system were so strong in 1836, that they obtained from the Minister of the Interior a circular directing that all new prisons in

France should be built with separate cells; in 1843, they carried their plan for separate imprisonment (limited to twelve years) through the Chamber of Deputies; in 1846–47, a more stringent measure was proposed, which the revolution of 1848 set aside. The reaction then began; and, in 1853, the Minister of the Interior issued a circular abandoning the cellular system.* This resolution of the imperial government was violently opposed by the friends of separation, but was never changed; on the contrary, in 1865, the cellular prison of La Roquette, the most perfect of its kind in France, was closed by order of the Emperor, on the representations made by a commission at the head of which was the Empress. As the Auburn system had never been generally introduced, though partially followed in some of the prisons, the abandonment of the cellular plan threw the government back on the old method, dating from 1810. This is something like the fashion of the Charlestown prison before its rebuilding in 1828–29; there is little solitary confinement, most of the cells being large, and tenanted by a considerable number of persons. The sanitary arrangements and the service of food are excellent; the workshops are orderly and the workmen industrious. But the classification of convicts is very imperfect; they associate with each other to their mutual injury, and they seldom manifest any desire for repentance. In order to guard in some degree against the contamination of evil associates, the government has, since 1853, favored the classification of prisoners according to some standard of conduct, and has directed the prisons to be built to carry out this classification whenever any are to be constructed.

This policy is one step toward the adoption of Sir Walter Crofton's system, of which the central idea is to classify on the basis of conduct and character. And perhaps it will be easier to introduce the more rational and practical discipline of the Irish prisons into those of France, than into a country like Belgium, where the establishments are better, and better

* There were at that time in France fifty-five cellular prisons, and eleven more were building. The whole number of prisons was upwards of four hundred, of which twenty-five were *maisons centrales*, or state prisons. Besides these there now are more than twenty-two hundred guard-houses (*Dépôts de Sûreté*).

managed, but where the cellular system has been more completely developed, and has fixed itself in the minds of the most intelligent officials. For the same reason that the new method will be welcomed in the mismanaged state prisons of New York and New Jersey, it will find acceptance in France. It will offer there a palpable and immediate amelioration of the present condition of things; but in Belgium, as in Pennsylvania, the existing system has such merits in some respects, that it will yield reluctantly to what is novel and opposite. And this system is that of complete separation.

Let it be understood, however, that there is no country in the world, and probably not even a city or district, where the separate or Philadelphia system is found in its purity. Certainly, Philadelphia is not such a city, for even in the Eastern Penitentiary itself there are now about six hundred prisoners, while the number of cells is but five hundred and forty. The authorities are therefore compelled to place two or more convicts in the same cell, and theoretical isolation becomes practically association. In the county prison at Moyamensing, the case is still worse, for the inspectors say: "The separate system has been necessarily abandoned in all the departments of the prison; *and even in the convict corridors, two, three, and even four prisoners are placed together in a single cell.*" * The fact is, that no community as yet has been found willing to build prisons sufficient to give every convict a separate cell, except during seasons when the number committed is very small, as it was in Philadelphia during the late war.

Perhaps, of all countries, Belgium is that which approaches nearest to a complete realization of the separate system. Her policy for many years has been directed by Ducpétiaux and other warm advocates of separation; her territory is small, her population and wealth great, and the administration of her provinces much more uniform than in the larger States of Europe. We should expect to find in Belgium, then, a good arrangement of cellular prisons, a wise management of their affairs, and the most satisfactory results in general. Such we believe to be the case; and yet the success of the Belgian prison system cannot be compared with what has been seen in

* Report of the Philadelphia County Prison, 1867, p. 9.

Ireland, — a country poor, decaying, and ill governed. There are found even in Belgium some advocates of the Auburn and some of the Irish system.

In Holland, where also the government has been very favorable to the cellular system, the opposition to it is much more decided than in Belgium. We noticed, early in 1866, the remarkable treatise of Van der Brugghen, published after his death, and devoted to a general examination of prison discipline. He had been at the head of the prison system of Holland; he had learned to distrust the method of separation, and was the hearty supporter of Crofton's method. Since his death the controversy has gone on in Holland, with what immediate result we are not informed, but certainly without strengthening the cellular system in the opinion of the people.

Prussia furnishes an example of one of the best-managed cellular prisons in the world, — that of Moabit in Berlin. Built in 1848, and opened in 1849, it came, about 1857, to be largely devoted to separate imprisonment, — the number of solitary cells at that time being several hundred. In 1860 there were four hundred and thirty-three of these cells, the whole number of prisoners being six hundred and thirty-nine.* It cannot be considered, therefore, as a perfect example of a cellular prison; but so distinct are the two portions of the establishment, that the cell-buildings really constitute a prison by themselves. Of the other thirty-two convict prisons of Prussia, none have so large a proportion of isolated prisoners, and few or none are so well constructed. The average number in all these prisons is upward of twenty thousand, and the annual commitments are more than five thousand. Probably less than a tenth part of the prisoners are subjected to separate confinement; yet this is the system favored by the government. Its merits are warmly disputed by Dr. von Holtzendorff of Berlin, Professor John of Königsberg, and other advocates of the Irish system, and their arguments cannot fail to have an effect.

Austria, as might be supposed, has the worst prisons in Cen-

* *Mittheilungen aus den amtlichen Berichten*, etc., (1861,) pp. 271, 272. This work appears under the direction of Dr. Wichern, the founder of the *Rauhe Haus* at Hamburg, whose religious dictation in the Prussian prisons has been strongly censured by Holtzendorff.

tral Europe. The higher convict prisons are about thirty in number, and are chiefly on the old congregate plan, with more or less admixture of the Auburn system. A measure is now under discussion for introducing separate imprisonment and conditional pardon, but the friends of prison reform in Germany do not hope much from this. The task of improving the old structures is so great, and so costly, that it is not likely, in the present state of Austrian finances, to be seriously undertaken. This will be no obstacle to the granting of conditional pardons, however, and may even promote it, since that may be looked upon as a measure of economy.

The smaller states of Germany are likewise so heavily burdened with debts and taxes, that they are effectually prevented from doing much to improve their prisons. Some of these, as, for example, the cellular prison at Bruchsal in Baden, are famous and well managed; others, and probably the majority, are by no means what they should be. The centralizing force of Prussia may eventually work a reformation in the prisons of Germany, as well as in her other institutions. If so, the essays towards a system of conditional liberation, which have been made in Saxony, Bavaria, and Oldenburg, will doubtless be carried further.

Switzerland contains many small prisons and one or two larger ones. The Penitentiary of St. Jacob, in the Canton of St. Gall, though no larger than the New Hampshire State Prison, and scarcely more than half as ancient, has already had its history twice written. Mooser, for many years its director, published one account in 1851, and Herr Kühne another in 1864. The latter has reached a second edition, and not without reason, for it is an admirable work of its kind, giving all of the essential facts in the history of the little prison, during its first twenty-five years. Like most of those in Switzerland, it is on the Auburn plan, and manages its labor skilfully. In no country of Europe are the prison earnings so considerable, in proportion to the expenses, as in Switzerland. It is feared that to introduce the Irish system would increase the cost of the prisons, which the Swiss are unwilling to do. Notwithstanding this, there are champions both of the Irish and the cellular system in Switzerland; and at Geneva, and perhaps elsewhere, the latter is in use.

In Denmark, Sweden, and Norway this system has been partially introduced, but is by no means universal, nor likely to become so. In most of the prisons where there are separate cells, the convicts associate during the day. We do not learn that any movement is making in favor of the Irish system in these countries.

In Italy this is the case, although no practical steps have yet been taken. As in the other European countries, the chief controversy has thus far been between the friends of Auburn and of Philadelphia, while the actual state of the prisons has been very defective. Under the vigorous supervision of Signor Scalia, we may look for an improvement both in theory and practice.

Concerning Russia, Turkey, Greece, and Spain we have no recent information of much value. In Portugal a new prison code has been compiled, into which, through the enlightened views of Jordao, its compiler, have been incorporated many of the provisions advocated for twenty years by Bonneville de Marsangy, and by him urged upon the consideration of the Portuguese government. But in actual administration there is reason to fear that Portugal, like Italy, is still behind the age.

The recent visit of Miss Mary Carpenter to India, and the pains taken by her to investigate the condition of convicts there, has excited a strong desire among the enlightened residents and natives of that empire to correct the shameful abuses described by her. No American or European prisons, since Andersonville was captured, can compare for neglect and abuses with those of India. An attempt will be made to apply to them the principles which now regulate the prison system of the United Kingdom; and when Miss Carpenter revisits India, as she proposes, she will doubtless find that her labor has not been in vain.

Having thus glanced at the position of affairs in respect to prison discipline in so many parts of the world, we may venture to state some of the conclusions drawn from an extensive and by no means hasty examination of the subject. The prevention of crime and the reformation of criminals must ever be among the most difficult duties laid upon society; yet the at-

tempt to perform these duties must be zealously made, wherever men feel the obligations that civilization imposes. For many crimes are created by civilization, and many criminals have been made so by society itself, with little chance to escape from the career into which they have been thrown. Moreover, crime, for which society is not responsible, which springs from individual depravity, still places us under a strict responsibility for its repression, and for the bettering of him who commits it; especially when (as civilized communities now universally do) we compel the perpetrator to forfeit his liberty, and to undergo the servitude of labor or the wretchedness of separation from his kind. This duty has never been more clearly pointed out than by a writer already referred to, — M. Van der Brugghen of Holland. In his posthumous *Études sur le Système Pénitentiaire Irlandais*, this generous moralist says: "The state, or the community, determining to deprive men by force of their natural liberty of action, and using, as a chief means of punishment, restraint and intimidation, incurs thereby an absolute obligation to the persons thus treated, that they shall receive not only what their physical wants require, but also those means of satisfying the needs of their moral and intellectual nature which their dependent condition prevents them from obtaining for themselves." (p. 33.) This is the statement of a simple duty, as unavoidable as the duty of protecting life and property against crime; and society is derelict for neglecting the one as much as for refusing the other.

Let it be observed that there is as yet no question of philanthropy. It is not to be considered, as yet, what are the deserts, or what have been the temptations, of the prisoner. No matter what his career has been, if the state decides to spare his life, the state must also provide that he shall suffer no moral detriment by the course of life which is forced upon him. That the abstract right to take life as a sanction of the law inheres in the state, we have no doubt; that it must sometimes be exercised, we also believe. But all people are coming to the conclusion that capital punishment must be reduced to a minimum; banishment also has almost ceased to be employed as a penalty; and imprisonment is more and more the accepted

atonement and corrective of crime. This being so, it is in the highest degree important that society should recognize its bounden duty towards the millions whom it compels to undergo this forced servitude.

But no sooner does the kindly heart of man take notice of these imprisoned millions, vile and abominable as they may be, than the touch of sympathy begins to be felt. "But for the grace of God, there goes John Newton," sighed that pious man as he saw the convict carried to Tyburn. "I see no crime I might not have committed," sings the Swedish poet. No less touching, if less epigrammatic, is the humble avowal of the author we have cited above: "If I might venture to refer to my personal experience, gained during the many years that I exercised the functions of prosecuting attorney and prison inspector, I am constrained to say that I should think ill of any man who should have much to do with prisoners, and not feel oftentimes profoundly humiliated in soul. So many days of shame and suffering for a detected act of moral weakness, the sinfulness of which makes no approach to the vileness of thought and deed that too often form the web of our hidden life! And how many times it happens that a poor scapegoat of human justice has less need of Heaven's pardon than the well-fed, well-wrapt philanthropist, who comes in complete freedom to labor for his conversion!" (pp. 52, 53.)

Henry Fielding would have loved a public prosecutor who could say that; yet with his compassion for the criminal would have mingled too much indifference to the crime. But Elizabeth Fry and Sarah Martin, and the many good women who have taken pity on prisoners, were inspired by a sentiment more akin to the Divine mercy, and more native to the hearts of women than of men. It was Portia, not Bassanio, that said of mercy,

> "It is an attribute to God himself,
> And earthly power doth then show likest God's,
> When mercy seasons justice"; —

and this saying is the commonplace of our times, which the influence of women has done so much to soften in this very matter of legal punishment.

No doubt, the temper of modern philanthropy has sometimes

shown itself too effeminate, and has, with some reason, drawn down the vituperation of Carlyle and his echoes. It should be the office of mercy to qualify justice, not to supplant it; and it is the truest kindness to the criminal to exact from him the penalty of misdoing. So far as any system of prison discipline has done this, it has done well, if it has done nothing more. But, unfortunately, the attendant circumstances are generally such as to neutralize the good thus effected. In the solitary cell, the convict first bethinks himself, then repents (at least of the consequences of his crime), and then comes to regard himself as the victim of vindictive punishment. In the congregate workshop, too often, he neither bethinks himself nor repents, but hastens at once to the conclusion that he is the victim of society. He lives in a world of bustle and toil, full of mean passions and selfish hypocrisy; but the bustle and companionship do not animate him, the toil is enforced for the profit of another, and he loses sight of the motive which the law professed to assign for placing him in a position so galling to every fibre of his self-respect. And when we reflect what is the standard of character which we subject to these bitter tests, how ill-born, ill-taught, ill-regulated, ill-conditioned, nine tenths of these convicts have been, can we wonder that so few of them are improved by their imprisonment? There is much wisdom, though there is too little hope, in the shrewd sayings of an Edinburgh policeman: —

"*The simple truth is, that punishment hardens. It is forgotten by the hopeful people that it is clay they have to work upon, not gold; and therefore, while they are passing the material through the fire, they are making bricks, not golden crowns of righteousness.* Enough, too, has been made of the evident enough fact, that they must continue their *old* courses, because there is no asylum for them. You may build as many asylums as you please, but the law of these strange nurslings of society's own maternity cannot be changed in this way. I say nothing of God's grace, — that is above my comprehension; but, except for that, we need entertain no hope of the repentance and amendment of regular thieves and robbers. They have, perhaps, their use. They can be made examples of to others, but seldom or ever good examples to themselves. That they will always exist is, I fear, fated; but modern experience tells us that *they may be diminished by simply drawing them,*

when very young, within the circle of civilization, in place of the old way of keeping them out of it." *

Drawing criminals "within the circle of civilization," whether they are young or old, is indeed the only way known to human ingenuity of reforming them. It is in this respect that the Irish system (or, more properly, the system of Maconochie and Crofton) stands pre-eminent above all others for the management of convicts. At every step they are brought nearer to the life of civilized men, by means of incentives and appliances which have, thus far, been found more efficacious than any that prison regulations have before called into exercise. And they are so, simply because they are the natural means, pointed out by good sense and good will, for supplying what convicts have hitherto lacked, and for reducing what they have had in excess. The prison systems that have preceded this have not been without their good points; indeed, there was little or nothing adopted by either Maconochie or Crofton that was absolutely new. What is valuable is the combination and application of the good points of every system; and this may be secured by the disciples of Crofton and his unappreciated predecessor.

But it is vain to hope for perfect results from any system, or for considerable success under any management, unless the public take a hearty interest in the condition of our prisons. The ignorance and indifference in regard to them, now too common everywhere, and as remarkable in the United States as in Austria, must in some way be overcome. If public opinion required that every magistrate should visit, at least once a year, every prison to which he had condemned a fellow-mortal, and that every preacher of the Gospel should have offered at least one prayer in the company of those prisoners whom Christ enjoined him not to neglect; if the devoted women who go out as missionaries, or teach the freedmen, would first give one thought to the heathen in the nearest jail; and if the workers in other fields of philanthropy would do the same, — we should soon see a new order of things. We should not get rid of crime, nor find prisons useless, but we should bring the treatment of the criminal class into nearer agreement with our theory of laws and the spirit of our religion.

* Curiosities of Crime in Edinburgh, by James McLevy, Edinburgh Police Detective Staff. Edinburgh: W. Kay & Co. 1867.

ART. IX. — *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society.* Third Series, Vols. IX. and X. Fourth Series, Vols. VI. and VII.

THE founders of New England are commonly represented in the after-dinner oratory of their descendants as men "before their time," as it is called; in other words, deliberately prescient of events resulting from new relations of circumstances, or even from circumstances new in themselves, and therefore altogether alien from their own experience. Of course, such a class of men is to be reckoned among those non-existent human varieties so gravely catalogued by the ancient naturalists. If a man could shape his action with reference to what should happen a century after his death, surely it might be asked of him to call in the help of that easier foreknowledge which reaches from one day to the next, — a power of prophecy whereof we have no example. We do not object to a wholesome pride of ancestry, though a little mythical, if it be accompanied with the feeling that *noblesse oblige*, and do not result merely in a placid self-satisfaction with our own mediocrity, as if greatness, like righteousness, could be imputed. We can pardon it even in conquered races, like the Welsh and Irish, who make up to themselves for present degradation by imaginary empires in the past whose boundaries they can extend at will, carrying the bloodless conquests of fancy over regions laid down upon no map, and concerning which authentic history is enviously dumb. Those long beadrolls of Keltic kings cannot tyrannize over us, and we can be patient so long as our own crowns are uncracked by the shillalah sceptres of their actual representatives. In our own case, it would not be amiss, perhaps, if we took warning by the example of Teague and Taffy. At least, we think it would be wise in our orators not to put forward so prominently the claim of the Yankee to universal dominion, and his intention to enter upon it forthwith. If we do our duties as honestly and as much in the fear of God as our forefathers did, we need not trouble ourselves much about other titles to empire. The broad foreheads and long heads will win the day at last in spite of all heraldry, and it will be enough if we feel as keenly

as our Puritan founders did that those organs of empire may be broadened and lengthened by culture.* That our self-complacency should not increase the complacency of outsiders is not to be wondered at. As *we* sometimes take credit to ourselves (since all commendation of our ancestry is indirect self-flattery) for what the Puritan fathers never were, so there are others who, to gratify a spite against their descendants, blame them for not having been what they could not be; namely, before their time in such matters as slavery, witchcraft, and the like. The view, whether of friend or foe, is equally unhistorical, nay, without the faintest notion of all that makes history worth having as a teacher. That our grandfathers shared in the prejudices of their day is all that makes them human to us; and that nevertheless they could act bravely and wisely on occasion makes them only the more venerable. If certain barbarisms and superstitions disappeared earlier in New England than elsewhere, not by the decision of exceptionally enlightened or humane judges, but by force of public opinion, that is the fact that is interesting and instructive for us. We never thought it an abatement of Hawthorne's genius that he came lineally from one who sat in judgment on the witches in 1692; it was interesting rather to trace something hereditary in the sombre character of his imagination, continually vexing itself to account for the origin of evil, and baffled for want of that simple solution in a personal Devil.

But we have no desire to discuss the merits or demerits of the Puritans, having long ago learned the wisdom of saving our sympathy for more modern objects than Hecuba. Our object is to direct the attention of our readers to a collection of documents where they may see those worthies as they were in their daily living and thinking. The collections of our various historical and antiquarian societies can hardly be said to be *published* in the strict sense of the word, and few consequently are aware how much they contain of interest for the general reader no less than the special student. The several volumes of "Winthrop Papers," in especial, are a mine of entertainment.

* It is curious that, when Cromwell proposed to transfer a colony from New England to Ireland, one of the conditions insisted on in Massachusetts was that a college should be established.

Here we have the Puritans painted by themselves, and, while we arrive at a truer notion of the characters of some among them, and may accordingly sacrifice to that dreadful superstition of being usefully employed which makes so many bores and bored, we can also furtively enjoy the oddities of thought and speech, the humors of the time, which our local historians are too apt to despise as inconsidered trifles. For ourselves we confess ourselves heretics to the established theory of the gravity of history, and are not displeased with an opportunity to smile behind our hands at any ludicrous interruption of that sometimes wearisome ceremonial. We are not sure that we would not sooner give up Raleigh spreading his cloak to keep the royal Dian's feet from the mud, than that awful judgment upon the courtier whose Atlantean thighs leaked away in bran through the rent in his trunk-hose. The painful fact that Fisher had his head cut off is somewhat mitigated to us by the circumstance that the Pope should have sent him, of all things in the world, a cardinal's hat after that incapacitation. Theology herself becomes less unamiable to us when we find the Supreme Pontiff writing to the Council of Trent that "they should begin with original sin, *maintaining yet a due respect for the Emperor*." That infallibility should thus courtesy to decorum, will make us think better of it while we live. We shall accordingly endeavor to give our readers what amusement we can, leaving it to themselves to extract solid improvement from the volumes before us, which include a part of the correspondence of three generations of Winthrops.

Let us premise that there are two men above all others for whom our respect is heightened by these letters, — the elder John Winthrop and Roger Williams. Winthrop appears throughout as a truly magnanimous and noble man in an unobtrusive way, — a kind of greatness that makes less noise in the world, but is on the whole more solidly satisfying than most others, — a man who has been dipped in the river of God (a surer baptism than Styx or dragon's blood) till his character is of perfect proof, and who appears plainly as the very soul and life of the young Colony. Very reverend and godly he truly was, and a respect not merely ceremonious, but personal, a respect that savors of love, shows itself in the letters ad-

dressed to him. Charity and tolerance flow so naturally from the pen of Williams that it is plain they were in his heart. He does not show himself a very strong or very wise man, but a thoroughly gentle and good one. His affection for the two Winthrops is evidently of the warmest. We suspect that he lived to see that there was more reason in the drum-head religious discipline which made him, against his will, the founder of a commonwealth, than he may have thought at first. But for the fanaticism (as it is the fashion to call the sagacious straitness) of the abler men who knew how to root the English stock firmly in this new soil on either side of him, his little plantation could never have existed, and he himself would have been remembered only, if at all, as one of the jarring atoms in a chaos of otherwise-mindedness.

Two other men, Emanuel Downing and Hugh Peter, leave a positively unpleasant savor in the nostrils. Each is selfish in his own way, — Downing with the shrewdness of an attorney, Peter with that clerical unction which in a vulgar nature so easily degenerates into greasiness. Neither of them was the man for a forlorn hope, and both returned to England when the civil war opened prospect of preferment there. Both, we suspect, were inclined to value their Puritanism for its rewards in this world rather than the next. Downing's son, Sir George, was basely prosperous, making the good cause pay him so long as it was solvent, and then selling out in season to betray his old commander, Colonel Okey, to the shambles at Charing Cross. Peter became a colonel in the Parliament's army, and under the Protectorate one of Cromwell's chaplains. On his trial, after the Restoration, he made a poor figure, in striking contrast to some of the brave men who suffered with him. At his execution a shocking brutality was shown. "When Mr Cook was cut down and brought to be quartered, one they called Colonel Turner calling to the Sheriff's men to bring Mr Peters near, that he might see it; and by and by the Hangman came to him all besmeared in blood, and rubbing his bloody hands together, he tauntingly asked, *Come, how do you like this, Mr. Peters? How do you like this work?*" * This Colonel Tur-

* State Trials, II. 409. One would not reckon too closely with a man on trial for his life, but there is something pitiful in Peter's representing himself as coming

ner can hardly have been other than the one who four years later came to the hangman's hands for robbery; and whose behavior, both in the dock and at the gallows, makes his trial one of the most entertaining as a display of character. Peter would seem to have been one of those men gifted with what is sometimes called eloquence; that is, the faculty of stating things powerfully from momentary feeling, and not from that conviction of the higher reason which alone can give force and permanence to words. His letters show him subject, like others of like temperament, to fits of "hypocondriacal melancholy," and the only witness he called on his trial was to prove that he was confined to his lodgings by such an attack on the day of the king's beheading. He seems to have been subject to this malady at convenience, as some women to hysterics. Honest John Endicott plainly had small confidence in him, and did not think him the right man to represent the Colony in England. There is a droll resolve in the Massachusetts records by which he is "desired to write to Holland for 500*l.* worth of *peter*, & 40*l.* worth of match." It is with a match that we find him burning his fingers in the present correspondence.

Peter seems to have entangled himself somehow with a Mrs. Deliverance Sheffield, whether maid or widow nowhere appears, but presumably the latter. The following statement of his position is amusing enough: "I have sent Mrs D. Sh. letter, which puts mee to new troubles, for though shee takes liberty upon my Cossen Downing's speeches, yet (Good Sir) let mee not be a foole in Israel. I had many good answers to yesterday's worke and amongst the rest her letter; which (if her owne) doth argue more wisedome than I thought shee had. You have often sayd I could not leave her; what to doe is very considerable. Could I with comfort & credit desist, this seemes best: could I goe on & content myselfe, that were good. . . . . For though I now seeme free agayne, yet the depth I know not. Had shee come over with me, I thinke I had bin quieter. This shee may know, that I have sought God earnestly, that the nexte weeke I shall bee riper: — I doubt shee gaynes most by such writings: & shee

back to England "out of the West Indias," in order to evade any complicity with suspected New England.

deserves most where shee is further of. If you shall amongst you advise mee to write to hir, I shall forthwith; our towne lookes upon mee contracted & so I have sayd myselfe; what wonder the charge [change ?] would make, I know not." Again: "Still pardon my offensive boldnes: I know not well whither Mrs Sh. have set mee at liberty or not: my conclusion is, that if you find I cannot make an honorable retreat, then I shall desire to advance σύν Θεῷ. Of you I now expect your last advise, viz: whither I must goe on or of, *saluo evangelij honore:* if shee bee in good earnest to leave all agitations this way, then I stand still & wayt God's mind concerning mee. . . . . If I had much mony I would part with it to her free, till wee heare what England doth, supposing I may bee called to some imployment that will not suit a marryed estate": (here another mode of escape presents itself, and he goes on:) "for indeed (Sir) some must looke out & I have very strong thoughts to speake with the Duitch Governor & lay some way there for a supply &c." At the end of the letter, an objection to the lady herself occurs to him: "Once more for Mrs Sh: I had from Mr Hibbins & others, her fellowpassengers, sad discouragements where they saw her in her trim. I would not come of with dishonor, nor come on with griefe, or ominous hesitations." On all this shilly-shally we have a shrewd comment in a letter of Endicott: "I cannot but acquaint you with my thoughts concerning Mr Peter since hee receaued a letter from Mrs Sheffield, which was yesterday in the eveninge after the Fast, shee seeming in her letter to abate of her affeccions towards him & dislikinge to come to Salem vppon such termes as he had written. I finde now that hee begins to play her parte, & if I mistake not, you will see him as greatly in loue with her (if shee will but hold of a little) as euer shee was with him; but he conceales it what he can as yett. The begininge of the next weeke you will heare further from him." The widow was evidently more than a match for poor Peter.

It should appear that a part of his trouble arose from his having coquetted also with a certain Mrs. Ruth, about whom he was "dealt with by Mrs Amee, Mr Phillips & 2 more of the Church, our Elder being one. When Mr Phillips with

much violence & sharpnes charged mee home . . . . that I should hinder the mayd of a match at London, which was not so, could not thinke of any kindnes I euer did her, though shee haue had above 300*li.* through my fingers, so as if God uphold me not after an especiall manner, it will sinke me surely . . . . hee told me he would not stop my intended marriage, but assured mee it would not bee good . . . . all which makes mee reflect upon my rash proceedings with Mrs Sh." Panurge's doubts and difficulties about matrimony were not more entertainingly contradictory. Of course, Peter ends by marrying the widow, and presently we have a comment on "her trim." In January, 1639, he writes to Winthrop: "My wife is very thankfull for her apples, & *desires much the new fashioned shooes.*" Eight years later we find him writing from England, where he had been two years: "I am coming over if I must, my wife comes of necessity to New England, having run her selfe out of breath here"; and then in the postscript, "bee sure you never let my wife come away from thence without my leave, & then you love mee." But life is never pure comedy, and the end in this case is tragical. Roger Williams, after his return from England in 1654, writes to John Winthrop, Jr.: "Your brother flourisheth in good esteeme & is eminent for maintaining the Freedome of the Conscience as to matters of Beliefe, Religion, & Worship. Your Father Peters preacheth the same Doctrine though not so zealously as some years since, yet cries out against New English Rigidities & Persecutions, their civil injuries & wrongs to himselfe, & their unchristian dealing with him in excommunicating his distracted wife. All this he tould me in his lodgings at Whitehall, those lodgings which I was tould were Canterburies, but he himselfe tould me that that Library wherein we were together was Canterburies & given him by the Parliament. His wife lives from him, not wholy but much distracted. He tells me he had but 200 a yeare & he allowed her 4 score per annum of it. Surely, Sir, the most holy Lord is most wise in all the trialls he exerciseth his people with. He tould me that his affliction from his wife stird him up to Action abroad, & when successe tempted him to Pride, the Bitternes in his bozome-comforts was a Cooler & a Bridle to him." Truly the whirli-

gig of time brings about strange revenges. Peter had been driven from England by the persecutions of Laud; a few years later he "stood armed on the scaffold" when that prelate was beheaded, and now we find him installed in the archiepiscopal lodgings. Dr. Palfrey, it appears to us, gives altogether too favorable an opinion both of Peter's character and abilities. We conceive him to have been a vain and selfish man. He may have had the bravery of passionate impulse, but he wanted that steady courage of character which has such a beautiful constancy in Winthrop. He always professed a longing to come back to New England, but it was only a way he had of talking. That he never meant to come is plain from these letters. Nay, when things looked prosperous in England, he writes to the younger Winthrop: "My counsell is you should come hither with your family for certaynly you will bee capable of a comfortable living in this free Comonwealth. I doo seriously advise it. . . . . G. Downing is worth 500*l.* per annum but 4*l.* per diem — your brother Stephen worth 2000*l.* & a maior. I pray come." But when he is snugly ensconced in Whitehall, and may be presumed to have some influence with the prevailing powers, his zeal cools. "I wish you & all friends to stay there & rather looke to the West Indyes if they remoue, for many are here to seeke when they come ouer." To us Peter's highest promotion seems to have been that he walked with John Milton at the Protector's funeral. He was, we suspect, one of those men, to borrow a charitable phrase of Roger Williams, who "feared God in the main," that is, whenever it was not personally inconvenient. William Coddington saw him in his glory in 1651: "Soe wee toucke the tyme to goe to viset Mr Petters at his chamber. I was mery with him & called him the Arch Bp: of Canterberye, in regard of his adtendance by ministers & gentlemen, & it passed very well." Considering certain charges brought against Peter, (though he is said, when under sentence of death, to have denied the truth of them,) Coddington's statement that he liked to have "gentlewomen waite of him" in his lodgings has not a pleasant look. One last report of him we get (September, 1659) in a letter of John Davenport, — "that Mr Hugh Peters is distracted & under sore horrors of conscience, crying out of himselfe as damned & confessing haynous actings."

Occasionally these letters give us interesting glimpses of persons and things in England. In the letter of Williams just cited, there is a lesson for all parties raised to power by exceptional causes. "Surely, Sir, youre Father & all the people of God in England . . . . are now in the sadle & at the helme, so high that *non datus descensus nisi cadendo:* Some cheere up their spirits with the impossibilitie of another fall or turne, so doth Major G. Harrison . . . . a very gallant most deserving heavenly man, but most highflowne for the Kingdom of the Saints & the 5th Monarchie now risen & their sun never to set againe &c. Others, as, to my knowledge, the Protector . . . . are not so full of that faith of miracles, but still imagine changes & persecutions & the very slaughter of the witnesses before that glorious morning so much desired of a worldly Kingdome, if ever such a Kingdome (as literally it is by so many expounded) be to arise in this present world & dispensation." Poor General Harrison lived to be one of the witnesses so slaughtered. The practical good sense of Cromwell is worth noting, the English understanding struggling against Judaic trammels. Williams gives us another peep through the keyhole of the past: "It pleased the Lord to call me for some time & with some persons to practice the Hebrew, the Greeke, Latine, French & Dutch. The secretarie of the Councell (Mr Milton) for my Dutch I read him, read me many more languages. Grammar rules begin to be esteemed a Tyrannie. I taught 2 young Gentlemen, a Parliament man's sons, as we teach our children English, by words, phrazes, & constant talke, &c." It is plain that Milton had talked over with Williams the theory put forth in his tract on Education, and made a convert of him. We could wish that the good Baptist had gone a little more into particulars. But which of us knows among the men he meets whom time will dignify by curtailing him of the "Mr.," and reducing him to a bare patronymic, as being a kind by himself? We have a glance or two at Oliver, who is always interesting. "The late renowned Oliver confest to me in close discourse about the Protestants affaires &c that he yet feard great persecutions to the protestants from the Romanists before the downfall of the Papacie," writes Williams in 1660. This "close discourse" must have been six years

before, when Williams was in England. Within a year after Oliver interfered to some purpose in behalf of the Protestants of Piedmont, and Mr. Milton wrote his famous sonnet. Of the war with Spain, Williams reports from his letters out of England in 1656: "This diversion against the Spaniard hath turnd the face & thoughts of many English, so that the saying now is, Crowne the Protector with gould, though the sullen yet cry, Crowne him with thornes."

Again, in 1654: "I know the Protector had strong thoughts of Hispaniola & Cuba. Mr Cotton's interpreting of Euphrates to be the West Indies, the supply of gold (to take off taxes), & the provision of a warmer *diverticulum & receptaculum* then N. England is, will make a footing into those parts very precious, & if it shall please God to vouchsafe successe to this fleete, I looke to hear of an invitation at least to these parts for removall from his Highnes who lookes on N. E. only with an eye of pitie, as poore, cold & useless." The mixture of Euphrates and taxes, of the transcendental and practical, prophecy taking precedence of thrift, is characteristic, and recalls Cromwell's famous rule, of fearing God *and* keeping your powder dry. In one of the Protector's speeches,* he insists much on his wish to retire to a private life. There is a curious confirmation of his sincerity in a letter of William Hooke, then belonging to his household, dated the 13th of April, 1657. The question of the kingly title was then under debate, and Hooke's account of the matter helps to a clearer understanding of the reasons for Cromwell's refusing the title: "The protector is urged *utrinque* & (I am ready to think) willing enough to betake himself to a private life, if it might be. He is a godly man, much in prayer & good discourses, delighting in good men & good ministers, self-denying & ready to promote any good work for Christ."† On the 5th of February, 1654, Captain John Mason, of Pequot memory, writes "a word or twoe of newes as it comes from Mr Eaton, viz: that the Parliament sate in September last; they chose their old Speaker & Clarke. The Protectour told them they were a free Parliament, & soe left them that day. They, considering where the legislative power resided, concluded to vote it on the morrow, & to take charge of

* The *third* in Carlyle, 1654. † Collections, Third Series, Vol. I. p. 182.

the militia. The Protectour hereing of it, sent for some numbers of horse, went to the Parliament House, nayld up the doores, sent for them to the Painted Chamber, told them they should attend the lawes established, & that he would wallow in his blood before he would part with what was conferd upon him, tendering them an oath: 140 engaged." Now it is curious that Mr. Eaton himself, from whom Mason got his news, wrote, only two days before, an account, differing, in some particulars, and especially in tone, from Mason's. Of the speech he says, that it "gave such satisfaction that about 200 have since ingaged to owne the present Government." Yet Carlyle gives the same number of signers (140) as Mason, and there is a sentence in Cromwell's speech, as reported by Carlyle, of precisely the same purport as that quoted by Mason. To us, that "wallow in my blood" has rather more of the Cromwellian ring in it, more of the quality of spontaneous speech, than the "rolled into my grave and buried with infamy" of the official reporter. John Haynes (24th July, 1653) reports "newes from England of astonishing nature," concerning the dissolution of the Rump. We quote his story, both as a contemporaneous version of the event, and as containing some particulars that explain the causes that led to it. It differs, in some respects, from Carlyle, and is hardly less vivid as a picture: "The Parliament of England & Councell of State are both dissolved, by whom & the manner this: The Lord Cromwell, Generall, went to the house & asked the Speaker & Bradshaw by what power they sate ther. They answered by the same power that he woare his sword. Hee replied they should know they did not, & said they should sitt noe longer, demanding an account of the vast sommes of money they had received of the Commons. They said the matter was of great consequence & they would give him acompt in tenn dayes. He said, Noe, they had sate too long already (& might now take ther ease,) for ther inriching themselves & impoverishing the Commons, & then seazed uppon all the Records. Immediatly Lambert, Livetenant Generall, & Hareson Maior Generall (for they two were with him, tooke the Speaker Lenthall by the hands, lift him out of the Chaire, & ledd him out of the house, & commanded the rest to depart, which fortwith was obeied, &

the Generall tooke the keyes & locked the doore." He then goes on to give the reasons assigned by different persons for the act. Some said that the General "scented their purpose" to declare themselves perpetual, and to get rid of him by ordering him to Scotland. "Others say this, that the cries of the oppressed preveiled much with him . . . . & hastned the declaracion of that ould principle, *Salus populi suprema lex* &c." The General, in the heat of his wrath, himself snatching the keys and locking the door, has a look of being drawn from the life. Cromwell, in a letter to General Fortescue (November, 1655), speaks sharply of the disorders and debauchedness, profaneness and wickedness, commonly practised amongst the army sent out to the West Indies. Major Mason gives us a specimen: "It is heere reported that some of the soldiers belonging to the ffleet at Boston, ffell upon the watch: after some bickering they comanded them to goe before the Governour; they retorned that they were Cromwell's boyes." Have we not, in these days, heard of "Sherman's boys"?

Belonging properly to the "Winthrop Papers," but printed in an earlier volume (Third Series, Vol. I. pp. 185–198), is a letter of John Maidstone, which contains the best summary of the Civil War that we ever read. Indeed, it gives a clearer insight into its causes, and a better view of the vicissitudes of the Commonwealth and Protectorate, than any one of the more elaborate histories. There is a singular equity and absence of party passion in it which give us faith in the author's judgment. He was Oliver's Steward of the Household, and his portrait of him, as that of an eminently fair-minded man who knew him well, is of great value. Carlyle has not copied it, and, as many of our readers may never have seen it, we reproduce it here: "Before I pass further, pardon me in troubling you with the character of his person, which, by reason of my nearness to him, I had opportunity well to observe. His body was well compact and strong; his stature under six feet, (I believe about two inches;) his head so shaped as you might see it a store-house and shop both, of a vast treasury of natural parts. His temper exceeding fiery, as I have known, but the flame of it kept down for the most part or soon allayed with those moral endowments he had. He was naturally compassionate

towards objects in distress, even to an effeminate measure; though God had made him a heart wherein was left little room for any fear but what was due to himself, of which there was a large proportion, yet did he exceed in tenderness toward sufferers. A larger soul, I think, hath seldom dwelt in a house of clay than his was. I do believe, if his story were impartially transmitted, and the unprejudiced world well possessed with it, she would add him to her nine worthies and make that number a *decemviri*. He lived and died in comfortable communion with God, as judicious persons near him well observed. He was that Mordecai that sought the welfare of his people and spake peace to his seed. Yet were his temptations such, as it appeared frequently that he that hath grace enough for many men may have too little for himself, the treasure he had being but in an earthen vessel and that equally defiled with original sin as any other man's nature is." There are phrases here that may be matched with the choicest in the life of Agricola; and, indeed, the whole letter, superior to Tacitus in judicial fairness of tone, goes abreast of his best writing in condensation, nay, surpasses it in this, that, while in Tacitus the intensity is of temper, here it is the clear residuum left by the ferment and settling of thought. Just before, speaking of the dissolution of Oliver's last Parliament, Maidstone says: "That was the last which sat during his life, he being compelled to wrestle with the difficulties of his place so well as he could without parliamentary assistance, and in it met with so great a burthen as (I doubt not to say) it drank up his spirits, of which his natural constitution yielded a vast stock, and brought him to his grave, his interment being the seed-time of his glory and England's calamity." Hooke, in a letter of April 16, 1658, has a passage worth quoting: "The dissolucion of the last Parliament puts the supreme powers upon difficulties, though the trueth is the Nacion is so ill spirited that little good is to be expected from these Generall Assemblies. They [the supreme powers, to wit, Cromwell] have been much in Counsell since this disappointment, & God hath been sought by them in the effectuall sense of the need of help from heaven & of the extreme danger impendent on a miscarriage of their advises. But our expences are so vast

that I know not how they can avoyde a recurrence to another Session & to make a further tryall. . . . . The land is full of discontents, & the Cavaleerish party doth still expect a day & nourish hopes of a Revolucion. The Quakers do still proceed & are not yet come to their period. The Presbyterians do abound, I thinke, more than ever, & are very bold & confident because some of their masterpieces lye unanswered, particularly theire *Jus Divinum Regiminis Ecclesiastici* which I have sent to Mr. Davenporte. It hath been extant without answer these many years [only four, brother Hooke, if we may trust the title-page]. The Anabaptists abound likewise, & Mr Tombes hath pretended to have answered all the bookes extant against his opinion. I saw him presenting it to the Protectour of late. The Episcopall men ply the Common-Prayer booke with much more boldness then ever since these turnes of things, even in the open face of the City in severall places. I have spoken of it to the Protectour but as yet nothing is done in order to their being suppressed." It should teach us to distrust the apparent size of objects, which is a mere cheat of their nearness to us, that we are so often reminded of how small account things seem to one generation for which another was ready to die. A copy of the *Jus Divinum* held too close to the eyes could shut out the universe with its infinite chances and changes, its splendid indifference to our ephemeral fates. Cromwell, we should gather, had found out the secret of this historical perspective, to distinguish between the blaze of a burning tar-barrel and the final conflagration of all things. He had learned tolerance by the possession of power, — a proof of his capacity for rule. In 1652 Haynes writes: "Ther was a Catechise lately in print ther, that denied the divinity of Christ, yett ther was motions in the house by some, to have it lycenced by authority. Cromwell mainly oposed, & at last it was voted to bee burnt which causes much discontent of somme." Six years had made Cromwell wiser.

One more extract from a letter of Hooke's (30th March, 1659) is worth giving. After speaking of Oliver's death, he goes on to say: "Many prayers were put up solemnly for his life, & some, of great & good note, were too confident that he would not die. . . . . I suppose himselfe had thoughts that

he should have outlived this sickness till near his dissolution, perhaps a day or two before; which I collect partly by some words which he was said to speak . . . . & partly from his delaying, almost to the last, to nominate his successor, to the wonderment of many who began sooner to despair of his life. . . . . His eldest son succeedeth him, being chosen by the Council, the day following his father's death, whereof he had no expectation. I have heard him say he had thought to have lived as a country gentleman, & that his father had not employed him in such a way as to prepare him for such employment; which, he thought, he did designedly. I suppose his meaning was lest it should have been apprehended he had prepared & appointed him for such a place, the burthen whereof I have several times heard him complaining under since his coming to the Government, the weighty occasions whereof with continuall oppressing cares had drunk up his father's spirits, in whose body very little blood was found when he was opened: the greatest defect visible was in his heart, which was flaccid & shrunk together. Yet he was one that could bear much without complaining, as one of a strong constitution of brain (as appeared when he was dissected) & likewise of body. His son seemeth to be of another frame, soft & tender, & penetrable with easier cares by much, yet he is of a sweete countenance, vivacious & candid, as is the whole frame of his spirit, only naturally inclined to choler. His reception of multitudes of addresses from towns, cities, & counties doth declare, among several other indiciums, more of ability in him than could, ordinarily, have been expected from him. He spake also with general acceptation & applause when he made his speech before the Parliament, even far beyond the Lord Fynes.* . . . . If this Assembly miss it, we are like to be in an ill condition. The old ways & customs of England, as to worships, are in the hearts of the most, who long to see the days again which once they saw. . . . . The hearts of very many are for the house of the Stewarts, & there is a speech as if they would attempt to call the late King's judges into question. . . . . The city, I hear is full of Cavaliers." Poor Richard seems to have inherited little of his father but

* This speech may be found in the Annual Register of 1762.

the inclination to choler. That he could speak far beyond the Lord Fynes seems to have been little to the purpose. Rhetoric was not precisely the medicine for such a case as he had to deal with.

The temperance question agitated the fathers very much as it still does the children. We have never seen the anti-prohibition argument stated more cogently than in a letter of Thomas Shepard, minister of Cambridge, to Winthrop, in 1639: "This also I doe humbly intreat, that there may be no sin made of *drinking in any case one to another*, for I am confident he that stands here will fall & be beat from his grounds by his own arguments; as also that the consequences will be very sad, and the thing provoking to God & man to make more sins than (as yet is seene) God himself hath made." A principle as wise now as it was then. Our ancestors were also harassed as much as we by the difficulties of domestic service. In a country where land might be had for the asking, it was not easy to keep hold of servants brought over from England. Emanuel Downing, always the hard, practical man, would find a remedy in negro slavery. "A warr with the Narraganset," he writes to Winthrop in 1645, "is verie considerable to this plantation, ffor I doubt whither it be not synne in us, having power in our hands, to suffer them to maynteyne the worship of the devill which their paw wawes often doe; 2lie, If upon a just warre the Lord should deliver them into our hands, wee might easily have men, woemen, & children enough to exchange for Moores, which wilbe more gaynefull pilladge for us than wee conceive, for I doe not see how wee can thrive untill wee gett into a stock of slaves sufficient to doe all our buisenes, for our childrens children will hardly see this great Continent filled with people, soe that our servants will still desire freedome to plant for them selves, & not stay but for verie great wages. And I suppose you know verie well how wee shall maynteyne 20 Moores cheaper than one Englishe servant." The doubt whether it be not sin in us longer to tolerate their devil-worship, considering how much need we have of them as merchandise, is delicious. The way in which Hugh Peter grades the sharp descent from the apostolic to the practical with an *et cetera*, in the following extract, has the same charm: "Sir,

Mr Endecot & myself salute you in the Lord Jesus &c. Wee have heard of a dividence of women & children in the bay & would bee glad of a share viz: a young woman or girle & a boy if you thinke good." Peter seems to have got what he asked for, and to have been worse off than before; for we find him writing two years later: "My wife desires my daughter to send to Hanna that was her mayd, now at Charltowne, to know if shee would dwell with us, for truly wee are so destitute (having now but an Indian) that wee know not what to doe." Let any housewife of our day, who does not find the Keltic element in domestic life so refreshing as to Mr. Arnold in literature, imagine a household with one wild Pequot woman, communicated with by signs, for its maid of all work, and take courage. Those were serious times indeed, when your cook might give warning by taking your scalp, or *chignon*, as the case might be, and making off with it into the woods. The fewness and dearness of servants made it necessary to call in temporary assistance for extraordinary occasions, and hence arose the common use of the word *help*. As the great majority kept no servants at all, and yet were liable to need them for work to which the family did not suffice, as, for instance, in harvest, the use of the word was naturally extended to all kinds of service. That it did not have its origin in any false shame at the condition itself, induced by democratic habits, is plain from the fact that it came into use while the word *servant* had a much wider application than now, and certainly implied no social stigma. Downing and Hooke, each at different times, one of them so late as 1667, wished to place a son as "servant" with one of the Winthrops. Roger Williams writes of his daughter, that "she desires to spend some time in service & liked much Mrs Brenton, who wanted." This was, no doubt, in order to be well drilled in housekeeping, an example which might be followed still to advantage. John Tinker, himself the "servant" or steward of the second Winthrop, makes use of *help* in both the senses we have mentioned, and shows the transition of the word from its restricted to its more general application. "We have fallen a pretty deal of timber & drawn some by Goodman Rogers's team, but unless your worship have a good team of your own & a man to go with them, I shall be much

distracted for *help* . . . . & when our business is most in haste we shall be most to seek." Again, writing at harvest, as appears both by the date and by an elaborate pun, — "I received the *sithes* you sent but in that there came not also yourself, it maketh me to *sigth*," — he says: "*Help* is scarce and hard to get, difficult to please, uncertain, &c. Means runneth out & wages on & I cannot make choice of my *help*."

It may be some consolation to know that the complaint of a decline in the quality of servants is no modern thing. Shakespeare makes Orlando say to Adam:

> "O, good old man, how well in thee appears
> The constant service of the antique world,
> When service sweat for duty, not for meed!
> Thou art not of the fashion of these times,
> When none will sweat but for promotion."

When the faithful old servant is brought upon the stage, we may be sure he was getting rare. A century later, we have explicit testimony that things were as bad in this respect as they are now. Don Manuel Gonzales, who travelled in England in 1730, says of London servants: "As to common menial servants, they have great wages, are well kept and cloathed, but are notwithstanding the plague of almost every house in town. They form themselves into societies or rather confederacies, contributing to the maintenance of each other when out of place, and if any of them cannot manage the family where they are entertained, as they please, immediately they give notice they will be gone. There is no speaking to them, they are above correction, and if a master should attempt it, he may expect to be handsomely drubbed by the creature he feeds and harbors, or perhaps an action brought against him for it. It is become a common saying, *If my servant ben't a thief, if he be but honest, I can bear with other things*. And indeed it is very rare in London to meet with an honest servant." *

One of the most curious things revealed to us in these volumes is the fact that John Winthrop, Jr. was seeking the philosopher's stone, that universal elixir which could transmute all things to its own substance. This is plain from the corre-

* Collection of Voyages, &c., from the Library of the Earl of Oxford, Vol. I. p. 151.

spondence of Edward Howes. Howes goes to a certain doctor, professedly to consult him about the method of making a cement for earthen vessels, no doubt crucibles. His account of him is amusing, and reminds one of Ben Jonson's Subtle. He was one of the many quacks who gulled men during that twilight through which alchemy was passing into chemistry. "This Dr, for a Dr he is, brags that if he have but the hint or notice of any useful thing not yet invented, he will undertake to find it out, except some few which he hath vowed not to meddle with as *vitrum maliabile*, *perpet. motus*, *via proxima ad Indos & lapis philosi:* all, or any thing else he will undertake, but for his private gain, to make a monopoly thereof & to sell the use or knowledge thereof at too high rates." This breed of pedlers in science is not yet extinct. The exceptions made by the Doctor show a becoming modesty. Again: "I have been 2 or 3 times with the Dr & can get but small satisfaction about your queries. . . . . Yet I must confess he seemed very free to me, only in the main he was mystical. This he said, that when the will of God is you shall know what you desire, it will come with such a light that it will make a harmony among all your authors, causing them sweetly to agree, & put you forever out of doubt & question." In another letter: "I cannot discover into *terram incognitam*, but I have had a ken of it showed unto me. The way to it is, for the most part, horrible & fearful, the dangers none worse, to them that are *destinati filii:* sometimes I am travelling that way. . . . . I think I have spoken with some that have been there."

Howes writes very cautiously: "Dear friend, I desire with all my heart that I might write plainer to you, but in discovering the mystery, I may diminish its majesty & give occasion to the profane to abuse it, if it should fall into unworthy hands." By and by he begins to think his first doctor a humbug, but he finds a better. Howes was evidently a man of imaginative temper, fit to be captivated by the alchemistic theory of the unity of composition in nature, which was so attractive to Goethe. Perhaps the great poet was himself led to it by his Rosicrucian studies when writing the first part of Faust. Howes tells his friend that "there is all good to be found in unity, & all evil in duality & multiplicity. *Phœnix illa admiranda sola*

semper existit, therefore while a man & she is two, he shall never see her," — a truth of very wide application, and too often lost sight of or never seen at all. "The Arabian Philos. I writ to you of, he was styled among us Dr Lyon, the best of all the Rosicrucians * that ever I met withal, far beyond Dr Ewer: they that are of his strain are knowing men; they pretend [i. e. claim] to live in free light, they honor God & do good to the people among whom they live, & I conceive you are in the right that they had their learning from Arabia."

Howes is a very interesting person, a mystic of the purest kind, and that while learning to be an attorney with Emanuel Downing. How little that perfunctory person dreamed of what was going on under his nose, — as little as of the spiritual wonders that lay beyond the tip of it! Howes was a Swedenborgian before Swedenborg. Take this, for example: "But to our sympathetical business whereby we may communicate our minds one to another though the diameter of the earth interpose. *Diana non est centrum omnium.* I would have you so good a geometrician as to know your own centre. Did you ever yet measure your everlasting self, the length of your life, the breadth of your love, the depth of your wisdom & the height of your light? Let Truth be your centre, & you may do it, otherways not. I could wish you would now begin to leave off being altogether an outward man; this is but *casa Regentis;* the Ruler can draw you straight lines from your centre to the confines of an infinite circumference, by which you may pass from any part of the circumference to another without obstacle of earth or secation of lines, if you observe & keep but one & the true & only centre, to pass by it, from it, & to it. Methinks I now see you *intus et extra* & talk to you, but you mind me not because you are from home, you are not within, you look as if you were careless of yourself; your hand & your voice differ; 'tis my friend's hand, I know it well; but the voice is your enemy's. O, my friend, if you love me, get you home, get you in! You have a friend at home as well as an enemy. Know them by their voices. The one is still driving or enticing you out; the other would have you stay within. Be

* Howes writes the word symbolically.

within and keep within, & all that are within & keep within shall you see know & communicate with to the full, & shall not need to strain your outward senses to see & hear that which is like themselves uncertain & too-too often false, but, abiding forever within, in the centre of Truth, from thence you may behold & understand the innumerable divers emanations within the circumference, & still within ; for without are falsities, lies, untruths, dogs &c." Howes was tolerant also, not from want of faith, but from depth of it. "The relation of your fight with the Indians I have read in print, but of the fight among yourselves, *bellum linguarum* the strife of tongues, I have heard much, but little to the purpose. I wonder your people, that pretend to know so much, doe not know that love is the fulfilling of the law, & that against love there is no law." Howes forgot that what might cause only a ripple in London might overwhelm the tiny Colony in Boston. Two years later, he writes more philosophically, and perhaps with a gentle irony, concerning "two monstrous births & a general earthquake." He hints that the people of the Bay might perhaps as well take these signs to themselves as lay them at the door of Mrs. Hutchinson and what not. "Where is there such another people then [as] in New England, that labors might & main to have Christ formed in them, yet would give or appoint him his shape & clothe him too? It cannot be denied that we have conceived many monstrous imaginations of Christ Jesus: the one imagination says, *Lo, here he is;* the other says, *Lo, there he is;* multiplicity of conceptions, but is there any one true shape of Him? And if one of many produce a shape, 't is not the shape of the Son of God, but an ugly horrid metamorphosis. Neither is it a living shape, but a dead one, yet a crow thinks her own bird the fairest, & most prefer their own wisdom before God's, Antichrist before Christ." Howes had certainly arrived at that "centre" of which he speaks and was before his time, as a man of speculation, never a man of action, may sometimes be. He was fitter for Plotinus's colony than Winthrop's. He never came to New England, yet there was always a leaven of his style of thinkers here.

Howes was the true adept, seeking what spiritual ore there

might be among the dross of the hermetic philosophy. What he says sincerely and inwardly was the cant of those outward professors of the doctrine who were content to dwell in the material part of it forever. In Jonathan Brewster, we have a specimen of these Wagners. Is it not curious, that there should have been a *balneum Mariæ* at New London two hundred years ago? that *la recherche de l'Absolu* should have been going on there in a log-hut, under constant fear that the Indians would put out, not merely the flame of one little life, but, far worse, the fire of our furnace, and so rob the world of this divine secret, just on the point of revealing itself? Alas! poor Brewster's secret was one that many have striven after before and since, who did not call themselves alchemists, — the secret of getting gold without earning it, — a chase that brings some men to a four-in-hand on Shoddy Avenue, and some to the penitentiary, in both cases advertising its utter vanity. Brewster is a capital specimen of his class, who are better than the average, because they *do* mix a little imagination with their sordidness, and who have also their representatives among us, in those who expect the Jennings and other ideal estates in England. If Hawthorne had but known of him! And yet how perfectly did his genius divine that ideal element in our early New England life, conceiving what must have been without asking proof of what actually was!

An extract or two will sufficiently exhibit Brewster in his lunes. Sending back some alchemistic book to Winthrop, he tells him that, if his name be kept secret, "I will write as clear a light, as far as I dare to, in finding the first ingredience. . . . . The first figure in Flamonell doth plainly resemble the first ingredience, what it is, & from whence it comes, & how gotten, as there you may plainly see set forth by 2 resemblances held in a man's hand; for the confections there named is a delusion, for they are but the operations of the work after some time set, as the scum of the Red Sea, which is the Virgin's Milk upon the top of the vessel, white. Red Sea is the sun & moon calcinated & brought & reduced into water mineral which in some time, & most of the whole time, is red. 2ndly, the fat of mercurial wind, that is the fat or quintessence of sun & moon, earth & water, drawn out from

them both, & flies aloft & bore up by the operation of our mercury, that is our fire which is our air or wind." This is as satisfactory as Lepidus's account of the generation of the crocodile: "Your serpent of Egypt is bred now of your mud by the operation of your sun: so is your crocodile." After describing the three kinds of fire, that of the lamp, that of ashes, and that against nature, which last "is the fire of fire, that is the secret fire drawn up, being the quintessence of the sun & moon, with the other mercurial water joined with & together, which is fire elemental," he tells us that "these fires are & doth contain the whole mystery of the work." The reader, perhaps, thinks that he has nothing to do but forthwith to turn all the lead he can lay his hands on into gold. But no: "If you had the first ingredience & the proportion of each, yet all were nothing if you had not the certain times & seasons of the planets & signs, when to give more or less of this fire, namely a hot & dry, a cold & moist fire which you must use in the mercurial water before it comes to black & after into white & then red, which is only done by these fires, which when you practise you will easily see & perceive, that you shall stand amazed, & admire at the great & admirable wisdom of God, that can produce such a wonderful, efficacious, powerful thing as this is to convert all metallic bodies to its own nature, which may be well called a first essence. I say by such weak simple means of so little value & so little & easy labor & skill, that I may say with Artephus, 200 page, it is of a worke so easy & short, fitter for women & young children than sage & grave men. . . . . I thank the Lord, I understand the matter perfectly in the said book, yet I could desire to have it again 12 months hence, for about that time I shall have occasion to peruse, whenas I come to the second working which is most difficult, which will be some three or [4] months before the perfect white, & afterwards, as Artephus saith, I may burn my books, for he saith it is one regiment as well for the red as for the white. The Lord in mercy give me life to see the end of it!" — an exclamation we more than once made in the course of some of Brewster's periods.

Again, under pledge of profound secrecy, he sends Winthrop a manuscript, which he may communicate to the owner of the

volume formerly lent, because "it gave me such light in the second work as I should not readily have found out by study, also & especially how to work the elixir fit for medicine & healing all maladies which is clean another way of working than we held formerly. Also a light given how to dissolve any hard substance into the elixir, which is also another work. And many other things which in Ribley [Ripley?] I could not find out. More works of the same I would gladly see . . . . for, Sir, so it is that any book of this subject, I can understand it, though never so darkly written, having both knowledge & experience of the world,* that now easily I may understand their envious carriages to hide it. . . . . You may marvel why I should give any light to others in this thing before I have perfected my own. This know, that my work being true thus far by all their writings, it cannot fail . . . . for if &c &c you cannot miss if you would, except you break your glass." He confesses he is mistaken as to the time required, which he now, as well as we can make out, reckons at about ten years. "I fear I shall not live to see it finished, in regard partly of the Indians, who, I fear, will raise wars, as also I have a conceit that God sees me not worthy of such a blessing, by reason of my manifold miscarriages." Therefore, he "will shortly write all the whole work in few words plainly which may be done in 20 lines from the first to the last & seal it up in a little box & subscribe it to yourself . . . . & will so write it that neither wife nor children shall know thereof." If Winthrop should succeed in bringing the work to perfection, Brewster begs him to remember his wife and children. "I mean if this my work should miscarry by wars of the Indians, for I may not remove it till it be perfected, otherwise I should so unsettle the body by removing sun & moon out of their settled places, that there would then be no other afterworking." Once more he inculcates secrecy, and for a most comical reason: "For it is such a secret as is not fit for every one either for secrecy or for parts to use it, as God's secret for his glory, to do good therewith, or else they may do a great deal of hurt, spending & employ ing it to satisfy sinful lusts. Therefore, I intreat you, sir, spare to use my name, & let my letters I send either be safely kept

* "World" here should clearly be "work."

or burned that I write about it, for indeed, sir, I am more than before sensible of the evil effects that will arise by the publishing of it. I should never be at quiet, neither at home nor abroad, for one or other that would be enquiring & seeking after knowledge thereof, that I should be tired out & forced to leave the place: nay, it would be blazed abroad into Europe." How much more comic nature is than any comedy! *Mutato nomine de te.* Take heart, ambitious youth, the sun and moon will be no more disconcerted by any effort of yours than by the pots and pans of Jonathan Brewster. It is a curious proof of the duality so common (yet so often overlooked) in human character, that Brewster was all this while manager of the Plymouth trading-post, near what is now New London. The only professors of the transmutation of metals who still impose on mankind are to be found in what is styled the critical department of literature. Their *materia prima*, or universal solvent, serves equally for the lead of Tupper or the brass of Swinburne.

In a letter of Sir Kenelm Digby to J. Winthrop, Jr., we find some odd prescriptions. "For all sorts of agues, I have of late tried the following magnetical experiment with infallible success. Pare the patient's nails when the fit is coming on, & put the parings into a little bag of fine linen or sarsenet, & tie that about a live eel's neck in a tub of water. The eel will die & the patient will recover. And if a dog or hog eat that eel, they will also die."

"The man recovered of the bite,
The dog it was that died!"

"I have known one that cured all deliriums & frenzies whatsoever, & at once taking, with an elixir made of dew, nothing but dew purified & nipped up in a glass & digested 15 months till all of it was become a gray powder, not one drop of humidity remaining. This I know to be true, & that first it was as black as ink, then green, then gray, & at 22 months' end it was as white & lustrous as any oriental pearl. But it cured manias at 15 months' end." Poor Brewster would have been the better for a dose of it, as well as some in our day, who expect to cure men of being men by act of Congress. In the same letter he boasts of having made known the properties of *quinquina*, and also of the sympathetic pow-

der, with which latter he wrought a "famous cure" of pleasant James Howell, author of the "Letters." We do not recollect that Howell anywhere alludes to it. In the same letter, Digby speaks of the books he had sent to Harvard College, and promises to send more. In all Paris he cannot find a copy of Blaise Viginere *Des Chiffres*. "I had it in my library in England, but at the plundering of my house I lost it with many other good books. I have *laid out* in all places for it." The words we have underscored would be called a Yankeeism now. The house was Gatehurst, a fine Elizabethan dwelling, still, or lately, standing. Digby made his peace with Cromwell, and professes his readiness to spend his blood for him. He kept well with both sides, and we are not surprised to find Hooke saying that he hears no good of him from any.

The early colonists found it needful to bring over a few trained soldiers, both as drillmasters and engineers. Underhill, Patrick, and Gardner had served in the Low Countries, probably also Mason. As Paris has been said to be not precisely the place for a deacon, so the camp of the Prince of Orange could hardly have been the best training-school for Puritans in practice, however it may have been for masters of casuistic theology. The position of these rough warriors among a people like those of the first emigration must have been a droll one. That of Captain Underhill certainly was. In all our early history, there is no figure so comic. Full of the pedantry of his profession and fond of noble phrases, he is a kind of cross between Dugald Dalgetty and Ancient Pistol, with a slight relish of the *miles gloriosus*. Underhill had taken side with Mr. Wheelwright in his heretical opinions, and there is every reason why he should have maintained, with all the ardor of personal interest, the efficiency of a covenant of grace without reference to the works of the subject of it. Coming back from a visit to England in 1638, he "was questioned for some speeches uttered by him in the ship, viz: that they at Boston were zealous as the scribes and pharisees were and as Paul was before his conversion, which he denying, they were proved to his face by a sober woman whom he had seduced in the ship and drawn to his opinion; but she was after-

wards better informed in the truth. Among other passages, he told her how he came by his assurance, saying that, having long lain under a spirit of bondage, and continued in a legal way near five years, he could get no assurance, till at length, as he was taking a pipe of the good creature tobacco, the spirit fell home upon his heart, an absolute promise of free grace, with such assurance and joy, as he never doubted since of his good estate, neither should he, whatsoever sin he should fall into, — a good preparative for such motions as he familiarly used to make to some of that sex. . . . . The next day he was called again and banished. The Lord's day after, he made a speech in the assembly, showing that as the Lord was pleased to convert Paul as he was persecuting &c, so he might manifest himself to him as he was making moderate use of the good creature called tobacco." A week later "he was privately dealt with upon suspicion of incontinency . . . . but his excuse was that the woman was in great trouble of mind, and some temptations, and that he resorted to her to comfort her." He went to the Eastward, and, having run himself out there, thought it best to come back to Boston and reinstate himself by eating his leek. "He came in his worst clothes (being accustomed to take great pride in his bravery and neatness) without a band, in a foul linen cap pulled close to his eyes, and, standing upon a form, he did, with many deep sighs and abundance of tears, lay open his wicked course, his adultery, his hypocrisy &c. He spake well, save that his blubbering &c. interrupted him." We hope he was a sincere penitent, but men of his complexion are apt to be pleased with such a tragi-comedy of self-abasement, if only they can be chief actors and conspicuous enough therein. In the correspondence before us Underhill appears in full turkey-cock proportions. Not having been advanced according to his own opinion of his merits, he writes to Governor Winthrop, with an oblique threat that must have amused him somewhat: "I profess, sir, till I know the cause, I shall not be satisfied, but I hope God will subdue me to his will; yet this I say that such handling of officers in foreign parts hath so far subverted some of them as to cause them turn public rebels against their state & kingdom, which God forbid should ever be found once so much as to appear in my

breast." Why, then the world 's mine oyster, which I with sword will open! Next we hear him on a point of military discipline at Salem. "It is this: how they have of their own appointment made them a captain, lieutenant & ensign, & after such a manner as was never heard of in any school of war, nor in no kingdom under heaven. . . . . For my part, if there should not be a reformation in this disordered practise, I would not acknowledge such officers. If officers should be of no better esteem than for constables to place them, & martial discipline to proceed disorderly, I would rather lay down my command than to shame so noble a prince from whom we came." Again: "Whereas it is somewhat questionable whether the three months I was absent, as well in the service of the country as of other particular persons, my request therefore is that this honored Court would be pleased to decide this controversy, myself alleging it to be the custom of Nations that, if a Commander be lent to another State, by that State to whom he is a servant, both his place & means is not detained from him, so long as he doth not refuse the call of his own State to which he is a servant, in case they shall call him home." Then bringing up again his "ancient suit" for a grant of land, he throws in a neat touch of piety: "& if the honored Court shall vouchsafe to make some addition, that which hath not been deserved, by the same power of God, may be in due season." In a postscript, he gives a fine philosophical reason for this desired addition which will go to the hearts of many in these days of high prices and wasteful taxation. "The time was when a little went far; then much was not known nor desired; the reason of the difference lieth only in the error of judgment, for nature requires no more to uphold it now than when it was satisfied with less." The valiant Captain interprets the law of nations, as sovereign powers are wont to do, to suit his advantage in the special case. We find a parallel case in a letter of Bryan Rosseter to John Winthrop, Jr., pleading for a remission of taxes. "The lawes of nations exempt allowed phisitians from personall services, & there estates from rates & assessments." In the Declaration of the town of Southampton on Long Island (1673), the dignity of constable is valued at a juster rate than Underhill was inclined to put upon it. The

Dutch, it seems, demanded of them "to deliver up to them the badge of Civil & Military power; namely, the Constable's staffe & the Colonel's." Mayor Munroe of New Orleans did not more effectually magnify his office when he surrendered the city to General Butler.

Underhill's style is always of the finest. His spelling was under the purest covenant of grace. We must give a single specimen of it from a letter whose high moral tone is all the more diverting that it was written while he was under excommunication for the sin which he afterwards confessed. It is addressed to Winthrop and Dudley. "Honnored in the Lord. Youer silenc onc more admirse me. I youse chrischan playnnes. I know you love it. Silenc can not reduce the hart of youer love^{g} brother: I would the rightchous would smite me, espeschali youer slfe & the honnored Depoti to whom I also dereckt this letter together with youer honnored slfe. Jesos Christ did wayt; & God his Father did dig and telfe bout the barren figtre before he would cast it of: I would to God you would tender my soule so as to youse playnnes with me." (As if anything could be plainer than excommunication and banishment!) "I wrot to you both, but now [no] answer; & here I am dayli abused by malischous tongse: John Baker I here hath rot to the honnored depoti how as I was dronck & like to be cild, & both falc, upon okachon I delt with Wannerton for intrushon, & findding them resolutli bent to rout out all gud a mong us & advanc there superstischous waye, & by boystrous words indeferd to fritten men to acomplish his end, & he abusing me to my face, dru upon him with intent to corb his insolent and dasterdli sperrite, but now danger of my life, although it might hafe bin just with God to hafe giffen me in the hanse of youer enemise & mine, for thay hat the wayse of the Lord & them that profes them, & therfore layes trapes to cachte the pore into there deboyst corses, as ister daye on Pickeren their Chorch Warden caim up to us with intent to mak some of ourse dronc, as is sospeckted, but the Lord soferd him so to misdemen himslfe as he is likli to li by the hielse this too month. . . . My hombel request is that you will be charitabel of me. . . . . Let justies and merci be goyned. . . . . You may plese to soggest youer will to this barrer, you will find him

tracktabel." The concluding phrase seems admirably chosen, when we consider the means of making people "tractable" which the magistrates of the Bay had in their hands, and were not slow to exercise, as Underhill himself had experienced.

We cannot deny ourselves the pleasure of giving one more specimen of the Captain's "grand-delinquent" style, as we once heard such fine writing called by a person who little dreamed what a hit he had made. So far as we have observed, our public defaulters, and others who have nothing to say for themselves, always rise in style as they sink in self-respect. He is speaking of one Scott, who had laid claim to certain lands, and had been called on to show his title. "If he break the comand of the Asembli & bring not in the counterfit portreture of the King imprest in yello waxe, anext to his false perpetuiti of 20 mile square, where by he did chet the Town of Brouckhaven, he is to induer the sentance of the Court of Asisies." Pistol would have been charmed with that splendid amplification of the Great Seal. We have seen nothing like it in our day, except in a speech made to Mr. George Peabody at Danvers, if we recollect, while that gentleman was so elaborately concealing from his left hand what his right had been doing. As examples of Captain Underhill's adroitness in phonetic spelling, we offer *fafarabel* and *poseschonse*, and reluctantly leave him.

Another very entertaining fellow for those who are willing to work through a pretty thick husk of tiresomeness for a genuine kernel of humor underneath is Coddington. The elder Winthrop endured many trials, but we doubt if any were sharper than those which his son had to undergo in the correspondence of this excellently tiresome man. *Tantæ molis Romanam condere gentem!* The dulness of Coddington, always that of no ordinary man, became irritable and aggressive after being stung by the gadfly of Quakerism. Running counter to its proper nature, it made him morbidly uneasy. Already an Anabaptist, his brain does not seem to have been large enough to lodge two maggots at once with any comfort to himself. Fancy John Winthrop, Jr., with all the affairs of the Connecticut Colony on his back, expected to prescribe alike for the spiritual and bodily ailments of all the hypochondriacs in his government, and

with Philip's war impending, — fancy him exposed also to perpetual trials like this: "G. F. [George Fox] hath sent thee a book of his by Jere: Bull, & two more now which thou mayest communicate to thy Council & officers. Also I remember before thy last being in England, I sent thee a book written by Francis Howgall against persecution, by Joseph Nicallson which book thou lovingly accepted and communicated to the Commissioners of the United Colonies (as I desired) also J. N. thou entertained with a loving respect which encouraged me" (fatal hospitality!) — "As a token of that ancient love that for this 42 years I have had for thee, I have sent thee three Manuscripts, one of 5 queries, other is of 15, about the love of Jesus &c. The 3d is why we cannot come to the worship which was not set up by Christ Jesus, which I desire thee to communicate to the priests to answer in thy jurisdiction, the Massachusetts, New Plymouth, or elsewhere, & send their answer in writing to me. Also two printed papers to set up in thy house. It's reported in Barbadoes that thy brother Sammuell shall be sent Governour to Antego." What a mere dust of sugar in the last sentence for such a portentous pill! In his next letter he has other writings of G. F., "not yet copied, which if thou desireth, when I hear from thee, I may convey them unto thee. Also sence G. Ffox departure William Edmondson is arrived at this Island, who having given out a paper to all in authority, which, my wife having copied, I have here inclosed presented thee therewith." Books and manuscripts were not all. Coddington was also glad to bestow on Winthrop any wandering tediousness in the flesh that came to hand. "I now understand of John Stubbs freedom to visit thee (with the said Jo: B.) he is a larned man, as witness the battle door* on 35 languages," — a terrible man this, capable of inflicting himself on three dozen different kindreds of men. It will be observed that Coddington, with his "thou desireths," is not quite so well up in the grammar of his thee-and-thouing as my Lord Coke. Indeed, it is rather pleasant to see that in his alarm about "the enemy," in 1673, he backslides into the second person plural. If Winthrop ever looked over his father's correspondence, he

* The title-page of which our learned Marsh has cited for the etymology of the word.

would have read in a letter of Henry Jacie the following dreadful example of retribution: "The last news we heard was that the Bores in Bavaria slew about 300 of the Swedish forces & took about 200 prisoners, of which they put out the eyes of some & cut out the tonges of others & so sent them to the King of Sweden, which caused him to lament bytterly for an hour. Then he sent an army & destroyed those Bores, about 200 or 300 of their towns. Thus we hear." Think of that, Master Coddington! Could the sinful heart of man always suppress the wish that a Gustavus might arise to do judgment on the Bores of Rhode Island? The unkindest part of it was that, on Coddington's own statement, Winthrop had never persecuted the Quakers, and had even endeavored to save Robinson and Stevenson in 1659.

Speaking of the execution of these two martyrs to the bee in their bonnets, John Davenport gives us a capital example of the way in which Divine "judgments" may be made to work both ways, at the pleasure of the interpreter. As the crowd was going home from the hanging, a drawbridge gave way, and some lives were lost. The Quakers, of course, made the most of this lesson to the *pontifices* in the bearing power of timber, claiming it as a proof of God's wrath against the persecutors. This was rather hard, since none of the magistrates perished, and the popular feeling was strongly in favor of the victims of their severity. But Davenport gallantly captures these Quaker guns, and turns them against the enemy himself. "Sir, the hurt that befell so many, by their own rashness, at the Draw Bridge in Boston, being on the day that the Quakers were executed, was not without God's special providence in judgment & wrath, I fear, against the Quakers & their abettors, who will be much hardened thereby." This is admirable, especially as his parenthesis about "their own rashness" assumes that the whole thing was owing to natural causes. The pity for the Quakers, too, implied in the "I fear," is a nice touch. It is always noticeable how much more liberal those who deal in God's command without his power are of his wrath than of his mercy. But we should never understand the Puritans if we did not bear in mind that they were still prisoners in that religion of Fear which casts out

Love. The nearness of God was oftener a terror than a comfort to them. Yet perhaps in them was the last apparition of Faith as a wonder-worker in human affairs. Take away from them what you will, you cannot deny them *that*, and its constant presence made them great in a way and measure of which this generation, it is to be feared, can have but a very inadequate conception. If men now-a-days find their tone antipathetic, it would be modest at least to consider whether the fault be wholly theirs, — whether it was they who lacked, or we who have lost. Whether they were right or wrong in their dealing with the Quakers is not a question to be decided glibly after two centuries' struggle toward a conception of toleration very imperfect even yet, perhaps impossible to human nature. If they did not choose what seems to us the wisest way of keeping the Devil out of their household, they certainly had a very honest will to keep him out, which we might emulate with advantage. However it be in other cases, historic toleration must include intolerance among things to be tolerated.

The false notion which the first settlers had of the savages by whom the continent was beflead rather than inhabited, arose in part from what they had heard of Mexico and Peru, in part from the splendid exaggerations of the early travellers, who could give their readers an El Dorado at the cheap cost of a good lie. Hence the kings, dukes, and earls who were so plenty among the red men. Pride of descent takes many odd shapes, none odder than when it hugs itself in an ancestry of filthy barbarians, who daubed themselves for ornament with a mixture of bear's-grease and soot, or colored clay, and were called emperors by Captain John Smith and his compeers. The droll contrast between this imaginary royalty and the squalid reality is nowhere exposed with more ludicrous unconsciousness than in the following passage of a letter from Fitz-John Winthrop to his father, November, 1674: "The bearer hereof, Mr. Danyell, one of the Royal Indian blood . . . . does desire me to give an account to yourself of the late unhappy accident which has happened to him. A little time since, a careless girl playing with fire at the door, it immediately took hold of the mats, & in an instant consumed it to ashes, with all

the common as well as his lady's chamber furniture, & his own wardrobe & armory, Indian plate, & money to the value (as is credibly reported in his estimation) of more than an hundred pounds Indian. . . . . The Indians have handsomely already built him a good house & brought him in several necessaries for his present supply, but that which takes deepest melancholy impression upon him is the loss of an excellent Masathuset cloth cloak & hat, which was only seen upon holy days & their general sessions. His journey at this time is only to intreat your favor & the gentlemen there for a kind relief in his necessity, having no kind of garment but a short jerkin which was charitably given him by one of his Common-Councilmen. He principally aims at a cloak & hat."

> "King Stephen was a worthy peer,
> His breeches cost him half a crown."

But it will be observed that there is no allusion to any such article of dress in the costume of this prince of Pequot. Some light is perhaps thrown on this deficiency by a line or two in one of Williams's letters, where he says: "I have long had scruples of selling the Natives ought but what may tend or bring to civilizing: I therefore neither brought nor shall sell them loose coats nor breeches." Precisely the opposite course was deemed effectual with the Highland Scotch, between whom and our Indians there was a very close analogy. They were compelled by law to adopt the usages of *Gallia Braccata*, and sansculottism made a penal offence. What impediment to civilization Williams had discovered in the offending garment it is hard to say. It is a question for Herr Teufelsdröck. Royalty, at any rate, in our day, is dependent for much of its success on the tailor. Williams's opportunities of studying the Indian character were perhaps greater than those of any other man of his day. He was always an advocate for justice toward them. But he seems to have had no better opinion of them than Mr. Parkman,* calling them, shortly and sharply, "wolves endowed with men's brains." The same change of feeling has followed the same causes in their case as in that of the Highlanders, — they have become romantic in proportion as they ceased to be dangerous.

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* In his Jesuits in North America.

As exhibitions of the writer's character, no letters in the collection have interested us more than those of John Tinker, who for many years was a kind of steward for John Winthrop and his son. They show him to have been a thoroughly faithful, grateful, and unselfish servant. He does not seem to have prospered except in winning respect, for when he died his funeral charges were paid by the public. We learn from one of his letters that John Winthrop, Jr. had a negro (presumably a slave) at Paquanet, for he says that a mad cow there "had almost spoiled the neger & made him ferfull to tend the rest of the cattell." That such slaves must have been rare, however, is plain from his constant complaints about the difficulty of procuring "help," some of which we have already quoted. His spelling of the word "ferfull" shows that the New England pronunciation of that word had been brought from the old country. He also uses the word "creatures" for kine, and the like, precisely as our farmers do now. There is one very comical passage in a letter of the 2d of August, 1660, where he says: "There hath been a motion by some, the chief of the town, (New London) for my keeping an ordinary, or rather under the notion of a tavern, which, *though it suits not with my genius*, yet am almost persuaded to accept for some good grounds." Tinker's modesty is most creditable to him, and we wish it were more common now. No people on the face of the earth suffer so much as we from impostors who keep inconveniences, "under the notion of a tavern," without any call of natural genius thereto; none endure with such unexemplary patience the superb indifference of innkeepers, and the condescending inattention of their gentlemanly deputies. We are the thralls of our railroads and hotels, and we deserve it.

Richard Salstonstall writes to John Winthrop, Jr., in 1636: "The best thing that I have to beg your thoughts for at this present is a motto or two that Mr. Prynne hath writ upon his chamber walls in the Tower." We copy a few phrases, chiefly for the contrast they make with Lovelace's famous verses to Althea. Nothing could mark more sharply the different habit of mind in Puritan and Cavalier. Lovelace is very charming, but he sings

> "The sweetness, mercy, majesty,
> And glories of *his* King,"

to wit, Charles I. To him "stone walls do not a prison make," so long as he has "freedom in his love, and in his soul is free." Prynne's King was of another and higher kind: "*Carcer excludit mundum, includit Deum. Deus est turris etiam in turre: turris libertatis in turre angustiæ: Turris quietis in turre molestiæ. . . . . Arctari non potest qui in ipsa Dei infinitate incarceratus spatiatur. . . . . Nil crus sentit in nervo si animus sit in cœlo: nil corpus patitur in ergastulo, si anima sit in Christo.*" If Lovelace has the advantage in fancy, Prynne has it as clearly in depth of sentiment. There could be little doubt which of the parties represented by these men would have the better if it came to a death-grapple.

There is curiously little sentiment in these volumes. Most of the letters, except where some point of doctrine is concerned, are those of shrewd, practical men, busy about the affairs of this world, and earnest to build their New Jerusalem on something more solid than cloud. The truth is, that men anxious about their souls have not been by any means the least skilful in providing for the wants of the body. It was far less the enthusiasm than the common sense of the Puritans which made them what they were in politics and religion. That a great change should be wrought in the settlers by the circumstances of their position was inevitable; that this change should have had some disillusion in it, that it should have weaned them from the ideal and wonted them to the actual, was equally so. In 1664, not much more than a generation since the settlement, Williams prophesies: "When we that have been the eldest are rotting (to-morrow or next day) a generation will act, I fear, far unlike the first Winthrops and their models of love. I fear that the common trinity of the world (profit, preferment, pleasure) will here be the *tria omnia* as in all the world beside, that Prelacy and Papacy too will in this wilderness predominate, that god Land will be (as now it is) as great a god with us English as god Gold was with the Spaniards. While we are here, noble sir, let us *viriliter hoc agere, rem agere humanam, divinam, Christianam*, which, I believe, is all of a most public genius," or, as we should now say, true patriotism. If Williams means no play on the word *humanam* and *divinam*, the order of precedence in which he marshals them is noticeable.

A generation later, what Williams had predicted was in a great measure verified. But what made New England Puritanism narrow was what made Scotch Cameronianism narrow, — its being secluded from the great movement of the nation. Till 1660 the colony was ruled and mostly inhabited by Englishmen closely connected with the party dominant in the mother country, and with their minds broadened by having to deal with questions of state and European policy. After that time they sank rapidly into provincials, narrow in thought, in culture, in creed. Such a pedantic portent as Cotton Mather would have been impossible in the first generation; he was the natural growth of the third. Perhaps some injustice has been done to men like the second Governor Dudley, and it should be counted to them rather as a merit than a fault, that they wished to bring New England back within reach of the invigorating influence of national sympathies, and to rescue it from a tradition which had become empty formalism. Puritanism was dead, and its profession had become a wearisome cant before the Revolution of 1688 gave it that vital force in politics which it had lost in religion.

The volumes of the Historical Society (as we have said) are rather printed than published, and it is for this reason that we have wished to advertise them to our readers. In the thirty-seven that have already appeared there is, with much that is worthless, a great amount of matter valuable, instructive, and entertaining. The same may be said of the publications of the American Antiquarian Society, which seems especially indebted to the Rev. E. E. Hale and a few others for an inspiration of new life. "The Winthrop Papers" have been edited by Mr. Charles Deane with a correctness which we might have expected from his intimate acquaintance with our early literature and his studious fidelity. We have noticed a few errors here and there, but so few as to render the general accuracy more conspicuous. We hope that these volumes may be followed by others from the same source, which, we believe, is by no means exhausted.

Art. X. — CRITICAL NOTICES.

1. — *The Culture demanded by Modern Life; a Series of Addresses and Arguments on the Claims of Scientific Education.* By Professors Tyndall, Henfrey, Huxley, Paget, Whewell, Faraday, Liebig, Draper, De Morgan, Drs. Barnard, Hodgson, Carpenter, Hooker, Acland, Forbes, Herbert Spencer, Sir John Herschel, Sir Charles Lyell, Dr. Seguin, Mr. Mill, etc. *With an Introduction on Mental Discipline in Education by* E. L. Youmans. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1867. pp. x., 473.

In this volume Dr. Youmans has brought together, for his own purposes, a mass of scattered and not easily accessible documents, whose value is by no means for those only who share his views of education. What these views are appears from his Introduction. In this he has, he says, "attempted to show that a course of study, mainly scientific, not only meets the full requirements of mental training, but also affords the kind of culture or mental discipline which is especially needed in this country at the present time." The antithesis here of mental training and mental discipline is a little puzzling; but Dr. Youmans seems to understand by mental training the systematic acquisition of useful information, and by mental discipline — if we do not misinterpret his physiological theory — the process by which certain tracks are to be worn into the nervous substance of the brain in order to facilitate the flow and the orderly combination of ideas. Education, in his conception of it, is divided into two parts. Its basis is "the great law of acquisition." This law is, that whatever is learned must have an economic as well as a disciplinary use. "The moment that the conception of *value* attaches to power, the idea of its economy inevitably arises, and this is fatal to its vicarious application." By "vicarious" application he means use for the sole end of discipline, for the sake of mental perfection itself, and not for any ulterior advantage. "Hence gymnastics are never thought of as a preparation for industrial occupation," because in this case it is obvious "that the laborer has but a limited amount of power, which it is necessary to utilize." So in the world of business; and the same thing is equally true, though not perhaps so obvious, "in the world of mind and education." But then, if so, of course it is for the same reason, namely, that what is sought is not at last mental improvement, but some ulterior product for which this is to be instrumental. The standard of *value*

here referred to is sufficiently clear, and it is equally clear, we think, that it is not the standard of those who urge the claims of culture for its own sake.

The mental discipline which Dr. Youmans recommends seems to amount, if we understand him correctly, simply to the formation of habits of thought. The means whereby it is brought about is a change gradually wrought in the structure of the brain by the reiteration of similar impressions, the effect of which is to arrange and to facilitate the reception and transmission of successive impressions. In this way thinking becomes less and less of a conscious effort, and more and more an automatic operation of the nervous system. The basis of mental discipline accordingly is to be sought in the properties of the nervous substance of the brain. In dealing with the problem of Education, it is the organism with which we have finally to deal. "The mental associations are formed by combinations of currents in the brain, and are made permanent by the growth and modification of cells at the points of union." When a child is said to "learn" what a dollar is, "the real fact of the case is, that the currents formed by visible impressions, vocal movements and sounds, are often repeated together, and are thus combined in the brain, and fixed by specific growths at their points of union, and in this way the mental associations are cemented by cerebral nutrition." This view, no doubt, as Dr. Youmans says, must lead to important practical conclusions. But it is not at once evident what these conclusions are, or that when arrived at they would be of much service in Education, — unless, indeed, it would be a service to show that Education is a word without meaning. No one, we believe, has seen these currents, or pointed out the tracks they wear, or the modified cells which fix the mental associations. When the facts are shown, it will be time enough to draw the proper inferences. Meantime speculation about them is as untrammelled as would be an inquiry into the physical effects of a chimera buzzing *in vacuo*. But supposing them traced out and the whole mechanism explained through which impressions from without affect us, still the question of the *meaning* and the comparative value of the impressions would remain untouched. Here, however, it is that the province of Education begins. The office of Education is to help us to use our facts, and of course first of all to distinguish between them, and rightly to apprehend their relations and their enormous diversity in value. The first step in culture is to escape from bondage to the immediate, local, and momentary. The first lesson the "facts" teach us, and always one of the most important, is that they are not fixed or final, not truth, but that, when rightly apprehended, they lead us beyond themselves. What

else is experience? And what is it good for, except as a constant burning of the old rubbish that forms so large a part of the concrete impression? Of course all facts are good; there is no need that a man should be a cockney or a greenhorn for the sake of Culture. So is all food good, yet not unless it is digested, — not *as* food. Food of itself is not life, nor can it create an atom of blood or of bone. It is not as food that it nourishes, and to remain what it is would be to lose all value and become mere obstruction. In the same way the mind that accepts and passively retains its data remains excluded from their benefit; the benefit is for others; the more you insist on their solid matter-of-fact character, the more you show that they have not been disposed of and come to their use. The highest transmutation, or fact seen in its widest relations, is of course moral truth. But short of this and of the purely disinterested pursuit of truth for its own sake, — for instance, in professional training,— the indispensable object surely is yet beyond the facts, to attain the power of seeing always their limitations and their merely relative character. The lawyer or the physician who is the victim of symptoms or of the client's statement, the man of business who can see only the immediate prospect of gain and is unable to control it from any wider range of perception, are unprepared for their work. The whole difference between wisdom and folly in the dealings of life, nay, between sanity and insanity, depends on the power of the mind to keep its facts as it were in flux, and to prevent them from solidifying into superstitions, consecrated prejudices, — on something, therefore, which is the opposite of automatism. It is remarkable, by the way, that Dr. Youmans, like Bacon before him, should have seen the necessary consequence of assuming truth to lie ready made in the outward world as metal in a mine; namely, that the pursuit of it, the more intelligently it is conducted, the more it must become a merely mechanical operation, without being alarmed at the result.

But it would be doing injustice to the book and to the intention of the compiler if we gave the impression that it is a collection of mere *ex parte* testimony. On the contrary, most of it is just as useful to those who differ most widely from him in opinion. It is unnecessary for us to commend to attention anything of Tyndall's, Faraday's, De Morgan's, or Huxley's, upon this or any other subject, and as the title-page is sufficiently explicit, our task might here come to an end. We shall take the liberty, however, if our readers can bear it, of saying a word or two upon this somewhat battered topic, the comparative advantages of a mostly scientific or a mostly literary training. Education, we assume, can never create anything; its only use is to condense and

purify experience, — to do more shortly, certainly, and thoroughly what mere living will effect after a fashion. The preliminary inquiry in any given case then will be, What sort of experience would be most serviceable to this person? What does he need, and what is he capable of receiving? The first part of the question would be enough, were it not that the want may sometimes extend to incapacity to receive. There must be a germ already, else nothing can be developed. Moreover, the degree of need and the amount to be supplied are not to be fixed by any conventional standard or by the abstract value of the acquirement, but must depend very much upon individual gifts. We must be content to accept the fact of immense diversities of original endowment, both as regards amount and direction. It is of no use to prove that paraffine oil contains in a high degree the requisite elements for nutrition: if it cannot be digested, it is not nutritious. It helps nothing to insist upon the value of this or that study for some other purpose or for another person: its usefulness for education must be determined by actual experience in the particular case.

If the correctness of these premises be admitted, it is evident that a great deal of the discussion that has been lavished upon this subject is beside the point, and that no general proposition, however well founded in itself, ought to countervail the indication of native talent, or even bias, wherever that is distinct, in assigning the tasks upon which the faculties are to be exercised. There is no good in dogmatizing or exclusion, and no magic in any particular course. All ways are good that lead to the end; and if the stream runs, it may be trusted to find the shortest road for itself. In the absence of any such indication, however, we have to look to general probabilities, and then the question of the inherent superiority of one or another branch of study has greater pertinency. Where we can discover no predisposition in the pupil, it is natural to ask which line of study is best worth the while of itself. That surely in which the most truth is to be learned. But which is this? "The most incessant occupation of the human intellect," says Mr. Mill, "is the ascertainment of truth. We are always needing to know what is actually true about something or other." That is, to judge correctly what inferences are to be drawn from our facts, and what are their true relations to other facts. The most valuable truths are those which are the most widely related, and which make demand upon the judgment rather than upon simple apprehension. This would lead to the moral truths, those which respect the conduct of human life; these are the most profitable in themselves, and it would seem must afford the most profitable exercise for the faculties we wish to cultivate. In science, on the other hand, the matter-of-fact holds a more important place. Of course there

is plenty of room for careful inference and correct judgment here too, and the highest results are attainable only by a process allied to that by which moral truths are ascertained. But it is the restraint, the suspense of judgment, the chariness of inference, rather than the appeal to the imagination and the reasoning powers, that characterize the scientific spirit. This is especially true of the learner; but even the adept is mainly exercised, as far as the judgment is concerned, in keeping his mind in a negative, receptive attitude, — in sticking to facts, and abstaining from all conclusions not forced upon him by the facts, rather than in seeking their meaning. He surrenders himself, as Professor Tyndall says, to Nature, because Nature is to him truth. But the seeker for moral truth does not surrender himself unconditionally to Nature, but demands the meaning and the justification of what exists. Not that the accurate apprehension of facts is of less importance to him, or that any essential superiority in this direction is to be claimed for natural science. The reason it seems so is only that he discriminates his facts more closely, and shows them in due relation and proportion, not merely to other facts of the same kind, but to the rest of the universe. Compare a page of Plutarch's Lives with a page, say, of a treatise on beetles. It would be absurd to pretend that the bodily existence of these heroes and sages is of less importance, or less necessary to their story, than the forms, colors, or minute configuration of the beetles. But the beetles have no story, and so this prominence remains attached to details which disappear from sight in Solon and Themistocles. Indeed, it is to this very abstractness, to the side therefore on which it is weakest, rather than to its intrinsic merits as science, that the advantages claimed for elementary scientific instruction seem to us to belong. Accurate perception is an indispensable preliminary everywhere, and it may perhaps be most conveniently cultivated at first through studies in which it holds the first place. The meagreness and consequent simplicity of the subject-matter may fit it to discipline, without overtasking the lively but easily fatigued curiosity that marks the nascent intelligence. But elementary natural history used, as of late often recommended, for the chief occupation of the earliest school-years, seems rather diluted food for an active mind. For babes, indeed, the diluted food may be better than strong meat; but then its limitations ought to be distinctly recognized, and the incidental services it may render, partly from the very restraint put upon the higher faculties, ought not to be confounded with the value which science has for the trained investigator. Even in his case, indeed, the habit of submission to the authority of "facts" continues, and must continue, and this habit, important as it is, is not of unmixed benefit. In the service of an alert and far-reaching intellect

that is in no danger of resting content with its facts as if they were finalities, the restraint is excellent, and not at all obstructive, but of itself the reverence for the physical fact is apt to become a levity about the inferences to be drawn from it. The effect is seen in much that has been written of late about the connection of mental phenomena with physiology. The data are such as these, — *some* connection of the brain with thought, — then, further, certain fibres and cells in the brain, — measurable intervals of time occupied by the transmission of impressions from the periphery to the nervous centres, &c. Then, *because* we know nothing more, it is swiftly concluded that it is the brain that thinks, or, as Dr. C. Vogt puts it, that the soul is only a collective name for certain functions of the nervous system. Dr. Bucknill declares that the growth and renovation of nerve-cells in the brain "are the most ultimate conditions of mind with which we are acquainted"; but instead of inferring from this that we know very little indeed about the mind, he concludes that thought, recollection, and reason are products of "the activity of the vesicular neurine of the brain." But as to the question of the comparative merits of scientific and of literary instruction, any definitive opinion must be premature until the *methods* of all instruction shall be very much better than they are. A great deal of what is urged, for example, against the classics, hits only the stupid way in which the classics, like everything else, have been taught, and amounts only to saying that they have been oftener taught than other things. It is only by accident that the pedant has heretofore usually been a classical pedant, and he will be in no respect improved if he is only transformed into a scientific pedant.

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2. — *The People are Sovereign: being a Comparison of the Government of the United States with those of the Republics which have existed before, with the Causes of their Decadence and Fall.* By James Monroe, Ex-President of the United States. And dedicated by the Author to his Countrymen. Edited by Samuel L. Gouverneur, his Grandson and Administrator. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 12mo. 1867. pp. 274.

Most of the Presidents of the United States of the first half-century of the constitutional age had considerable pretensions to be called men of letters. Washington's Writings bear to his fame the same relation that is borne to Wellington's fame by the famous Despatches, being history as well as material for history. John Adams was a voluminous author, and his works command respect, as well from the

vigor with which they are written as from the peculiar circumstances in which most of them had their origin. Jefferson's fame will depend upon the productions of his pen, as his power proceeded therefrom; for Nature, lavish in her gifts to him in so many ways, denied him oratorical power. To American liberalism he has held the same position that Burke holds to both great English parties, according to the dates of his speeches and writings; and if recent events have shaken somewhat the authority of Jefferson, there is no disposition to question his power as a writer. Madison was the ablest political writer contributed to the country by the old Republican (now Democratic) party, after Jefferson; and the old Republicans looked upon him as the only one of their number who could be pitted against Hamilton. His part in the production of "The Federalist" would alone suffice to place him high on the roll of American authors, had he no other claim to stand there. Mr. J. Q. Adams wrote much, but the next age will profit more from his labors with the pen than did his contemporaries, or than have their immediate successors. Mr. Van Buren devoted the leisure of his latter years to literary labors, writing his memoirs, which he left a fragment; and an "Inquiry into the Origin and Course of Political Parties in the United States," which was published some months since. Mr. Monroe now appears as an author, in consequence of the publication of the volume named above. Since 1841 there has been no President of the United States ambitious of that distinction which comes from literary pursuits. Mr. Buchanan, it is true, announced that he contemplated writing a biography of Mr. Lowndes; but Mr. Lowndes's reputation has as yet suffered nothing from Mr. Buchanan's exertions in his behalf; and if the Ex-President has any regard for the memory of his old friend, he will never attempt his life. It would be no recommendation of the name and works of any man to this generation to have them revived by the labors of one who is looked upon as having been a useful ally of the Secessionists, and whose acts of omission and commission did more to bring about the late Rebellion than was effected by the deeds of all those Southern men who figured in its early stages. Mr. Buchanan has put forth a huge political pamphlet, a sort of apology for his action and want of action at the crisis of his country's history; but it is as much a literary failure as it is a political and a personal failure, — and in these latter respects its failure is complete. The American nation has made up its verdict concerning his conduct, and from that verdict no appeal can ever successfully be made.

Mr. Monroe holds, in some respects, a peculiar place in the Presidential history of the Republic. Of all our chief magistrates, he

brought to the Presidency the most various experience, and had had, according to both English and American ideas, the best training for the office of all the men who filled it. He entered public life at eighteen, in 1776, and can hardly be said to have left it till the close of his Presidency, in 1825. He began his career as an officer of the Revolutionary army, and served actively for three years, taking part in some of the greatest actions of the war; and he exerted himself at home in military matters at a later day, receiving a colonel's commission, but Virginia failed to furnish him a regiment. At twenty-three he was chosen to the Assembly of Virginia; at twenty-four, to the old Congress; and at twenty-seven he was again sent to the Assembly. In 1788 he was a member of the State Convention which ratified the Federal Constitution. Sent to the United States Senate in 1790, Washington made him Minister to the French Republic in 1794. He was elected Governor of Virginia in 1799; and in 1803 he was sent to France, where he took part in the negotiations that led to the acquisition of Louisiana. Thence he went to England, as Minister Plenipotentiary; then to Spain, on a special mission; and again to England, to help Mr. Pinkney make a treaty which Mr. Jefferson condemned. The disaffected Republicans of those days placed him in opposition to Mr. Madison; but the trouble was smoothed over, and, after having been elected a member of the Assembly of Virginia, and Governor of that State, he received from President Madison the appointment of Secretary of State. He acted as Secretary of War in 1814 and 1815, holding both offices for some time, and confining himself to the State Department on the return of peace. Becoming President in 1817, with little opposition, he was re-elected in 1821 with but one electoral vote against him, — and that was given by Mr. Plumer of New Hampshire, who did not think it right that Mr. Monroe should stand in history beside Washington, who had received every electoral vote on two occasions. His Presidential term was the "era of good feeling," as the old party spirit was extinct; yet it was not the less a time of bitter political contention, the Missouri question affording an antepast of that quarrel concerning slavery which was to reach its height in the next generation. Personal quarrels then began, which also had memorable consequences. The Cabinet contained very able men, three of whom aspired to the Presidency. Mr. Monroe's position bore some resemblance to that of the Earl of Liverpool, who at the same time was Prime Minister in Great Britain, and who was a sort of moderator in a ministry that contained men much his superiors. An abler man than Mr. Monroe would have had less success than fell to him in keeping the peace among so many ambitious statesmen, who were the more

ready to fall out because there were other candidates for the Presidency, — General Jackson and Mr. Clay, — with whom alliances might be made. But he succeeded in preventing anything like an outbreak. His years of service were the seed-time of great events, and nearly all that is of importance in our subsequent history, including the Nullification and Secession movements, the civil war, and the eccentric action of President Johnson, dates from the "era of good feeling." The "Monroe Doctrine," of which so much is said, but which even now is little understood, has come down to us from his Presidency; and it is possible it may continue to furnish "a good cry" to politicians for years to come.

Mr. Monroe survived his Presidency little more than six years. He had been active too long to sink into ignoble repose. A member of the Virginia Constitutional Convention, in 1829, he was chosen its presiding officer. But his chief business was writing, and it is much to be regretted that he was not more fortunate in his choice of a subject for his inquiries and his pen. Had he written his own memoirs, he could not have failed to produce a work that would have been without a rival in our literature, even had it been a dull performance. His public life synchronized — not as a figure of speech, but exactly — with the history of the American nation; and in that history he had been a useful and a prominent, though not a brilliant actor, for almost half a century, holding twelve civil stations, most of them of a high grade, and including the chief magistracy of his country; and he had served with credit in three prominent campaigns of that war in which his country conquered her right to existence. He was an eyewitness of many of the most important events of the American Revolution, and of some of those of the French Revolution. He knew Washington well, and most of his associates; and he had seen and conversed with Napoleon, and with many of the first Frenchmen of the republican times he had been on intimate terms. He had seen Spain just before the beginning of that breaking up of the old Spanish system which is yet going on; and he had resided in England, in a public capacity, while she was engaged in her great struggle with France, and had moved in her society when it was adorned by men of the highest note in politics and in literature. His knowledge of the history and the men of our first constitutional age must have been extensive, minute, and accurate. His memory was a storehouse of valuable facts, a gallery lined with the most valuable pictures and portraits. Had he been content to write of what he knew, and part of which he was, he might have produced a work that would have been unrivalled in its kind. But it never seems to have occurred to him that he had a story to tell that could have secured for

him the nation as an audience, and he allowed his real knowledge and rich experience to die with him, instead of adding them to the intellectual treasures of the world. He devoted his time and attention to the composition of a work in which a comparison was instituted between the government of the United States and the governments of the ancient republics. But when a man enters upon an elaborate political and literary work at sixty-seven, his chances of having health enough and life enough to complete it are not of an encouraging character. Mr. Monroe's treatise is a fragment. The comparison includes only some of the Grecian governments and that of Carthage. He seems to have contemplated an extension of the comparison so as to include the government of the Roman Republic and that of Great Britain. Mr. Gouverneur has, very properly, published the work very much as the author left it. "The work as it came into my hands," he says, "was in its rough and incomplete state; I have reflected upon it for years, and after considerable time and labor have joined its several parts together, until it comprises the whole as it now stands. Not one word has been added to the original text, neither has one been erased from the manuscript copy." Mr. Bancroft and Mr. Tyler both advised its publication, and thus it sees the light at the end of thirty-six years.

We cannot express much regret that this treatise was not completed, nor do we think the world would have lost much had it been allowed to remain in manuscript. It is a literary curiosity, and nothing more, — and it has not much value even as a curiosity. As the work of a practised and practical statesman, treating of the higher politics, it has a sort of attraction that is not common, — but things that are not common are not always valuable. They may be rare, and yet not rich. Little instruction is obtainable from the treatise, and the reason is not far to seek. When a political writer makes comparisons between differing systems or polities, it is necessary that he should be familiar with both systems. Mr. Monroe knew the American polity well, having acquired his knowledge of it through a most intimate connection with it. Practice had made him perfect. He was not a philosophic statesman, but he had been well and thoroughly trained. But of the ancient systems of government, considering them comprehensively, he knew very little. His life had been too active to admit of his making himself critically acquainted even with the best authorities that were accessible forty years since; and the number of such authorities was not large. That severe and searching school of historical criticism which has disposed of so much of ancient history that was received by the world at the beginning of the century, was in its spring-time when Mr. Monroe began to write his treatise, and the old beliefs were as yet

not seriously shaken; and even had it accomplished much by the year 1825, it is not probable that he would have condescended to give its labors much attention. Since he wrote, the labors of some of the greatest of scholars, among whom are men practically familiar with political affairs, have given what may be called new histories of antiquity, so that what was accepted forty years ago now is, to a very great extent, worse than worthless, because it conveys false views. If the reader would see how much has been gained since Mr. Monroe wrote, he should read what is said of Carthage in the treatise, and then read Arnold's thirty-ninth chapter on the same subject, and then the first chapter of Mommsen's third book. It is not so much from want of ability in the American statesman that he is inferior to the Englishman and the German, as from his want of critical knowledge of Carthage and her polity, — a branch of knowledge by no means common in his day. It would be unjust to blame him for not being better acquainted with Carthaginian institutions than were the professional scholars of 1825–1831; but it is obvious that, if he was not well acquainted with them, his teaching must go for nothing. So far as the means afforded by the old and ordinary historical school go, Mr. Monroe seems to have used them with considerable skill, and that is all that we have the right to look for in a work written at so early a date; but we can turn his work to no useful account when we are seeking for light to guide us through the mazes of classical history.

The first chapter of the treatise is "A Comparative Elementary View of Government and of Society," embracing about a third of the work. It is the best part of the work, because written more from the author's experience and observation than from books. He draws from what he has seen, and from events in which he was an actor, and not altogether from his reading. In the course of this chapter he speaks of the French Revolution, and alludes to his residence in Paris during the Revolutionary time; and the vivacity with which he treats the matter shows how much he erred in not writing entirely of contemporary affairs. With him must have died much that no other American knew, or could have known, and which he alone could have told; and yet he could leave all that in order to delve among Greek and Roman ruins, concerning which there were many of his countrymen better qualified to write than himself. It is difficult to speak courteously of such a blunder, when we think of the loss we have incurred through its perpetration, and it requires a full recollection of Mr. Monroe's great services, and of his high character, to enable us to part with him on terms to which those services and that character entitle his memory.

3. — *The History of the Norman Conquest of England, its Causes and its Results.* By Edward A. Freeman, M. A., late Fellow of Trinity College. Volume I. *The Preliminary History to Edward the Confessor.* Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 1867. 8vo. pp. xxviii., 650.

This volume is the work of one of the ablest of the new school of English students and writers of history, — a school distinguished by a juster sense of the true methods and objects of history than was possessed by their predecessors, as well as by sounder critical judgment and freedom from prejudice and preconceptions. It may be hard to surpass Gibbon in learning, or in power of condensed and vigorous statement and animated narrative, but his spirit and temper were at times unworthy of an historian, and are characteristic of a stage of intellectual culture very different from that of the present day.

Mr. Freeman displays in this new work the same qualities as were conspicuous in his unfinished "History of Federal Government." His clear and manly style well represents the clearness and definiteness of his thought. His mind is fitted, alike by natural gifts and by solid acquisitions, for historical investigation. To shrewd common sense he adds a rare critical faculty, which aids him alike in his judgments of men and in his estimate of the value of evidence. His learning is ample, his research thorough; the mass of facts which he has accumulated and with which he deals never overpowers him, and his command over them is that of one thoroughly the master of his subject. His books belong to the class of critical and analytic, rather than to that of picturesque and living histories. His imagination is rarely roused, and he does not reproduce and describe the past, but narrates its events, and discusses the character of the chief actors in them, without combining events and actors in the animated and poetic drama of actual life. He is more engaged in determining the general features of an age, and the historic principles that underlie them, than in exhibiting the age in its manners, thoughts, beliefs, or whatever else made up its conscious life. He examines political institutions, sets out the boundaries of kingdoms, narrates the wars and migrations of the time, tells the lives of the kings, and makes in fine a history which is essentially critical and political, rather than constructive and social. In its kind his book is of the highest value, and its literary merits are so great as to secure to it a distinguished place among the chief historical productions of the time.

Its great excellence is very strongly defined, if it be compared with

the works of its author's most eminent predecessors in the same field, Augustine Thierry and Sir Francis Palgrave. Thierry is far more animated and picturesque in his narrative than Mr. Freeman; Palgrave has an occasional gleam of genius unmatched by his successor; but each of these historians had a theory to support, which warped their view of facts, and each was alike deficient in that critical spirit which is absolutely essential for the discrimination of truth concerning a period so perplexed as that preceding the Norman Conquest. Beside the advantage which Mr. Freeman possesses in coming after these writers, and having the results of their investigations at his service, his habit of mind fits him to form juster conclusions as to the real meaning of facts, and as to their relations, while his large and accurate knowledge of the history of other times and other peoples enables him to grasp his subject with a firmer hand, and to treat it with a broader intelligence.

The point of view from which Mr. Freeman writes is

"a deep and growing conviction that the history of the Norman Conquest, and indeed all later English history also, is constantly misunderstood, through a fatal habit of beginning the study of English history with the Norman Conquest itself. A confused and unhappy nomenclature hinders many people from realizing that Englishmen before 1066 were the same people as Englishmen after 1066. They thus fail to perceive that the Norman Conquest, instead of wiping out the race, the laws, or the language which existed before it, did but communicate to us a certain foreign infusion in all three branches, which was speedily absorbed and assimilated into the preceding mass." — *Preface*, p. viii.

The older and stronger elements of national life and character survived, and after a while made good their permanent supremacy. They were modified, but not destroyed, by the Conquest. The Conquest, says Mr. Freeman, "was something less than such conquests as form the main subject of history during the great Wandering of the Nations. It was something more than those political conquests which fill up too large a space in the history of modern times." "In a few generations," he says on another page, and the sentence is a little amusing in form, — "in a few generations *we* led captive our conquerors; England was England once again, and the descendants of the Norman invaders were found to be among the truest of Englishmen."

To understand then the Conquest aright, it is needful to have a clear notion of the condition of England and the English people at the time it took place, as well as of the preceding history of the conquerors themselves, and it is to these topics that the present preliminary volume is devoted.

The second chapter contains an exceedingly able statement of the

nature of the earlier Teutonic conquest of England, — the conquest which changed Britain to England. The summary sketch of the course of English conquest and its results displays Mr. Freeman's historic powers in a very high degree. The grasp of facts, the skill in setting forth the conclusions to be drawn from them, and the condensed fulness of the narrative, make this chapter a model of historical composition. Nowhere else is there to be found an account of this period of English history which compares in excellence with this.

Mr. Freeman's powers never show to more advantage, indeed, than in those passages of his work where its scope widens, and he is forced to present, in a condensed form, his estimate of national character, conditions, and development. His generalizations, based upon a careful study of facts, are controlled by practical sense, and never run into the region of vague fancy or speculative theory. His critical turn of mind, which gives to some portion of his narrative more the character of a discussion of authorities than of true history, is of the highest service to him in those parts of his work where he is least an annalist. His peculiar merits are conspicuous in the fourth chapter, which contains a sketch of the history of Normandy during the tenth century. The following striking passage concerning the Normans is a fine specimen of his style : —

" The Scandinavians in Gaul embraced the creed, the language, and the manners of their French neighbors, without losing a whit of their old Scandinavian vigor and love of adventure. The people thus formed became the foremost apostles alike of French chivalry and of Latin Christianity. They were the Saracens of Christendom, spreading themselves over every corner of the world, and appearing in almost every character. They were the foremost in devotion, the most fervent votaries of their adopted creed, the most lavish in gifts to holy places at home, the most unwearied in pilgrimages to holy places abroad. . . . . And they were no less the foremost in war; they were mercenaries, crusaders, plunderers, conquerors; but they had changed their element, they had changed their mode of warfare; no Norman fleets went forth on the errand of the old Wikings; the mounted knight and the unerring bowman had taken the place of the elder tactics which made the fortress of shields invincible. North, south, east, the Norman lances were lifted; and they were lifted in the most opposite of causes. Norman warriors pressed into the remotest East to guard Eastern Christendom against the first Turkish invader, and other Norman warriors were soon found to be the most dangerous enemies of Eastern Christendom in its own home. If the Norman fought by the side of Rômanos at Manzikert, he threatened the Empire of Alexis at Dyrrhachion. His conquests brought with them the most opposite results in different lands. To free England he gave a line of tyrants, to enslaved Sicily he gave a line of beneficent rulers. But to England he gave also a conquering nobility, which in a few generations became as truly Eng-

lish in England as it had become French in Normandy. If he overthrew our Harolds and Waltheofs, he gave us a Fitzwalter and a Bigod to win back the rights for which Harold and Waltheof had fallen. In the arts of peace, like his Mohammedan prototypes, he invented nothing; but he learned, adapted, improved, and disseminated everything. He ransacked Europe for scholars, poets, theologians, and artists. At Rouen, at Palermo, and at Winchester, he welcomed merit in men of every race and every language. He guided Lanfranc and Anselm from Lombardy to Bec, and from Bec to Canterbury. Art, under his auspices, produced alike the stern grandeur of Caen and Ely, and the brilliant gorgeousness of Palermo and Monreale. In a word, the indomitable vigor of the Scandinavian, joined to the buoyant vivacity of the Gaul, produced the conquering and ruling race of Europe. And yet that race, as a race, has vanished. It has everywhere been absorbed by the races which it has conquered. From both Sicilies it has vanished as though it had never been. And there, along with the Norman, have vanished the races which he used as his instruments, and which he alone taught to work in harmony. Greek, Saracen, and Norman have alike disappeared from the realm of Good King William. In our land the fate of the Norman has been different. He remains in his lineage and in his works, but he is Norman no longer. He has settled in every corner of the British islands; into every corner of those islands he has carried with him the inborn qualities of his own race; but in every corner of those islands he has assumed the outward characteristics of the races among which he settled. The Scottish Bruce or the Irish Geraldine passed from Scandinavia to Gaul, from Gaul to England, from England to his own portion of our islands; but at each migration he ceased to be Scandinavian, French, or English; his patriotism was in each case transferred to his new country, and his historic being belongs wholly to his last acquired home. In England itself the Norman has vanished from sight, no less than from Apulia and insular Sicily. He has sunk beneath the silent and passive influence of a race less brilliant, but more enduring, than his own. The Norman has vanished from the world, but he has indeed left a name behind him. Of him came Richard the Fearless and William the Bastard; of him came that Robert whose foot was first placed upon the ransomed battlements of the Holy City, and that mightier Robert who in one year beheld the Cæsars of East and West flee before him. And of his stock, far more truly than of that of Imperial Swabia, came the wonder of his own and of all succeeding ages, — poet, scholar, warrior, legislator, the terror and the marvel of Christendom and of Islam; the foe alike of Roman pontiffs and of Moslem sultans; who won alike the golden crown of Rome and the thorny crown of Salem; dreaded in one world as the foremost champion of Christ, cursed in another as the apostate notary of Mahomet, — the gay, the brave, the wise, the relentless, and the godless Frederic." — pp. 169 – 171.

Of the later portion of this volume, the part most interesting and most novel to the student of English history is that which relates to the Danish invasion of England, and the character of the Danish kings. For the first time the story of Cnut, and of his sons Harold

and Harthacnut, is told in such a manner as to bring out its historic relations and importance, and to give to the actors in it the habit and reality of life. Mr. Freeman has thrown much light on this perplexed period; and though his judgment of the interpretation of events may be in some points doubtful and disputed, it is at least founded upon a solid basis of original investigation.

The main defect of Mr. Freeman's History is due to that absence of sympathetic imagination to which we have already referred. He fails to enter into the inner life of the nation and of special individuals. History as a narrative of events is a barren study; it is only when the meaning of historic events as expressions of human nature and their influence upon human development are investigated, that it becomes fruitful and truly instructive. It is a work worth doing to evolve the order of facts from the chaos of legend and tradition, to seek the true sequence of events, and to trace the course of the stream of affairs; but it is a far higher work, and one which has been rarely accomplished, to show the actual conditions of mankind, to read through events and affairs the progress of the race in intellectual and moral development, and to discover and exhibit the force of those ideas which control action, and by which the fate and fortune of every nation and every generation are determined. Of the philosophy of history there is little in Mr. Freeman's book. Among investigators of the facts of history Mr. Freeman deserves a foremost place. The Saturday Review, in closing an able notice of his work, says: —

"There is evidently a powerful attraction for Mr. Freeman in the outer aspects of war and policy which throughout tends to lead him away from the examination of those deeper questions which lie beneath them. His book is not, we think, sufficiently penetrated with the conviction of the superiority of man in himself to all the outer circumstances that surround him. We are, of course, far from classing the 'History of the Norman Conquest' with the mere 'drum-and-trumpet histories' which Dr. Shirley so pungently denounced, but throughout there is too much of wars and witenagemotes, and too little of the life, the tendencies, the sentiments of the people. And this is the more remarkable, because, as Mr. Freeman so clearly puts it, it was just these, and not the constitutional outside of English existence, that the Conquest so powerfully affected. The social condition and progress of the nation Mr. Freeman has reserved till he can deal with it from the basis of the Domesday-book. But on the religious and intellectual life of Englishmen before the Conquest he is as silent as on the social, and it is remarkable that the one class of authorities on which he seems to have bestowed little attention is just the class from which alone we can derive any knowledge of the deeper feelings of their time; we mean the hagiologies. . . . . Throughout, we may say, the subject of the Church is treated in a manner very unequal to its real importance and bearing on the development of England and its institutions.

Whatever may be its defects, however, the merits of the work are great and incontestable. It takes rank at once as the most learned and the ablest of all the narratives of our earlier history. In its firm grasp and unflinching application of the true principles of historic criticism, in the clearness with which it defines the true nature of our national development, it has laid down a groundwork for after historians such as we have never had before."

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4. — *An Historical Sketch of Sacerdotal Celibacy in the Christian Church.* By HENRY C. LEA. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1867. 8vo. pp. 601.

IN all ages and among all nations religious enthusiasm seems to have found its most natural expression in some form of asceticism. The Jews, notwithstanding their strong desire for numerous offspring, attached peculiar sanctity to vows of continence; and the fierce intensity of the conflict between their animal passions and their ascetic zeal is evident from the fact that it was sometimes deemed necessary to resort to self-mutilation in order to conquer the fiery Israelitish blood. The Laws of Manu prescribe the severest austerities for the mortification of the flesh; but, with the practical common-sense so characteristic of the Aryan race, even in the midst of the wildest extravagances, such practices are forbidden until all the duties which man owes to society, and which are essential to the preservation of the species, have first been performed. The same code that promises the supreme good of absorption in Brahma as the reward of solitude and maceration, declares that the Brahmin who, "without having begotten sons, selfishly strives for beatitude, is destined to hell." Six centuries before the Christian era, Gotama Buddha founded a religion in which the strictest celibacy is imposed upon the priesthood, and many of its regulations bear a strong resemblance to the sacerdotal discipline of Latin Christianity. Like abstinence was inculcated by Pythagoras, and distinct traces of it are found in all the religious observances of antiquity.

Such being the almost universal tendency of pietistic fervor, it is not strange that, although Jesus himself was the least ascetic of men, his ardent followers early introduced into the Christian Church austere practices wholly foreign to his humane and liberal teachings. Fanciful interpretations were given to the plainest precepts, in order to prove the incompatibility of marriage with the functions of the Christian ministry. Even the fact that Paul's model bishop is described as "filios habentem," instead of "facientem," was perverted by dialectic subtlety into a plea for sacerdotal celibacy. The persistent efforts to impose

this severe discipline, and the firm and often heroic resistance to it by the lower clergy, form one of the most interesting and instructive chapters in ecclesiastical history. In the treatment of this subject Mr. Lea shows the same patient research, thorough scholarship, and critical acumen which distinguish his admirable work on "Superstition and Force," noticed in a recent number of this Review. His book is the only one of its kind in English literature, and differs from all those which have issued from the Continental press in the very important respect that it is not the production of a partisan, but of a truth-seeking historian. The author never wastes his ingenuity in attempts to sustain foregone conclusions, but writes with a freedom from polemical bias extremely rare in the discussion of topics which have so long borne a controversial character.

The scanty records of the Church during the first three centuries furnish no evidence of the adoption of celibacy as a compulsory rule for its ministers. On the contrary, all contemporary documents prove that the marital intercourse of ecclesiastics remained as free and unrestricted as that of the laity. That self-inflicted suffering, and the renunciation of all temporal pleasures, could propitiate a beneficent God, was, to the majority of the Christians of those days, the most absurd of paradoxes. Yet even during this period the spirit of asceticism began to work in individuals. The relative merit of marriage and abstinence became the theme of warm discussion, and there were not wanting zealous schismatics who made a fictitious purity the crucial test of piety. This spirit first manifested itself in the views entertained with regard to second marriages. By many orthodox such unions were looked upon as adulterous, although the Church refused to accept this opinion, and even branded it as heresy when the Montanists and Cathari sought to make it a point of faith. Not even Tertullian's reputation for sanctity could save him from excommunication when he embraced the obnoxious dogma. Yet, in spite of apostolic constitutions and canons, the ascetic tendency prevailed more and more in the discipline of the priesthood; and it soon became irrevocably fixed, that no *digamus*, or husband of a second wife, could be admitted to holy orders, and that marriage after taking orders, though permitted to a bachelor, was strictly prohibited to a widower. When this principle was once fairly established, the next step was the revival of the old Levitical rule which enjoined on the priesthood to marry none but virgins, thus deepening the line of separation already drawn between the clergy and the laity. Such was the condition of sacerdotal discipline towards the close of the third century, as defined in the two oldest ecclesiastical codes, — the *Canones Apostolorum* and the *Constitutiones Apostolorum*, commonly, though falsely, attributed to St. Clement of Rome.

Meanwhile public opinion had moved faster on the fatal declivity of asceticism than the authorities in the Church. Celibates increased in numbers and in repute. The story of Origen shows how intense had become the conviction that nature must be repressed at all hazards; and, what was still worse, his example was followed by a sect called Valesians, who proselyted by force all those who were so unfortunate as to fall into their hands. About this time Manicheism arose, and gave a fresh stimulus to the prevailing tendency, by teaching that man's body is the work of the Demon, and that the soul, being of Divine essence, is eternally at war with it. In Cyprian's tables of sanctity, martyrdom is quoted at par, virginity stands at sixty. In the fifth century, after the Church had become supreme, and martyrdom was no longer in the market, St. Patrick rates bishops, doctors, monks, and virgins at one hundred; ecclesiastics and professed widows (*viduæ qui continentes sunt*) at sixty; while the faithful Trinitarian laity (*laici qui fideles sunt, qui perfecte Trinitatem credunt*) stand only at thirty. These curious tabular statements show how perverted the Christian sense had become, which made egoistic anxiety for individual salvation a higher virtue than the self-denial of father and mother for their children, or the generous devotion of the citizen to the welfare of society and the state.

Thus far, however, the progress of asceticism had been due to moral influence alone. Its advocates had not yet attained the numerical ascendency requisite to enable them to impose upon their brethren the rules of conduct which they had adopted for their own guidance. At the First General Council, which assembled at Nicæa in the year 325, an attempt was made to introduce a canon interdicting marriage to the clergy; but Paphnutius, an Egyptian monk, whose sightless eyes witnessed to the severity of the persecutions which he had suffered, and whose immaculate chastity put beyond question the purity of his motives, restrained his episcopal colleagues on the perilous verge, and the project was abandoned. In this connection, Mr. Lea discusses with acuteness the third Nicene canon, to which sacerdotal controversialists have constantly appealed in support of enforced celibacy, and shows conclusively that it was simply intended to put an end to the deplorable scandals arising from the dissoluteness of unmarried priests. But the influence of Paphnutius did not change, but only delayed, the result. Sixty years later the law of ecclesiastical celibacy was decreed by Siricius, and made obligatory on the whole Western Church. For the details of this legislation, the resistance which it encountered, and its effects on sacerdotal morality, we must refer the reader to Sections IV. and V. of our author's excellent sketch. The Eastern Church, not-

withstanding the enthusiasm of Jerome and the eloquence of St. John Chrysostom, who lent the sanction of his great name to the principle of virginity, refused to be bound by the decretals of Siricius. On this point the Greek communion of the nineteenth century is governed by the constitution of Justinian. "Marriage in orders is not permitted, nor are *digami* admissible, but the lower grades of the clergy are free to marry, nor are they separated from their wives when promoted to the sacred functions of the diaconate, or priesthood. The bishops are selected from the regular clergy, or monks, and, being bound by the vow of chastity, are of course unmarried and unable to marry." The canons of the famous Council held at Constantinople in 680, and known to polemics as the *Quinisext in Trullo*, are still the ecclesiastical law of the East.

Meanwhile the irruption of the Barbarians was rapidly changing the face of Christendom. The wild converts of the German forests, as they settled down in their conquests, soon perceived that the high places of the Church were the only real seats of honor, wealth, and power. Thus the hierarchy became filled with a class of bishops more eminent for their warlike prowess than for the austerity of their virtue. And it is not surprising that vows of continence, assumed from motives of worldly ambition, were seldom rigidly observed by these lusty and turbulent prelates. Gregory the Great exerted all his energy and authority to reform these abuses and enforce the canons, but in vain. In France and Spain and Italy the unbridled license of the clergy not only demoralized society, but also threatened the utter dilapidation of the ecclesiastical estates and foundations. In the eyes of a sagacious statesman like Gregory, the latter consideration was of greater importance than the former. He prized celibacy as a means of preventing the alienation and embezzlement of church property, rather than from motives of sacerdotal purity. Indeed, during the tenth century, after the Carlovingian power had virtually disappeared and centralization in temporal affairs had given place to feudalism, had marriage been permitted to the clergy, episcopal sees and benefices would have infallibly followed the law of secular possessions and become hereditary. It was for this reason that matrimony in an ecclesiastic was deemed more objectionable than concubinage or indiscriminate licentiousness. The latter only corrupted the priest and his parishioners; the former endangered the unity and collective power of the Church. And whatever may be said of the evils of the system, we must regard the triumph of sacerdotalism at this period as a triumph for mediæval and modern civilization. Again and again, during this long and severe struggle, human nature, by excesses of profligacy, asserted her impre-

scriptible rights against the canons and decretals of Latin Christianity. The ascetic discipline was by no means favorable to personal morality; but it strengthened central authority in an unsettled age, checked the violence of barbaric nobles, supplied a refuge for learning, and furnished a necessary counterpoise to the disintegrating influences of feudalism.

The clear and sagacious mind of Hildebrand comprehended the value of celibacy to the Church; and, while fervid monks like Peter Damiani labored for the reform as a matter of conscience, with no thought of the worldly advantages to be derived from ascetic purity, Hildebrand regarded it chiefly as an engine of tremendous power in carrying out his grand scheme of a theocratic empire. The priest was to be a man segregated from his fellows, not for the sake of promoting his personal holiness, but in order that he might have no interests apart from those of the great corporation to which he belonged. With what indomitable energy and relentless cruelty the stern pontiff accomplished his purpose against a recalcitrant clergy, the reader will find faithfully narrated in Sections XIV., XV., and XVI. of Mr. Lea's volume. To the horror of those strict Churchmen who looked upon immunity from temporal jurisdiction as one of the most precious of ecclesiastical privileges, Hildebrand invoked secular interference in coercing the married and concubinary priests. In the Teutonic Church his efforts were crowned with success, in spite of the opposition of Henry IV.; but in France, not even with the aid of the state, was it found possible to eradicate a custom so firmly rooted in tradition. Not until Hildebrand had been thirty-four years in his grave did Calixtus II., at the Council of Rheims, partially succeed in breaking the contumacy of the Gallican priesthood. The effect of this reformation on the standard of morals in the Church is well illustrated by the story of Abelard and Heloise. So long as their union remained unsanctified by marriage, the gratification of his passion and the recognition of Astrolabius as his illegitimate child would be no bar to ecclesiastical preferment. As a Churchman, it was better for him to be a libertine than a virtuous husband. Heloise knew this, and, with marvellous love and self-abnegation, refused to be an impediment to his promotion by acknowledging herself his wife, but persisted in styling herself his "harlot," although the marriage was valid by every law, since Abelard, though professing theology, was not a priest. That such was the moral result of seven centuries of assiduous sacerdotalism is officially corroborated by a decision of Innocent III., who, in 1213, declared that, no matter how many concubines a man might have, either at one time or in succession, he did not incur the irregularity of digamy and was. therefore, not ineligible to the priesthood.

In the frontier provinces of Christendom, the enforcement of celibatic discipline was attended with still greater difficulty. Especially was this true of England, which, under Saxon rule, had been too isolated to be much affected by Continental controversies. Notwithstanding the efforts of St. Dunstan, aided by King Edgar, who sought to obtain absolution for his own vices by imposing a vicarious chastity on the clergy, there is abundant evidence that, at the time of Edward the Confessor, the rule of celibacy, though often promulgated, was utterly disregarded in the British Church. With the Norman Conquest, England became an integral part of the commonwealth of Christendom, and was thus brought more directly under the supremacy of the Holy See. The consequence was an increased stringency in legislation touching sacerdotal irregularities. St. Anselm of Canterbury was particularly zealous in the matter. The struggle was long and obdurate, and is duly chronicled by contemporary poetasters, whose rhyming Latin verses faithfully reflect the public sentiment of the age on this subject. It was not until the close of the thirteenth century that the Anglican clergy sullenly acquiesced in the reform; and there is reason to believe that, in the fastnesses of Wales, sacerdotal marriage continued to be practised, in spite of codes and councils, until the Reformation of the sixteenth century rendered such nuptials again legitimate. Among the ardent children of the South, the revenge of Nature for the attempted violation of her immutable laws resulted in fearful immorality. Such was the condition of clerical virtue in Spain and the Swiss Cantons, that it was the custom to oblige a new pastor, on entering on his sacred functions, to choose a concubine as a safeguard for the families of his parishioners. The powerful theocracy of Gregory VII., which in the tenth and eleventh centuries was the only avenger of wrong and promoter of culture, became, in the fifteenth century, an unmitigated instrument of oppression and a shield to unimaginable corruption. It is a significant fact, that the proceedings of the Œcumenic Council of Constance, under the rubric *De Vita et Honestate Clericorum*, contain no allusion to concubinage, simony, drunkenness, and other prevalent vices, but severely denounce the unclerical cut of episcopal sleeves, and discuss with great fervor many other vital points of holy haberdashery. No better evidence than this solemn trifling in the midst of important crises is needed to prove that the Roman hierarchy had virtually abdicated the leadership of the age. Its past services were being rapidly forgotten in view of its present corruption.

It is remarkable that Wickliffe and Huss and Savonarola, with all their boldness in denouncing and uprooting abuses, clung reverently

to celibacy, the vile root of all the evils which they sought to extirpate. Luther showed far deeper insight; and, notwithstanding the sarcasm of Erasmus, who declared that the Reformation had turned out a comedy since it resulted in a marriage, the union of the monk of Wittenberg with the nun of Nimptschen was a decisive and well-directed blow at the radical vice of the whole ecclesiastical system. Thus, in the negotiations which took place at Augsburg and Ratisbon, in order to effect an accommodation and prevent an incurable schism in the Church, the German Reformers, though ready to make many sacrifices for peace, tenaciously insisted on the right of marriage for the clergy; and when Charles issued a decree commanding all priests to abstain from their wives on penalty of ejectment, he suddenly found himself confronted by the formidable league of Schmalcalden. Indeed, the Papal Legate Campeggi acknowledged that the heretical movement had no little excuse in the general laxity of clerical morals. But instead of removing the scandal by abolishing the rule of celibacy, he endeavored to inaugurate a reform under it, although centuries of experience had demonstrated the futility of such a scheme. In 1528, the Cardinal-Legate Duprat, alarmed by the rapid spread of Lutheranism, convened a council at Paris, where the new doctrines were branded as heresies, and sacerdotal purity elevated to the dignity of an article of faith. This extreme position was assumed by a series of provincial councils; and on the 11th of November, 1563, was indorsed and emphasized by the great Council of Trent, although strong ground was taken against it by the Emperor Ferdinand, by Duke Albert of Bavaria, and by men eminent for learning and piety, like Wicelius and Cassander, and in spite of the conviction already expressed by Erasmus, and now forcing itself on all reflecting minds, that the removal of the prohibition of marriage was the only mode of securing a virtuous clergy. It does not seem to have suggested itself to the authors of the Tridentine canons, that, by anathematizing all those who assert the validity of clerical marriages, they put under the ban of heresy the whole body of the Church previous to the first Lateran Council. Instead of adopting such wise measures as were demanded by the progress and enlightenment of an age in which the old landmarks of thought had been broken down, the venerable fathers sought security in intrenching more deeply behind the redoubts of mediævalism. The means which this last Œcumenic Council devised for enforcing obedience to its canons were not essentially different from those that had been tried and had failed, a hundred times, since the days of Siricius.

The history of the Post-Tridentine Church only illustrates anew

the inseparableness of incontinence from sacerdotalism, and fully confirms the truth so feelingly expressed by the mediæval poet, Walter Mapes: —

> "Res est arduissima vincere naturam,
> In aspectu virginum mentem ferre puram;
> Juvenes non possumus legem sequi duram,
> Leviumque corporum non habere curam."

Had the object been merely to check immorality, celibacy would have been unhesitatingly abrogated at Trent. But it was justly feared that, "if priests were permitted to marry, their affections would be concentrated on family and country in place of the Church; their subjection to the Holy See would be diminished, the whole system of the hierarchy destroyed, and the Pope himself would eventually become a simple Bishop of Rome."

If, now, we turn our attention to the Anglican Church, we shall find that, whilst a wholesale system of confiscation initiated by Wolsey was sweeping away the rich and powerful monastic establishments, and reducing their inmates to beggary and vagabondage, sacerdotal celibacy was retained. Either from conscientious conviction or controversial pride, the royal Defender of the Faith persistently refused the privilege of marriage to the clergy, although urged to concede it by the most obvious considerations of policy and statesmanship. Nevertheless, public opinion in England, except when biassed by the king's known wishes, strongly favored the reform. A popular polemic even declares "keping of virginitie and chastite of religion" to be "a devellishe thinge." The chief advisers of Henry connived at infractions of the discipline which the king had issued a proclamation to enforce. The Abbot of Walden, "a man of good learning and right sincere judgment," confessed to the visitors of the monasteries that, "for the avoiding of more inconvenience," he had secretly contracted matrimony; and when this case was referred to the Vicar-General, Cromwell simply counselled him to "use his remedy" discreetly, so as not to excite scandal. A petition presented to Cromwell by the priests of the diocese of Bangor forcibly illustrates the necessity of the good Abbot's "remedy." After setting forth that without women they cannot keep house and exercise hospitality, but are driven to seek their living at alehouses and taverns, they add the humiliating confession: "And as for gentlemen and substantial honest men, for fear of inconvenience, knowing our frailty and accustomed liberty, they will in nowise board us in their houses." But notwithstanding this array of pertinent and incontrovertible facts, Parliament, in June, 1539, adopted the iniquitous Six Articles, which surpassed in cruelty all previous legislation on this

subject. Priestly marriage or concubinage was made felony, and both the guilty parties were punished with death. In spite of Mr. Froude's attempt to relieve Henry from the odious responsibility of this atrocious measure by attributing it to Gardiner's influence, there is no doubt that the king took an extremely active part in framing the bill and in securing its passage. It was really the work, not of a deliberative assembly, but of a capricious, irritable, and self-opinionated monarch, who gloried in his polemic skill and had the power to carry on his controversies with the blood of his subjects. This Draconian law, moderated somewhat in its execution by the humane wisdom of Cromwell and Cranmer, remained in force during the subsequent eight years of Henry's reign. Under Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth, the subject of sacerdotal matrimony passed through many legislative vicissitudes, until, with the adoption of the Thirty-nine Articles in 1563, it was fully sanctioned by the organic law of the Church. Still the right, though eagerly accepted, was grudgingly bestowed. Elizabeth never overcame her repugnance to it; so strong was her aversion that the wives of prelates could not be received at court, and were thus practically ostracized from society; and it is to this prejudice of the virgin queen that is to be attributed "the last relic of clerical celibacy enforced among Protestants, — that of the Fellows of the English Universities."

We have thus presented some of the salient points of Mr. Lea's learned and valuable monograph. We regard its publication at this time of great crises in ecclesiastical affairs as most opportune. In England, the strange anachronism known as "Ritualism" is vainly endeavoring to infuse new life into an effete establishment by a return to mediæval sacerdotalism; whilst, on the other hand, the rise of political freedom in Italy is rapidly secularizing church property, suppressing monastic foundations, removing civil disabilities on clerical marriage, forcing the Papacy itself into harmony with the progress of the age, and demanding, in the language of Father Passaglia, that "the priest shall be restored to his country by restoring to him the chaste and tranquil affections of the family."

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5. — *Memoirs of the Long Island Historical Society.* Vol. I. *Journal of a Voyage to New York in* 1679 – 80. Brooklyn, N. Y.: Published by the Society. 1867. 8vo. pp. viii., xlvii., 440. — [Second Title :] *Journal of a Voyage to New York and a Tour in Several of the American Colonies in* 1679 – 80, *by* JASPAR DANKERS *and* PETER SLUYTER *of Wieverd in Friesland.* Translated from the

original Manuscript in Dutch for the Long Island Historical Society, and edited by HENRY C. MURPHY.

THE Long Island Historical Society is one of the youngest and one of the most flourishing of the many local historical societies in our country. Although but four years old, it already possesses a valuable library of more than thirteen thousand volumes and more than fifteen thousand pamphlets; it has a permanent fund of over sixty thousand dollars, and a separate publication fund which has enabled it thus early in its career to print a volume of more than common interest to the student of our Colonial antiquities.

The Journal which forms the first volume of the Society's Memoirs is a curious production; and it has been excellently translated and edited by Mr. Murphy, than whom no one could have been found better fitted by taste and learning for the performance of the work.

The manuscript original was purchased by Mr. Murphy a few years since in Holland, when he was residing there as our Minister at the Hague. It contains the story of the voyage and journeys of Jaspar Dankers and Peter Sluyter, two of the leading members of the Labadist community at Wiewerd in Holland, who, after the failure of a scheme for the removal of the community to Surinam, were sent on a tour of observation through New York and the neighboring provinces, with a view to find a proper place for the establishment of a Labadist colony.

Mr. Murphy, in his Introduction, gives a full account of De Labadie, and the rise, the fortunes, the decline and extinction of the sect which bore his name. It is a curious bit of the religious history of the seventeenth century, and it affords a striking illustration of the vagaries of religious opinion and the origin of sects.

The Journal itself is a very straightforward and sincere narrative, obviously written for the benefit of the Wiewerd community, and under the influence of peculiar religious views and national attachments. Its authors, or rather its author, for it was written by Jaspar Dankers, was a thorough Dutchman, good alike at religion and at trade, with a sharp eye for this world and the next, — very quick to note special providences and good openings for business, and ready to improve a discourse or an opportunity. His worldliness and his piety do not always accord, but they are both alike honest. His observations of men, affairs, and nature are often acute, and marked by shrewdness and good sense. He had the narrowness and bigotry of a zealous sectary, regarding himself and his brethren as the elect of the world, and looking down with pity not always unmingled with contempt on religionists of other sects not less zealous in their way than he in his.

The day after his landing at New York was a Sunday. "In order to avoid scandal," he says, "and for other reasons, we did not wish to absent ourselves from church. We therefore went, and found there truly a wild worldly world." And when, some months afterwards, he and his companion were leaving New York, he enters in his diary: "The ministers caused us to be suspected; the world and the godless hated and shunned us; the hypocrites envied and slandered us; but the simple and upright listened to us and loved us; and God counselled and directed us." His first impression of the people of New England was not favorable. The captain of the vessel on which they were to sail from New York to Boston delayed his departure, and "we discovered we could depend as little upon the word of the people of New England as of others, although they wished to pass for more upright persons, which we have not been able to perceive." And a few pages on he writes: "This people, it is said, pretend to special devoutness, but we found them like all other Englishmen, who, if they are not more detestable than the Hollanders, are at least no better."

The Journal is full of interest from the illustrations it affords of manners, and from the descriptions it contains of places and individuals. Dankers was something of a draughtsman, and several curious facsimiles of his drawings are reproduced, the most interesting of which are those of the town of New York. He describes the island of Manhattan as "about seven hours' distance in length, but not a full hour broad. The sides are indented with bays, coves, and creeks. It is almost entirely taken up, that is, the land is held by private owners, but not half of it is cultivated. Much of it is good woodland. The west end, on which the city lies, is entirely cleared for more than an hour's distance, though that is the poorest ground. . . . . We went from the city, following the Broadway, over the *valey*, or the fresh water. Upon both sides of this way were many habitations of negroes, mulattoes, and whites. The negroes were formerly the proper slaves of the company, but, in consequence of the frequent conquests and changes of the country, they have obtained their freedom, and settled themselves down where they have thought proper."

On Staten Island, he says, "game of all kinds is plenty, and twenty-five and thirty deer are sometimes seen in a herd. A boy told us he had shot ten the last winter himself, and more than forty in his life, and in the same manner other game. We tasted here the best grapes." "Travelling along the shore we sometimes found," he says, "fine creeks well provided with wild turkeys, geese, snipes, and wood-hen."

Toward the close of their residence in New York the two travellers obtained permission from the Governor, Andross, to go up the river to

Albany; and Dankers makes a remark in regard to their fellow-passengers on the boat which is curious as showing his observation of the effects of frontier life at a time when the frontier was a line not far from the seaboard. He says: —

"We left New York about three o'clock in the afternoon, with a southerly wind, in company with about twenty passengers of all kinds, young and old, who made great noise and bustle in a boat not so large as a common ferry-boat in Holland; and as these people live in the interior of the country, somewhat nearer the Indians, they are more wild and untamed, reckless, unrestrained, haughty, and more addicted to misusing the blessed name of God and to cursing and swearing. However, there was no help for it; you have to go with those with whom you are shipped."

Before going up the North River the traveller had already been in the other direction down the Delaware or South River, as far as New Castle and to near the head of Chesapeake Bay. To finish their observations of America, they now went to Boston, more with intent to gain some personal information about New England affairs, than with the expectation of finding within its limits a tract of land suitable for their community. Although their stay was short, they made good use of their time, and the most interesting pages of the journal are those which record their visit to John Eliot and to the College in Cambridge. We copy these in full: —

"*July 7th*, 1680, *Sunday*. — We heard preaching in three churches, by persons who seemed to possess zeal, but no just knowledge of Christianity. The auditors were very worldly and inattentive. The best of the ministers whom we have yet heard is a very old man named John Eliot, who has charge of the instruction of the Indians in the Christian religion. He has translated the Bible into their language. We had already made inquiries of the booksellers for a copy of it, but it was not to be obtained in Boston. They told us, if one was to be had, it would be from Mr. Eliot. We determined to go on Monday to the village where he resided and was the minister, called Roxbury. Our landlord had promised to take us, but was not able to do so in consequence of having too much business. We therefore thought we would go alone and do what we wanted.

"8*th*, *Monday*. — We went accordingly, about eight o'clock in the morning, to Roxbury, which is three quarters of an hour from the city, in order that we might get home early, inasmuch as our captain had informed us he would come in the afternoon for our money, and in order that Mr. Eliot might not be gone from home. On arriving at his house he was not there, and we therefore went to look around the village and the vicinity. We found it justly called *Rocksbury*, for it was very rocky, and had hills entirely of rocks. Returning to his house, we spoke to him, and he received us politely. Although he could speak neither Dutch nor French, and we spoke but little English, and were unable to express ourselves in it always, we managed, by means of Latin and English, to understand each other. He was seventy-

seven years old, and had been forty-eight years in these parts. He had learned very well the language of the Indians who lived about there. We asked him for an Indian Bible. He said in the late Indian war all the Bibles and Testaments were carried away, and burnt or destroyed, so that he had not been able to save any for himself; but a new edition was in press, which he hoped would be much better than the first one, although that was not to be despised. We inquired whether any part of the old or new edition could be obtained by purchase, and whether there was any grammar of that language in English. Thereupon he went and brought us the Old Testament, and also the New Testament, made up with some sheets of the new edition, so that we had the Old and New Testaments complete. He also brought us two or three specimens of the grammar. We asked him what we should pay him for them; but he desired nothing. We presented him our *Declaration* in Latin, and informed him about the persons and conditions of the church whose declaration it was, and about Madame Schurman and others, with which he was delighted, and could not restrain himself from praising God the Lord, that had raised up men and reformers, and began the reformation in Holland. He deplored the decline of the Church in New England, and especially in Boston, so that he did not know what would be the final result. We inquired how it stood with the Indians, and whether any good fruit had followed his work. Yes, much, he said, if we meant true conversion of the heart; for they had in various countries instances of conversion, as they called it, and had seen it amounted to nothing at all; that they must not endeavor, like Scribes and Pharisees, to make Jewish proselytes, but true Christians. He could thank God, he continued, and God be praised for it, there were Indians whom he knew who were truly converted of heart to God, and whose profession was sincere. It seemed as if he were disposed to know us further, and we therefore said to him, if he had any desire to write to our people, he could use the names which stood on the title-page of the Declaration, and that we hoped to come and converse with him again. He accompanied us as far as the jurisdiction of Roxbury extended, where we parted from him.

"*9th, Tuesday.* — We started out to go to Cambridge, lying to the northeast of Boston, in order to see their college and printing-office. We left about six in the morning, and were set across the river at Charlestown. We followed a road which we supposed was the right one, but went full half an hour out of the way, and would have gone still farther had not a negro who met us, and of whom we inquired, disabused us of our mistake. We went back to the right road, which is a very pleasant one. We reached Cambridge about eight o'clock. It is not a large village, and the houses stand very much apart. The college building is the most conspicuous among them. We went to it, expecting to see something curious, as it is the only college, or would-be academy, of the Protestants in all America; but we found ourselves mistaken. In approaching the house, we neither heard nor saw anything mentionable; but, going to the other side of the building, we heard noise enough in an upper room to lead my comrade to suppose they were engaged in disputation. We entered, and went up stairs, when a person met us, and requested us to walk in, which we did. We found there eight or ten young fellows, sitting around,

smoking tobacco, with the smoke of which the room was so full that you could hardly see, and the whole house smelt so strong of it that, when I was going up stairs, I said, this is certainly a tavern. We excused ourselves, that we could speak English only a little, but understood Dutch or French, which they did not. However, we spoke as well as we could. We inquired how many professors there were, and they replied, not one, that there was no money to support one. We asked how many students there were. They said at first thirty, and then came down to twenty. I afterwards understood there are probably not ten. They could hardly speak a word of Latin, so that my comrade could not converse with them. They took us to the library, where there was nothing particular. We looked over it a little. They presented us with a glass of wine. This is all we ascertained there. The minister of the place goes there morning and evening to make prayer, and has charge over them. The students have tutors or masters. Our visit was soon over, and we left them to go to look at the land about there. We found the place beautifully situated on a large plain more than eight miles square, with a fine stream in the middle of it, capable of bearing heavily laden vessels. As regards the fertility of the soil, we consider the poorest in New York superior to the best here. As we were tired, we took a mouthful to eat, and left. We passed by the printing-office, but there was nobody in it; the paper sash, however, being broken, we looked in, and saw two presses, with six or eight cases of type. There is not much work done there."

This straightforward narrative is a genuine old Dutch picture. It gives us the prosaic detail and the truth of literal exactness. It is a loss to us that Dankers did not describe other noted men and places in and around Boston after the same manner.

The last entry in the Journal which relates to Boston is not made till the travellers have returned to England on their way home. Then Dankers writes: "I must here mention another word about Boston, which is, that I have never been in a place where more was said about witchcraft and witches. From time to time persons had been put in prison and executed, and a woman was in prison and condemned to die when we left there. Very strange things were told of her; but I will not repeat them here."

We have no space for further extracts. The result of the journey of Sluyter and Dankers was, as we learn from Mr. Murphy's Introduction, the securing of a large tract of land, called Bohemia Manor, at the head of Chesapeake Bay, on which, in 1683, a company of men and women from Wiewerd were settled, under the direction of Peter Sluyter, forming not only a new colony in America, but a new church as well. The members belonging to the community did not at any time exceed one hundred. Sluyter ruled over them both as civil and spiritual autocrat. He grew rich, but the church did not prosper, and five years after his death, which took place in 1722, the Labadists

were all scattered and gone, and nothing of them remained in Bohemia Manor. The short-lived sect died out about the same time in Holland.

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6. — *Plain Dealing, or News from New England.* By Thomas Lechford. With an Introduction and Notes by J. Hammond Trumbull. Boston: J. K. Wiggin and Wm. Parsons Lunt. 1867. Sm. 4to. pp. xl., 211.

On the 27th of June, 1638, one Thomas Lechford landed at Boston. Before leaving England he had been a member of Clement's Inn, one of the Inns of Chancery, but it does not appear that he had ever been called to the bar, or had advanced beyond the position of an ordinary solicitor. A year before his coming to New England he had suffered "imprisonment and a kind of banishment" for the part he had taken in the trial of Mr. Prynne, with whom he seems to have had friendly relations; and it was probably to avoid further persecution, and because he was dissatisfied with the state of affairs, both political and ecclesiastical, in England, that he determined on casting his lot with the new colony across the Atlantic. "Almost from the hour of his landing at Boston he was regarded with distrust by those whose influence prevailed in State and Church. First, because of his profession; for, to 'some of the magistrates,' and doubtless to Governor Winthrop himself, the employment of 'lawyers to direct men in their causes' seemed more objectionable than the custom of obtaining advice from the judges on an *ex parte* statement before the public hearing of the cause." No advocate was allowed in the new colony, and "the exercise of the profession of an attorney was discountenanced so far as possible without absolute interdiction."

"But Lechford was not only professionally, but doctrinally, objectionable. Though he came to New England, as he says, with a disposition to 'lay aside all by-respects, to join with the church here,' 'he could not be satisfied in diverse particulars,' and 'desired to open his mind in some material things of weight concerning the Christian faith' wherein he differed from the received belief of the Massachusetts churches. He was not long in giving to these points of difference more than a sufficient prominence." He set them forth, not only in conversation, but also in two or three manuscript volumes, "which he tendered for the perusal of some of the jealous guardians of orthodoxy in the churches." He was an honest but narrow-minded enthusiast, a man with a weak head but a strong conscience, much given to thought and discussion concerning the controverted questions of state and church

polity, which were then of foremost interest, and one of those troublesome members of an infant community who find it hard to conform to the principles established by the ruling authorities. His intentions were not bad, but his course was likely to work harm in a commonwealth, the security of which for the time rested on the strength it gathered from the general conformity of opinion among its members. One of his books, "Of Prophesie," was submitted to an assembly of the elders, who pronounced its doctrine erroneous; and as he would not admit his error, "he was compelled to remain without the church, and exclusion from church fellowship carried with it exclusion from the privileges of a freeman, and disqualification for civil office."

For two or three years he gained a scanty livelihood as a conveyancer, scrivener, or draughtsman. In 1639, being engaged in the conduct of a cause, at the quarter court in September, he fell under the censure of the court, for going to the jury and pleading with them out of court, and was debarred "from pleading any man's cause hereafter." He submitted with good grace to this punishment; but his profession gave him, under the restrictions imposed upon it, only a poor support, although he received some employment from the magistrates in transcribing records, instruments, and a "breviat of laws," subsequently adopted as the Body of Liberties. While engaged in this work he made various suggestions, and proposed various objections to the magistrates, which seem to have deserved and received attention from them.

Gradually, however, as was but natural in his position, he grew more and more dissatisfied with the condition of affairs in New England, both civil and ecclesiastical. His new experience modified his old opinions. He acknowledged that he had been "ignorant and misled in England." He came back to, if indeed he had ever deserted, the old ground of no church without a bishop, and no state without a king. He fancied he saw things going from bad to worse under the influence of independency in the Church, and "election" in the state. He did not hide his conviction, and in December, 1640, he was brought before the magistrates, and, being cautioned by them, "acknowledged that he had overshot himself, and is sorry for it, promising to attend his calling and not to meddle with controversies."

In 1640 he became involved in the famous legal quarrel about Goody Sherman's sow, and got into a fresh trouble, from which he escaped by embarking for England in August, 1641. He again took up his residence at Clement's Inn, and shortly after died. Such is almost all that is known of the first Boston lawyer.

A few months after his return to England he published the little

volume, a reprint of which, under the editorship of Mr. Trumbull, has just appeared in Messrs. Wiggin and Lunt's valuable "Library of New England History." The book is one which well deserved to be thus reprinted. "'Plain Dealing,'" says Mr. Trumbull, "was not written in an unfriendly spirit. However prejudiced [are the author's] judgments, however unwarranted his inferences, in his record of *facts* he is conscientious, painstaking, tolerably exact, and almost always reliable. And this it is which gives to his book its peculiar value. It is a view of New England, — more particularly of Massachusetts, — taken upon the spot by an intelligent observer, who, though unsympathizing, was not in the main unfriendly; and who, while he certainly did 'naught extenuate,' cannot be charged with setting down aught in malice. His mistakes are comparatively unimportant; and the information he gives of the state of the country, civil and religious, is valuable enough to render his book nearly indispensable to the study of New England institutions."

The original volume is now exceedingly rare. The book was, however, reprinted in the third volume of the Third Series of the Massachusetts Historical Society's Collections. That Society also possesses a manuscript copy of a part of "Plain Dealing," in the handwriting of the author, which Mr. Trumbull conjectures to have been a portion of the copy originally intended for the printer, "but that on his passage homeward, or after his return, the author found so much to amend, and so much new matter to add, that it became necessary to make another revised copy, from which the book was printed."

We cannot speak too highly in praise of the manner in which Mr. Trumbull has edited the work. His Introduction and Notes are full of the most valuable and useful illustration. The Introduction contains all that is known of Lechford's history, and of the details of his residence in Boston, while the Notes exhibit an acquaintance with the original sources of New England history no less wide than thorough. The book, as Mr. Trumbull has edited it, is, in truth, "nearly indispensable to the study of New England institutions." Mr. Trumbull promises to give us shortly a volume of Lechford's business journal during his residence in Boston, printed from his own short-hand manuscript, and comprising his entries of business transactions, copies or abstracts of instruments drawn by him, and letters to his correspondents in New and Old England.

Messrs. Wiggin and Lunt deserve much credit for the manner in which this volume is got up. It is, like their historical publications generally, an admirable specimen of book-making. The printers, Messrs. Rand and Avery, take rank with the best in the country.

7. — 1. *The History of King Philip's War.* By Benjamin Church. With an Introduction and Notes, by Henry Martyn Dexter. Boston: J. K. Wiggin. 1865. Sm. 4to. pp. iv., 205.
2. *The History of the Eastern Expeditions of* 1689, 1690, 1692, 1696, *and* 1704, *against the Indians and French.* By Benjamin Church. With an Introduction and Notes, by Henry Martyn Dexter. Boston: J. K. Wiggin and William Parsons Lunt. 1867. Sm. 4to. pp. xxxii., 203.

These two beautifully printed and thoroughly edited volumes, belonging to the "Library of New England History," are a reprint of the well-known "Entertaining Passages relating to Philip's War, as also of Expeditions in the Eastern Part of New England, with some Account of the Divine Providence toward Benj. Church, Esqr." This book was first printed in 1716, about two years before the death of Captain Church. It has been several times reprinted, but the present edition surpasses all its predecessors, not only in typographical excellence, but also in accuracy, and in abundance of editorial illustration. It deserved the patient labor which Dr. Dexter has given to it, for it is one of the most characteristic and interesting records of the period of which it treats. Captain Church was a famous soldier in his day, — a hardy, healthy, vigorous settler, with more of the frontiersman than of the Puritan in his nature, and well fitted to protect the rising Colony against the attacks of its savage enemies. From the beginning of King Philip's war in 1675, down to 1704, when he made his fifth expedition against the Indians and French in the Northeast, he was in service against the savages whenever the Colonists were called on to make war upon them. When he was an old man, not far from his seventy-fifth year, and his days of active service were over, while the fire of fight still burned in his bones, he prepared, with the aid of one of his sons, the "Entertaining Passages" of his experience in savage warfare. In his "Address to the Reader," he says: —

"It was ever my Intent having laid my self under a Solemn promise, that the many & Repeated Favours of GOD to my self, and those with me in the Service, might be published for Generations to come. And now my great Age requiring my Dismission from Service in the Militia, and to put off my Armour; I am willing that the Great & Glorious works of Almighty God to us Children of Men should appear to the World; and having my Minutes by me; my Son has taken the care and pains to Collect from them the Insuing Narrative of many passages relating to the Former and Later Wars; which I have had the perusal of, and find nothing a-miss, — as to the Truth of it; and with as little Reflection upon any particular person as might be, either alive or dead.

"And seeing every particle of historical Truth is precious; I hope the Reader will pass a favourable Censure upon an Old Souldier, telling of the many Ran-Counters he has had, and yet is come off alive. It is a pleasure to remember what a great Number of Families in this and the Neighboring Provinces in New-England did during the War, enjoy a great measure of Liberty and Peace by the hazardous Stations and Marches of those Engaged in Military Exercises, who were a Wall unto them on this side and on that side."

The old soldier was well justified in believing that generations to come would listen with interest to his story. His narrative, besides being one of the chief authorities for the history of Philip's war and the Eastern expeditions, has a charm to one who cares for the early days of New England in the illustration it affords of the character of the people, and of the character of Captain Benjamin Church himself. Dr. Dexter calls it a "winsome narrative"; we should hardly apply this epithet to it, but it is one of those stories which are permanently interesting, from the simplicity with which it is told, and from the variety of incident recorded in it.

The exploit which made Church's name famous throughout the Colonies, and which secures his name in our history, was the surprise and killing of King Philip, in the swamp at the foot of Mount Hope. The account of this achievement is one of the best parts of the book; and the old man's blood, no doubt, kindled, as he recounted the incidents of this memorable deed, which he had performed forty years before. We have not space to copy out the whole account. One sentence will give an idea of the directness and vigor of the old man's, or his son's style: —

"The man that had shot down Philip ran with all speed to Capt. Church, and informed him of his exploit, who commanded him to be Silent about it, & let no man more know it, until they had drove the Swamp clear; but when they had drove the swamp thro' & found the Enemy had escaped, or at least the most of them; and the Sun now up, and so the dew gone, that they could not so easily Track them, the whole Company met together at the place where the Enemies Night-shelter was, and then Capt. Church gave them the news of Philip's death, upon which the whole Army gave Three loud Huzza's. Capt. Church ordered his body to be pull'd out of the mire on to the Upland, so some of Capt. Churches Indians took hold of him by his Stockings, and some by his small Breeches, (being otherwise naked) and drew him thro' the Mud unto the Upland, and a doleful, great, naked, dirty beast he look'd like."

The editor has wisely refrained from entering at length into the history of Philip's and the later Indian wars. This history is so well told by Dr. Palfrey, that there is no need for any one to tell it over again. Mr. Dexter's "Historical Introduction," in the second part of his re-

print, is, however, an excellent summary of information. His chief labor has been expended on the Memoir of Church, in Part I., and on the genealogical and local notes to almost every page of the reprint. The curious antiquary will find in these notes an immense amount of minute information, to most of which the Index to each part affords him ready reference.

But two hundred and eighty-five copies of this reprint have been struck off. The work will soon become scarce. If future volumes of the "Library of New England History" are as judiciously selected and as admirably edited as those which have already appeared, it will, in its kind, be a series of the highest value.

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8. — *History of the American Civil War.* By JOHN WILLIAM DRAPER, M. D., LL. D. In Three Volumes. Vol. I. *Containing the Causes of the War, and the Events preparatory to it up to the Close of President Buchanan's Administration.* New York: Harper and Brothers. 1867. 8vo. pp. 567.

DR. DRAPER announces in his Preface that this work is intended to be a history of the Civil War and its causes, written not in a partisan, but a philosophical spirit. His intention was a good one. Indeed, the end in view was of such eminent value, that every one interested in the philosophy of history must doubly regret the author's total lack of success in attaining it. It is undoubtedly difficult to estimate correctly the relative importance of events, both among themselves and in reference to precedent historic actions, especially when those events belong to our own time, and that time an era of revolution; but then what an incalculable benefit to mankind if the difficulties are removed, — if a mind can be found, so even in temper, so full of learning, so accurate in judgment, as to comprehend the philosophy of the turbulent, warlike age which possesses it! The fact that few minds of this character have yet existed would render the presence of another twice precious. And how much would our interest in its appearance be heightened by the consideration that its method was scientific, that it was doing its share, not merely in elevating History to the position of the other divisions of pure knowledge, but in asserting the justice of her claim to absolute supremacy and the title of science of sciences. An historian able to establish even a small portion of history on a solid foundation merits the lasting gratitude of mankind.

But regrets are unavailing. In reviewing, some time since, Dr. Draper's "Future Civil Policy," we pointed out the fact that the author

held at one and the same time two opposite theories as to the relation of man to nature. We find the same difficulty with the present work. Undoubtedly Dr. Draper has very much at heart that view of the relation in which man is considered as entirely governed by physical laws, in which climate, using the word in its largest meaning, is held the great agency in determining human affairs, — and which has the great advantage, with a certain class of philosophers, of being almost new and therefore almost untried. No reader of the "History of Civilization in England" needs to have it told him, that of all historical theories there is none so captivating to the ingenuity as this, that in no way can the facts of history be massed so conveniently and comprehensively as by means of climatic philosophy. Dr. Draper finds here an absolute freedom from the old necessity of weighing individual careers and accurately estimating the relative value of innumerable actions, in determining the general course of events. It is perfectly possible to hold this theory of the development of man in strict accordance with natural laws, and unmodified by any choice of his own, on rational grounds, and no candid man would deny the *possibility* of its truth. No one, for example, to put the matter in a strong light, would deny that the conversion of the pagan nations to Christianity, apparently the result of a most strenuous exertion of human will, was in fact the result of some antecedent, overruling, climatic cause. Mr. Buckle's extraordinary ability showed with what effect this view might be used in certain cases in explaining the past. It has often the great merit of accounting for the facts, — that first, if not sufficient, *raison-d'être* of a theory.

A careful study, within given bounds, of each particular climatic cause and effect, a study ranging throughout all regions of physical knowledge, and an induction based upon this of a very cautious kind, cannot but be a valuable addition to science. No matter whether the climatic theory is wholly or only partially correct, a scientific process carried on in the method it prescribes cannot fail to lead to interesting results. It is possible that one of these would be a revelation of the incompleteness of the theory. Now it will be noticed that this theory, being the exact oppposite of the common one, which traces history to the action of men's wills, is incompatible with it. If Nature governs Man with an absolute rule, Man cannot force Nature to submit to his will, and *vice versa*. It therefore behooves the historian who would analyze his subject with fidelity to make his choice between the two, and abide by it. This selection, then, may be demanded of Dr. Draper.

Nothing is further from his mind. He does not even seem to have asked himself the question whether the two theories were compatible or otherwise, or, if he did ask, he must have made answer in both ways

at once, since in his book we find support for the negative as well as the affirmative. Man, he perhaps would say, is the sport of Nature, nor must it be forgotten that Nature is the tool of Man. On page 39 he tells his readers that the concavity of the American continent toward the sky fits it to be the political home of one nation, while the convexity of Europe and Asia caused the existence of distinct nations along every great system of streams. Also, that it is not a poetical metaphor, but an historical fact, that Europeans and Asiatics have derived their ideas from the sky, while ours tend (it may be unfortunately) to the earth. They have been *par excellence* religious; we shall be controlled by industrial pursuits. "Each follows a predestined course, determined by the configuration and relations of the continent on which Providence has cast its lot." And on page 109 we find a statement, entirely consistent with the above, that however much man may compensate the rigor of climatic influence by the adoption of clothing, the artificial regulation of temperature, and other means, "after all has been done, these artificial climate-compensations are only partial; they can never establish between places that are far apart a true identity; and since such residual variations, no matter how insignificant they may be, make an inevitable impression on the constitution and construction of man, different communities will ever present the spectacle of variously-modified men." After this, or rather in the middle of this, all so far intelligible, (even though some of the facts look suspicious,) on the supposition of a strong climatic faith, the patient reader is fairly overwhelmed by finding it affirmed on page 108, in regard to Europe, that "every passing year brings the population of that continent into a more homogeneous state; it tends to diminish physical and intellectual diversities, and prepare the way for unity in political institutions"; and this is through those very compensations above referred to, introduced by man, which "are only partial," and "can never establish a true identity." But perhaps even a more striking instance than this of Dr. Draper's inability to hold a settled opinion on the fundamental point of which we are speaking is contained in the concluding paragraph of the book, which is as follows: "Shall he who writes the story of this hideous war hide from his reader its fearful lesson? Shall he not remember that on this wide-spread continent climate is making us a many-diversified people? that, in the nature of things, we must have our misunderstandings and our quarrels with one another? If in the future there should be any one who undertakes to fire the heart of his people, and to set in mortal battle a community against the nation, let us leave him without the excuse which the war-secessionist of our time may perhaps not unjustly plead, that he knew not what he did. Let

us put our experience in the primer of every child; let us make it the staple of the novel of every school-girl; let us tear from this bloody conflict its false grandeur and tinsel glories, and set it naked in the light of day, — a spectacle to blanch the cheek of the bravest man, and make the heart of every mother flutter as she sits by her cradle."

Now, for our part, we cordially approve the attempt made in this section to deduce a lesson from the war; but how Dr. Draper can think it of any avail, one way or the other, in the face of the isothermals, or else, if he does not really care much for the thermometer and the convexity of the continent, how he can keep continually saying that they are all in all to him, we cannot comprehend.

Dr. Draper occupies a position not uncommon in political life, but somewhat singular for a man of science; for between the party of those who would make history a physical science, and that which considers man a free agent in determining his future, he takes a conspicuous position upon the fence, from which, with great impartiality, he now makes descent into one, now into the other field. He does not recognize the existence of any boundary, but rather regards the fence as affording an honorable elevation, benevolently made ready by the friends of philosophy. He reminds us of that worthy Englishman, who, travelling abroad, came upon an ancient statue of Jupiter, and, making his obeisance to the god, said, "Now, old fellow, remember that I worshipped you while you were in adversity, if you ever get uppermost again." And so Dr. Draper can easily show, if he is ever put to the test, that he pinned his faith upon free will just as much as he ever did upon the January isothermal of 41°.

It has been the hope of able men that History might be elevated to the position of a science, and in all probability Dr. Draper thinks that he keeps that end in view; but so far from this being the fact, his hasty jumble of two antagonistic theories must result in degrading her to a lower point than she could in any other way ever reach. In the investigation of events Dr. Draper is reduced to the ancient and familiar practice — one very respectable, too, if respectability be determined by the number of those who use it — of arbitrary choice, or what commonly goes by the name of guess-work. He says that climatic causes have, on the whole, determined the past of America, yet he urges that moral effort should determine her future. On page 567 he urges that moral effort should determine her future, and yet he previously thought (on page 54) that the irresistible climatic causes at work on the Pacific coast enabled him to predict a dreadful course of events for that doomed territory. On page 39 he believes that the convexity of the European continent tends to a division of nations, but on page 108 he asserts that

the inhabitants of that same Europe are every year preparing the way for political unity.

It is from evidence such as this that we are forced to think Dr. Draper wanting in the prime requisite for his task. In his interpretation of history, he may guess right, he may guess wrong; but until he makes his choice between the human-agency and the physical-agency theories, or until he reaches the conviction that neither of these, as they are commonly held, is correct, his position is not merely untenable,—he has no position. It requires no great power of insight or prediction to say that, whenever a writer contradicts himself in the manner above shown, it always has been, and it always will be, because he does not know what he is about.

But this want of a secure foundation is by no means the only defect in the book before us. The style of it is at times absurdly exaggerated, at times tame; or rather there is at times a decided manner, and where there is none of this, there is nothing to supply its place. The introductory chapter begins with, "I propose in these volumes to treat," — a phrase almost certain now-a-days to usher in several turgid periods, and in the case of this chapter introducing a few sentences, which for rhetorical ebb and flow are unequalled in the language, and which it is hardly necessary to say are quite as much out of place in a philosophic history as they would be admirably adapted to the needs of popular oratory. There is a good instance on the first page of the way in which a natural want of style may become apparent in the interstices of a very decided manner: "I shall have to describe military operations eclipsing in magnitude and splendor those of the French Empire; a revolution in the art of war through the introduction of the steam-engine, the locomotive, the electric telegraph, rifled ordnance, iron-clad ships, *and other inventions of this scientific age*, sustained by," etc., etc., etc. Now, without any hypercriticism, a person sensitive to changes of literary individuality feels that with the words "and other inventions of this scientific age," Dr. Draper for the moment declares his independence of Macaulay. A man's style is so generally the measure of his intellect, if rightly viewed, that we cannot consider this defect trifling, or believe that it involves an entirely different question from that of the author's philosophic ability. But there are other faults which detract much from the value of Dr. Draper's work, even if his style be not called in question, — even if the foundations of his system were surely laid. He has a really remarkable power of misstatement, and generalizes with such freedom that his generalizations become almost as numerous as his facts. For evidence of this latter facility, we must refer to his History at large, and especially to the "two facts" about England

on page 212, the assertion about Greece on page 240, and the description of the North in the first paragraph on page 208. As to his faculty of misstatement, the following instances may be interesting. On page 195, in speaking of African civilization and the negro, he says that "in his own country the negro has been subjected for more than a thousand years to two influences, — Christian and Mohammedan. Here and there, on the outskirts of that great continent, the European has made a faint, but at the best only a transitory impression; the Asiatic has pervaded it through and through. Of the promising churches which in the early days of Christianity fringed the northern coast, scarcely any vestige now remains." Now it is a matter of common knowledge that these promising churches had no more to do with the negro than they had with Romulus and Remus.

Again, on page 197, in discussing the same subject, it is said that "the comic and plaintive songs which he is said to sing in his hours of relaxation have been listened to with admiration in all the gay capitals of Europe." This is unquestionably a reference to those charming melodies which are frequently sung by itinerant minstrels even in the gay capitals of America, but which would surely surprise even Dr. Draper if he heard them in an African jungle or on a Southern plantation. Does he wish his readers to suppose that negro minstrels are born black? That "Uncle Ned" was composed by some musical field-hand in his hours of relaxation? Whatever charges may be brought against Dr. Draper's History, he cannot be accused of having given us nothing new.

In his fifteenth chapter Dr. Draper makes some remarks, to the soundness of which no exception can be taken, on the necessity of reposing trust in the conclusions reached through a scientific method. He justly says that, when the botanist or geologist arrives at certain general opinions as to the matters which he studies, we do not quarrel with them, do not reply that such opinions are distasteful to us, and that we will therefore have none of them. We are quite ready, on the contrary, to accept their conclusions. And such, we are told, should also be the reward of the historian who adopts science as his guide; we should put faith in him, and yield our prejudices to the unerring conclusions of which he is merely the revealer, not the inventor. A scientific fact is no mirage, to be ever pursued, never found, but exists always, whether we know it or not; and therefore the multitude should gladly confide in the seeker, and willingly believe his assertion that success has attended his efforts.

To all this we cordially assent, and rest our fundamental objections to Dr. Draper's History on grounds which are not shaken by such reflec-

tions. There is a great difference between saying that we will not believe conclusions of botany, geology, or history, because they have been obtained by means of a scientific method, and saying that they cannot be trusted because the method of obtaining them has not been scientific. And further, it is a still greater difference to say that we will not believe them because no method whatever has been employed. If a writer on algebra were to state as an axiom, *first*, that equals added to equals produce equals, and, *second*, that this was not true in all cases, — or if a geometrician were to state as his fundamental belief, that a whole is greater than a part, and, moreover, that a part is sometimes greater than a whole, — we should not quarrel with algebra or geometry: it would be sufficient to deny that a process based upon a contradiction can have any scientific method about it. And so in the case of historians, we do not find fault with the science of History, — there is nothing more blameless, nothing more beneficial, in the world. What we say is, that Dr. Draper's book has no connection with the science. It is one thing to quarrel with History, quite another to quarrel with Dr. Draper's History. His book furnishes a striking instance of a philosophy which may be proved fallacious without attending at all to the results which are apparently reached through it, by showing that the abstract reasoning which lies at the bottom has been carelessly done. Dr. Draper's want of method would be fatal, even if his conclusions were undeniably true, for in that case we could only wonder at the extraordinary powers of a mind capable of answering correctly the riddles of human life by a process ordinarily applied to conundrums.

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9. — *The Public Debt of the United States; its Organization; its Liquidation; Administration of the Treasury; the Financial System.* By J. S. Gibbons, Author of "The Banks of New York and the Clearing-House." New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1867. 12mo. pp. xii., 276.

This, as appears by the title, is Mr. Gibbons's second essay at book-making. His former volume was written after the crisis of 1857, and it was a valuable and readable one. It gave the fullest account which has appeared in print of the organization and management of the banks of the city of New York, with minute details as to their daily routine of business, their book-keeping, and their internal economy generally. It also gave a very accurate and intelligible description of the clearing-house, — that great labor-saving machine, which has wrought as remarkable an economy in effecting the daily exchanges, as McCor-

mick's reaper in the gathering of the harvest. The author was thoroughly familiar with his subject, and had an eye for its humorous as well as its graver aspects. The book now before us is more ambitious in its design, and less successful. The history of the public debt is yet to be written. A clear and popular narrative of the finances of the war, beginning with Mr. Cobb's unsuccessful attempt to effect a loan at twelve per cent, in the last days of Mr. Buchanan's administration, and describing, in succession, the first essays of Mr. Chase to fill the empty treasury; the momentous negotiation for one hundred and fifty millions with the associated banks of New York, Philadelphia, and Boston, in the summer and autumn of 1861; the issue and taking of the first popular loan, — the seven-thirties; the suspension of specie payment, and consequent issue of legal-tender notes; the rapid growth of public expenses, and of the machinery of disbursement; the contract system; the creation of the national banks; the popular subscription to the five-twenty loans; the origin and growth of the income-tax, and whole internal-revenue system; the absorption of our bonds in Germany, and the struggle which our credit had to go through in Europe, before it was triumphantly established in the victory of the national arms; — a narrative of these, and many more events of a kindred character, by one who knew the actors and watched the movements of our financial machinery as the war went on, would make a chapter in financial history of unparalleled interest.

Mr. Gibbons has made no attempt at such a narrative. In his chapter on the organization of the debt, he begins with a reprint of the general statement of the indebtedness of the United States, as it appears in the last Report of the Secretary of the Treasury. He has rendered a useful service, however, by dissecting this statement, so as to make it more intelligible to the general reader, and of easier reference to the investor. The table on pages 24 and 25, which distinguishes the old from the new debt, giving the title by which each class is known, the rate of interest, the time when due, and the outstanding amount, will be found very convenient for reference, and it shows how necessary it is to have some thread to guide the uninitiated through our financial labyrinth. The list

"contains nineteen different periods of maturity, and six different rates of interest. Each rate of interest has contingencies within itself, which make the determination of relative value impossible. There are no fewer than twelve different kinds of bonds and notes, carrying six per cent interest. Most of the issues include both registered and coupon bonds. In some there are bonds as low as fifty dollars, of others there are none lower than five hundred dollars, and of others none under a thousand. They are issued under twelve different acts of Congress. Of the five-per-cent loans, there

are five different issues, each with an option appended, and other contingencies of conversion, renewal, &c. Of the seven-thirty notes there are five or six different issues, some convertible at the option of the government, and some at the option of the holder, into various bonds, and some issues are exchangeable for other issues."

But, after all, the investor of money is not exposed to the perplexity of choosing from all this heterogeneous list, since the securities which are currently dealt in, in the market, are few. Mr. Gibbons reduces the number to four, namely, the ten-forties (five per cent), the sixes of 1881 and the five-twenties (six per cent), and the seven-thirties (seven and three tenths per cent). These latter are not bonds, but treasury-notes, a portion of which will mature next year, and be either paid off or converted into six-per-cent bonds.*

We quite agree with Mr. Gibbons, that a thorough reorganization of the debt is necessary; and this nobody better understands than Mr. McCulloch, and during the last year he has done much towards consolidating it. When the whole is funded, it will be for him and his successors to consider how it may be simplified. We know that his first desire has been to get it into bonds, and without, at first, attempting to reduce the interest below six per cent, though accompanied with an option like the five-twenty and ten-forty bonds, which will place it sufficiently in his control to enable him to exercise upon the mass of it any economies, in the rate of interest, which may be open to him. In this connection, we find the following statement in Mr. Gibbons's book, which, in its obvious meaning, is utterly without foundation: —

"It has been openly avowed as the intention of the treasury to refund the loans as they expire, at a lower rate of interest; by this means making the credit worth one sixth less to the holders than it is at the present time, — an expedient of doubtful morality, and partaking, in its nature, of the air of repudiation."

If this means anything, it is that the government will force the holders, at the maturity of the six-per-cent loans, to accept a new loan at five per cent in payment. We have carefully read every paper emanating from the Treasury Department, and deny that there is any

* The debt of Great Britain is much simpler in its elements than ours. Taking the statement of March 31, 1866, the total debt was £773,313,229, of which over £754,000,000 was in three-per-cent annuities. The residue was at two and a half, three and a half, and five per cent. The debt is not in the form of bonds, but is an inscribed debt, of which the amount stands to the credit of the several holders in the books of the Stock Office at the Bank of England. It has no denominations, but may be transferred in sums as small as sixpence. The dividends are payable semiannually, also at the Bank of England, either in January and July, or in April and October.

ground for such an assertion. The government will undoubtedly exercise its right to pay the loans after their maturity, if they can negotiate new ones at a lower rate of interest; and they will probably give the holder the option to take his money or the new bond, precisely as they are now doing with the maturing seven-thirty notes; with this important difference, however, that the *bonds* of the government are payable in gold, while the treasury-notes are redeemable in legal-tender money.

The option of the first issue of five-twenties matured on the 30th of April last. This is the loan of 1862, of which the larger portion is now held in Europe. It would seem probable, therefore, that the first effort to economize interest would be made by negotiating a new European loan at five per cent, to take the place of it. The amount is five hundred millions, which is quite enough for a first experiment. The Secretary of the Treasury tried to get authority from the last Congress to make such a negotiation, asking leave to make the new bonds payable, principal and interest, abroad, and in the denominations of European currency. There has been a very unreasonable prejudice against foreign loans, and the authority has not yet been granted; but it has not been refused, and it is to be hoped that, with a better understanding of the subject, next winter, the desired authority will be given. We can conceive no possible objection to it, while the advantages are obvious. It is not a question of going abroad to borrow money, for practically we have done that already. Every bond sent by our citizens abroad left room for placing a new one at home, and thus our loans have been the more easily taken. Having Europe already as a creditor, how can we make the best bargain with her for continuing the loan? Germany bought our bonds when they were to us at a ruinous figure, because at that time both our credit and our national unity were in dispute. But we could not help ourselves; we were in the hands of the Jews, and we paid Jews' interest. At the maturity of the debt, (or of the option to pay it, which is the same for our purposes,) we have a right to command better terms. The sole difference to our government between paying the bonds and their interest abroad or at home, is the cost of remitting funds; and the advantages to the foreign holder of having them paid in his own country are so much greater than this, that he may be expected to pay liberally for it. Neither is there any loss of dignity in going to one's creditor, instead of waiting for him to come to us. Every borrowing power in Europe does it. European capitalists are notional in the matter of their investments. Witness the preference which they show for the five-twenties of 1862 over the later issues, which are intrinsically better, because longer; yet the difference in the market price is now more than three per cent.

The sign of the pound sterling is a favorite, not only with John Bull, but with the Jew bankers and the solid people generally in Europe. Russia and Austria have had to adopt it in place of roubles and florins, and there is no good reason why the United States should not do the same. In short, if we wish to borrow money in Europe on the best terms, let us conform to European usages in all matters of detail. Let us convert dollars into pounds, shillings, and pence; or, if the lenders wish it, into thalers, florins, or francs; and let us, like Russia and Austria, pay the interest on each bond, at several points, in the denomination of the country. It costs little, and it may gain much. The promise is still the Federal promise, though the money in which it is expressed is not Federal money.

Mr. Gibbons's chapter upon the liquidation of the debt is probably that on which the author has bestowed most thought, and on which he would rest his highest claim to public attention. He is not in favor of a rapid liquidation, and he says justly, that "nothing is gained materially, and much lost, if a debt be cancelled by so straining the general economy [productive power of the nation] as to impair its efficiency; for that is not to remove, but only to change the character of the burden."

His practical scheme is to pay the debt in one hundred and forty-two years, by the following process. He adopts the sum of ten millions (besides the interest of the debt) as an annual constant of payment, and to this he adds the interest annually saved by the reduction of so much of the principal; so that the appropriation on account of the public debt shall remain the same for a considerable number of years. Of course, the frequency with which this appropriation shall be reduced is arbitrary; but Mr. Gibbons divides the time of liquidation into periods of from seventeen to twenty years, the last period being, however, thirty-one years, during which the annual appropriation is to be but fifty millions. His theory is to "reduce the debt by the most gradual scale that will carry forward the liquidation, while pressing as lightly as possible on the productive energies of the country."

Mr. McCulloch, in his Report for 1865, proposed to pay the debt by a yearly appropriation of two hundred millions. With this sum it could be liquidated in about thirty years, the time being a little longer or shorter, according to the rate of interest. Mr. Gibbons objects to this plan, because "it ignores all natural laws of commerce; it repudiates the idea that there are any laws of production which are entitled to respect, and the violation of which will lessen the product."

Except that the annual appropriation is larger, — for Mr. Gibbons begins with one hundred and seventy-two millions, — and that the constant of payment is continued until the whole debt is liquidated, we do

not see that the Secretary's scheme differs from the author's; and so far as respects the laws of production, Mr. Gibbons seems to us the party in error, for he begins with a high scale of taxation when the country is exhausted and the burden of taxes heavy, and reduces it periodically as the strength of the country is augmented by the increase of population and of taxable resources. The Secretary, on the contrary, goes so far in the opposite direction as to keep the appropriation uniform, though the burden of it is constantly lessening under natural laws. But might not the exact opposite of Mr. Gibbons's scheme be adopted, in better harmony with these natural laws? By beginning with a smaller appropriation, and constantly increasing it as taxation was spread over a broader surface of property and population, the burden of taxes might remain the same, while the product of them would rapidly increase. Regarding the debt as a national evil to be got rid of as rapidly as is consistent with our material and social prosperity, we should be unwilling to see the burden so lightened that the people should become unconscious of it.

Mr. Gibbons's premise is a sound one, that the weight of taxation must not be such as to repress production, or degrade any portion of the people. But his conclusion does not necessarily flow from it, that ten millions a year is the highest sum which can be spared for liquidation of the debt without entailing these results, or that nearly a century and a half is needed to accomplish the end in view. A century and a half is a long period, much longer than the past life of the nation. Who can tell what may happen in that time, — what new vicissitudes the nation may have to pass through, — what new occasions for great expenditure and for the accumulation of new public debts may arise? Is it not safer to meet those vicissitudes with a clear balance-sheet? On this point we may with confidence quote the opinion of Mr. Gladstone, the foremost financial statesman of the age, who in his budget speech of last year commended in the highest terms the policy upon which this country had already entered, that of rapidly liquidating the public debt. Having stated the amount of the debt and of its annual interest, Mr. Gladstone said: —

"Looking at the vigor and energy of the country which has to bear the burden, I must confess that I think the future is hopeful, as far as finance is concerned, and that that debt will constitute no difficulty to the American people. I am confident that if they show, with respect to their finance, any portion of that extraordinary resolution which, on both sides, they manifested during the war, and of that equally remarkable resolution by which, on the return of peace, they put down their monstrous and gigantic war establishments, I won't say, to use the common expression, that this debt will prove a mere flea-bite; but I say that, within a reasonable time it may be brought

within reasonable limits, and that it may, even within the lifetime of those at present living, be swept from the public accounts. The finance minister of that country stringently urges the policy of reducing the debt; and I am certain that from this side of the water we shall send him a hearty expression of good-will for his success, both on account of an interest in the well-being of a friendly nation, and because it may be that the happy example of America will react beneficially on us."

The plan of a stated appropriation to the debt is subject to this serious objection, that the resources of the nation are not uniform, and a sum may be burdensome in one year which is far within the national ability the next. It is a question dependent on harvests, on public health, on foreign as well as domestic tranquillity, and on the state of industry throughout the world; for such is the solidarity of nations that all extremes in the condition of our people speedily reflect themselves in the condition of all peoples.

The true policy would seem to be to pay as much as we can every year, having a pecuniary regard to the production of the country and the condition of the people. It will be a long time before the produce of taxes can be calculated in this country with the accuracy which is shown in the estimates of an English Chancellor of the Exchequer. Probably such exactness can never be attained here, owing to the extent of the country, and the disturbing influences which are constantly likely to arise. The amount which may be applied to the debt cannot therefore be a constant sum, unless a wide margin is allowed in the estimates. The great danger which grows out of such margins is that of extravagance. If it is even hinted that there is likely to be a surplus, all sorts of schemes instantly spring up in Congress to absorb it. But there is no help for this, except to cultivate more rigid ideas of economy in the use of public money, both among the people and their representatives. The tax-payers hold the remedies in their own hands, and they must learn how to use them.

There is much in Mr. Gibbons's chapter on the administration of the treasury from which we dissent, but we have not space to enter here upon the discussion of its topics. Like most New York bankers, he holds the comfortable conceit, that all the financial measures of the war, except such as were initiated in Wall Street, were criminal blunders. Specie payments need not have been suspended, nor legal-tender notes issued; the currency is not redundant, and the evils now existing in trade are not the results of inflation; the Independent Treasury system is at the bottom of all the heresies governing our finance, and the New York Clearing-House, as the consummation of the highest wisdom, is all that has saved the country from its baleful

influence. These are some of the propositions which Mr. Gibbons seeks to establish, and not always, as we think, successfully.

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10. — *The Financial Economy of the United States illustrated, and some of the Causes that retard the Progress of California demonstrated.* By JOHN ALEXANDER FERRIS, A. M. San Francisco: A. Roman & Son. 1867.

THE price of gold is fixed. The United States government ordains that $25\frac{8}{10}$ grains, of standard fineness, shall be called one dollar; and as the value of all commodities is measured by it, though they may rise and fall in price, gold, *while used as currency*, cannot do so, because it is price itself.

This fact, generally overlooked, is an important one to those engaged in the production of gold, since the more the quantity of gold is increased in proportion to the demand for it, the less will be its value, that is, the less of all other commodities will it command in exchange. The miner produces gold, not that he may eat, drink, or wear it, but that he may exchange his product for others useful to him; therefore it is of the first importance to him that the price of all articles of commerce should be as low as possible; and yet, if, by increasing the quantity of gold, he has lessened its value, he has no just occasion to find fault, since this comes by the operation of the natural laws of value, and cannot be helped. If in addition to this, however, any measure is adopted by government which depreciates the value of his commodity by raising the price of all others, then he has sufficient cause for complaint. Governments may do this.

The principal demand for gold is for use as currency. If the issue of any other article as currency, and as a substitute for gold, is legally authorized, in so far the demand for gold must be diminished. As the demand for gold is thus lessened, its value (not its price) will fall. In other words, as prices rise, the power of gold to command commodities will be reduced. This is strikingly illustrated at the present moment, when we have a paper circulation of about seven hundred millions, while before the legal-tender act we had at the highest point but a trifle over two hundred millions. Prices have advanced some one hundred per cent, while gold, no longer currency, is now sold, as an article of merchandise, at thirty-five to forty per cent premium, and was at one time as high as one hundred and eighty-five per cent advance over paper.

If the principle we have laid down is correct, must it not always be

true that, in just so far as mere paper is used as currency, the value of gold will be lessened? And if it were possible by legislation to furnish a substitute for gold for all other purposes besides currency, would not gold be without any value whatever? If so, is it not true that California, whose great staple is gold, is wronged and injured by every substitute used as currency? Her gold can only be produced by labor, and yet is it not brought into direct competition with that which costs no appreciable labor?

But here we are ready to admit that, if a substitute can be found which will answer all the purposes of currency just as well as gold, and costs little or no labor, then the Californian has no more occasion to complain than the man whose employment is rendered unnecessary by the invention of new machinery.

Mankind are entitled to the best and cheapest instrumentalities possible for the production and exchange of wealth, and as currency is only an implement for measuring and transferring values, if a cheaper and at the same time equally good one can be discovered, the operations of the gold miner may well be suspended; and although this may be an immediate disadvantage to him, as he must change his present employment to some other, it will be a gain to the world, and perhaps to the miner himself even, in the long run.

This is the great principle on which the whole matter rests; and the question therefore naturally comes up, Has such a substitute for gold been discovered? We answer, No. As a medium of exchange and as a standard of value *in the commerce of the world*, the precious metals alone are used. No purchases or payments are made between nations except with values, — with merchandise, or actual money. Promises have no international circulation, and the precious metals to-day, as for thousands of years past, form the general currency of trade. Individual nations have established local currencies, but these are not recognized in the commercial intercourse of nations. Such currencies affect commerce only in so far as they act as substitutes for gold in a particular country, and in that way reduce the value of gold in all countries. Otherwise a local currency is only a local question affecting the trade and industry of the locality in which it exists. If any people create a currency of less value than the currency of commerce, they suffer the same consequences they would if they used machinery less effective in production than that of other countries. Their exports will decrease, because their products will cost a higher price; they will increase their imports, because foreign merchandise will be cheaper than domestic. All this is true in theory, and is confirmed by the experience of mankind. To create a currency which costs as much as a gold one can be no object, while one that has less value can only do mischief.

There can be, then, no substitute for gold as currency which is as reliable and effective as the gold itself. This point we do not propose to dwell upon at this time. We are speaking of the particular position of the gold-producing States. If California, for example, were a separate government or people, her gold would at all times have its full value to her citizens. All commodities within the State would be produced under the gold standard and be held at gold prices, while all articles imported would come to the people at the gold cost, except so far as disturbed by the issues of paper currencies abroad. Under such circumstances, if foreign articles could be had for less labor by producing gold than by making them, they would be obtained by the production of gold, and California would enjoy the full natural advantages of her soil, climate, and productions. She would get everything at a fair rate of exchange. But how is it at present? She produces gold, but a great part of the commodities she consumes are created under a paper currency, which so inflates prices that she pays for them a great deal more than she would if the same were made under and measured by a gold currency. She cannot get them from abroad at the gold value, because the tariff of the United States is interposed, so that the people must pay not only the duties, heavy as they may be, but the *profits upon the duties*, after passing through several hands. Thus they are virtually obliged to part with their gold at what it will bring in currency, and with that purchase commodities for consumption at rates perhaps one hundred per cent above the real cash value.

The manner in which this operates may be illustrated as follows. With gold at forty per cent premium, the Californian can get for one dollar (that is, $25\frac{8}{10}$ grains of standard gold) one dollar and forty cents in currency; but the one dollar and forty cents will not bring him as much as one dollar would before the war. For example, for a pair of boots he could have obtained for five dollars in gold, he now pays ten dollars in currency. To get the ten dollars in currency he must give seven dollars and fourteen cents in gold; so that seven dollars and fourteen cents in gold now only brings him as much as five dollars did before the change. He has lost the difference, which is equal to nearly thirty per cent. The boots are measured by the existing credit currency, because made under such a currency, and sold in a country where such a currency is the legal standard of value.

Now, after making due allowance for the increased cost of American fabrics in consequence of excise taxation, it will nevertheless be found, on examination, that the prices of such fabrics *to the consumer* have been increased, as we have assumed, to nearly, if not quite, one hundred per cent. If so, the aggregate loss which the population of the great

gold-producing State must have already sustained in consequence of the demonetization of gold must be immense.

That such a state of things should produce dissatisfaction amongst intelligent men who can comprehend the subject, and that such dissatisfaction should find expression on the shores of the Pacific, is not a matter of surprise. California has been from the first strongly opposed to the introduction of a mixed-currency system within her borders, and when her State Constitution was formed, it absolutely prohibited the "making, issuing, or putting in circulation any bill, check, ticket, certificate, promissory note, or other paper to circulate as money, or creating paper to circulate as money." By guarding thus carefully in her fundamental law against the introduction of mixed-currency banks, the Californians secured to themselves a specie currency. The most strenuous efforts were made to break down the restrictions upon paper-money banking, but the people have hitherto firmly resisted every such attempt, being fully determined that one class of men shall not be allowed to make paper dollars costing nothing, having equal value with the gold which a large part of her people were engaged in producing by hard work; and thus, up to the enactment of the legal-tender law by Congress, in 1862, paper money was excluded from California.

But now came a great trial. The national government, in its distress, ordained that its own promises to pay money should be legal tender. This act demonetized gold, and practically destroyed the currency of the State. It seemed certain that California would be compelled to adopt that issued by the national government, but she was not content to do so. On the 27th of April, 1863, her Legislature enacted that "in any contract or obligation in writing for the direct payment of money made payable in a specified kind of money or currency, judgment for the plaintiff, whether the same be by default or after verdict, may follow the contract or obligation, and be made payable in the kind of money or currency specified therein."

Under this "special contract law," so called, the trade of the State has been carried on by the gold standard, so far as special agreements were made to that effect. California thus established justice as between her own citizens, and enabled them to make and enforce contracts founded upon gold values; but in their intercourse with other States, and in so far as they were still compelled to purchase commodities produced under a false standard of value, or articles protected by high duties, they have suffered the disadvantage and loss we have just stated.

The position of the gold-producing States, soon to have great

power and influence in the Union, is altogether abnormal under our present monetary system, and should not be ignored or disregarded. It is one that cannot long continue, and ought not. California has ever been a truly loyal State. We doubt not she will remain so; yet no State ever had so strong reasons for dissevering its connection with the Federal government. This the intelligent part of her population already understand, and the great body of her people will eventually perceive. She is deeply, constantly wronged, and her growth in wealth retarded. She carries a heavy and unnecessary burden. It cannot be thrown off at once, but as soon as the condition of the country will allow of it she will certainly demand that the *currency of the nation* shall be a sound one, — one that has the value of a gold dollar in every note that promises to pay a dollar.

The work referred to at the head of this article presents in a clear, forcible, and we think, generally, a very correct manner, the position of California, as one of the States of the Union, in her monetary and financial relations. The subject is one on which the writer has evidently thought much. The work consists of a series of articles, many of which have appeared in the newspapers of California. The author maintains, we think successfully, that the general financial system of the United States has always been highly prejudicial to the interests of the gold-producing State. He shows how adverse to her welfare is the use of a mixed currency everywhere and at all times, and how especially injurious is a mere credit currency made legal tender. He defends the special-contract law of California, denies the constitutionality of the legal-tender act, and insists that a *mixed* currency, or any other than one made of the precious metals or the actual representative of the same, dollar for dollar, is fraudulent and ought not to be tolerated. But while doing this, he admits that a currency may be provided, consisting of notes or certificates issued upon deposit of gold only, which would constitute a reliable circulating medium and an invariable standard of value, perfectly adapted to the wants of trade. These and kindred topics are discussed by Mr. Ferris with much earnestness and force, and to any one desirous of knowing the views of an intelligent Californian on these most important subjects the work referred to will be a valuable acquisition.

11. — 1. *Cyclopædia of Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical Literature.* Prepared by the Rev. John McClintock, D. D., and James Strong, S. T. D. Vol. I. A — B. New York: Harpers. 1867. 8vo. pp. vi., 947.

2. *American Edition of Dr. William Smith's Dictionary of the Bible.* Revised and edited by Professor H. B. Hackett, D. D., with the Co-operation of Mr. Ezra Abbot, A. M., Assistant Librarian of Harvard University. New York: Hurd and Houghton. 1867. Parts 1 – 5. 8vo. pp. vi., 560.

For the last generation of Biblical scholars the Dictionary of Calmet was the sole resource, in its kind, in the English tongue, and the decisive arbiter, too, in all questions of Scriptural fact and science. The most zealous haters of Popery were compelled to use the translated learning of a French Benedictine, which even the labors of learned Protestant editors could not purge of its mistakes and credulities. Cruden's Concordance and Calmet's Dictionary, on every minister's table, were the companions, on the right hand and on the left, of the Book of God. Cruden's Concordance remains there yet, indispensable in careful study, and not superseded by any new analysis or collation of the texts of the Word. It has been abridged, condensed, published in many editions and in diverse forms, but it has not yet been improved upon. On the other hand, Calmet's Dictionary is now wholly a thing of the past, a curious monument of uncritical and inexact learning, which no scholar would quote as authority.

But Calmet's ponderous work has many successors. There are now *three*, or we might perhaps say *four*, solid Dictionaries of the Bible that offer their various aid to the student. The oldest of these is the Dictionary of Kitto, first published about twenty years ago, of which in the last year the *twelfth* edition was issued, in three grand octavo volumes. The original work of Kitto will hardly be recognized in this last edition, which is as much broader in its scope and as much more accurate in its scholarship as the last edition of Webster's English Dictionary is broader and more accurate than the first. All the defects of Kitto's original work, however, have not been remedied. The present edition is by no means up to the mark of German, or even of English, Biblical science. The dogmatism and timidity which marked many of the original articles are even more conspicuous in some of the latest additions. But making all allowance for these and other faults, the new edition of Kitto's Cyclopædia affords valuable, and in the main trustworthy, information on many of the subjects of Biblical study.

Next in order of time is the English edition of Dr. William Smith's Dictionary of the Bible, the first volume of which was published about seven years ago. This also is in three octavos, not quite so bulky as those of the last edition of Kitto, but containing nearly or quite as much matter. At the time of its first appearance, this new Dictionary was far in advance of the work of Kitto; yet, as was shown in more than one careful review of its contents, it was not altogether what the names of its contributors gave a right to expect. Some topics, not without importance to the Biblical student, were wholly passed over; of others, the treatment was superficial, or injured by the insertion of irrelevant matter or the display of fantastic theorizing. For example, the long and in the main instructive dissertation upon Jerusalem is closed by a defence of the exploded theory that the Mosque of Omar corresponds to the ancient Church of the Holy Sepulchre; the article upon the Holy Spirit uses the teaching of the later creeds as the correct account of his personality; there is no special article under the title "Inspiration." The article on the Pentateuch is an elaborate piece of special pleading, in which the arguments of those who deny its Mosaic composition are set aside on very inadequate grounds. Satan is treated as an historical person, and his existence is assumed as a matter of revelation in the Old Testament, as much as in the New. The story of Jonah is taken as literal history. There are marked inconsistencies in the statements of the different writers. The articles in the different departments are of very unequal value; those in the department of natural history are in general more satisfactory than those in the department of criticism, especially where there is any collision in the latter with the prejudices and creeds of the sects. In more than one instance, these are distinctly admitted as neutralizing the arguments of independent criticism, — notably in the case of the second Petrine Epistle.

In view of these defects, a new and improved edition of Smith's work is greatly to be desired; and such an edition is that now in course of publication in New York, under the editorial charge of two most competent scholars. On some accounts, we think that the plan of publishing *the whole* of the original English work is a mistake. A good deal might be omitted without loss. The actual additions in the five hundred and sixty pages of the American edition already published amount, as we should judge, to about one eleventh of the work. These additions are of various kinds, — in some instances, to the text itself of the articles; in others, of foot-notes; in others, of bibliographical lists. In a few cases, titles missing from the original work have here been supplied, as in the very curious and learned article on

"Air," by Mr. Abbot, and the article on "Crib," by Professor Hackett. The bibliographic additions to the original work are exceedingly valuable. Five columns of references are, for instance, appended to the article "Church." Mr. Abbot's numerous notes to the article "Canon" much increase the value of the discussion of that subject. Professor Hackett's contributions are still more abundant, both in the critical and the geographical departments. A few of the eminent American scholars, whose aid is promised, have lent their hand already; and we have several communications from Professors Bartlett and Conant. All the work of the American editors, so far as we have examined it, is thoroughly done, with an admirable candor. Some of the articles, however, — notably that on "Architecture," — are still too slight for the theme. In its general appearance, — the type, alike of English, Greek, and Hebrew, the size of the page, the illustrations, — the American edition is a *fac-simile* of the English. Its value to students, and as a book of general reference, if we may judge by the five parts which have appeared, will be far greater than that of the English work. We trust that the plan may be so modified as to allow, in future issues, judicious omissions, and the substitution of solid learning for some of the irrelevant talk about matters which have nothing to do with Biblical science. Such matters are more in place in those ponderous works which aim to compress all religious and theological knowledge into a single Thesaurus.

The latest candidate for public favor among the Biblical Cyclopædias is a work of this comprehensive kind. The first volume of the vast labor of Drs. McClintock and Strong — nine hundred and forty pages thick, in double columns of fine type — prophesies, in its amazing, bewildering, and disheartening redundance, what we have to expect in the completed work. *Only two* letters of the twenty-six pass before us here! The plan of this work is far grander than that of the works we have already noticed. The Methodist Cyclopædia will touch and discuss all matters directly or incidentally connected with the Christian religion, we might almost say with every religion. It is to be a cyclopædia of all things which have the flavor of sanctity in their name or their history, ecclesiastical as well as Biblical. It will give us a compendium of religious biography from Adam of Eden, whose story is treated as a literal statement of facts, to Adam of Leeds, "a sensible and voluminous writer"; from Andrew of Galilee to the Rev. Joseph Andrews, "who was suspended for immorality"; from Alexander of Macedon, through a long line of Jews and Popes, to the Alexanders of Princeton; from Bela the son of Benjamin, to the Rev. Joseph Belcher, who "was engaged in several literary labors." Un-

fortunately, the principle by which names are selected in this department is not distinctly stated. But while the more eminent Catholic and Calvinistic saints will not be neglected, Methodist biography, we may presume, will have larger heed than in previous stories of the lives of Christian worthies, and we shall learn who have travelled most widely in the circuits and been prominent in the class-meetings, as in the case of the excellent Lewis Bates. Plutarch, Dr. Sprague, Alban Butler, and the *Biographie Universelle* will be largely drawn upon for this department.

The work is also to be a cyclopædia of theological dogma, and we are to learn from it what Christians have believed, and what they ought to believe; the faith of the saints, and the vagaries of the heretics; the follies and blasphemies of "Romanism"; and the various refinements of the saving creed. The editors frankly confess that their whole work is prepared from the Methodist stand-point, and we have, therefore, no right to complain that Arianism appears as "error," while Arminianism, though equally "heresy" to the collected voice of the Church, is presented as holding the light and glory of the theological future. The High Calvinists will be prepared to hear of the danger of insisting on the Divine Decrees, and need not be surprised to find that the very popular vicar of Charles the Martyr, Dr. Robert Hawksworth, "poisoned the surrounding region with Antinomian tendencies." Due allowance must be made in all the articles which treat dogmatic questions or the history of religious opinion for this sectarian outlook. All that the editors hope is to avoid sectarian narrowness and bigotry. They will speak of what they consider to be error in temperate phrase, and strive to shun offence. They will endeavor to present the facts fairly in the story of the several sects, and allow, at least in those which are Evangelical, the ministers of these sects to revise and correct what is written. The list of authorities in Church history and the history of dogmas is good as far as it goes, and seems long enough for all practical uses; yet we miss some names that ought to be there; for instance, Reuss among the French, and Lamson among the American names. The work of this last-named accurate scholar might have greatly improved the sketch of Arianism here given.

Christian Iconography also enters into the plan. The Cyclopædia will tell all about sacred art, architecture, sculpture, painting, from the style of Egyptian temples down to the last works of Scheffer and Overbeck. The care of this department has been given to a competent hand. The article on "Architecture" in the present volume, at once concise and comprehensive, with its pictorial illustrations, is a good specimen of what is to come. So far as woodcuts can aid the eye, this

series of volumes will bring pictorial art to fortify the statements of the text. There are four hundred and sixty illustrations in the volume already published, which would give an average of one to every second page. Some of these illustrations have done duty in previously published volumes. Among these are numerous maps, some of which are not brought up to the latest dates. On the map of Africa there is no recognition of the discoveries of Speke or Baker, — no sign of any Lake Tanganyika, or Victoria Nyanza, or Albert Nyanza, and the "supposed sources of the Nile" are shown among "the Mountains of the Moon." On the map of Arabia the revelations of Mr. Palgrave have brought no change in the outlines of the land, (and we may add, too, in the details of the accompanying article,) though his work is mentioned among the authorities. On the map of North America we could not expect that the last purchase of "Walrussia" would be credited to the United States, but we are surprised to see Quebec marked as the capital of Canada. The geographical part of the volume, especially in the modern subjects, is not very ably cared for. Some of the details seem almost puerile. Of "Alabama," for instance, we read only the following paragraph: —

"Alabama, a diocese of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States, coextensive with the State of the same name. In 1859 the diocese counted thirty-two clergymen and thirty-eight parishes, and the following diocesan institutions: Missionary Committee, Ecclesiastical Court, Trustees of the Bishop's Fund Society for the Relief of Disabled Clergymen and the Widows and Orphans of the Clergy. The first bishop of the diocese was Nicholas Hanmer Cobb (q. v.), consecrated in 1844, and the second Richard H. Wilmer, consecrated March 6, 1862. Alabama was one of the dioceses which, in 1862, organized the General Council of the Confederate States of America."

These facts are certainly important; but is this all the significance that Alabama has in religious history, that it is an Episcopal diocese? Can the editors have forgotten the story of Methodism in that rough region? Why, too, should Arkansas be left out in the cold, and no mention be made of that State as a diocese of the Episcopal Church?

In the department of Biblical Literature and Archæology the Cyclopædia of McClintock hardly comes into conflict with the Dictionary of Smith, since it uses freely the rich material of that work. The most cursory examination shows the indebtedness of the American Cyclopædia to the English Dictionary of the Bible, — which, indeed, the editors cheerfully acknowledge. Even some of the eminent authorities whose names are omitted from the full list in the Prospectus, such as Ewald, Jost, and Luzzato, are quoted in the bibliography of the

separate articles. It is singular, by the way, that such names as those of Graetz and De Wette should be omitted from the list of writers on Liturgies and History and Sacred Criticism. These, of course, may be included under that convenient head of "many others," but they should not be passed without mention, while such names as Coleman and Horne are cited in the list. Silk Buckingham, in the matter of Biblical Geography, is surely an inferior authority to the erudite Sepp; nor can Olin be compared to Tristram, the author of the "Land of Israel." It would seem, too, hardly fair, where the Semitic dialects are to be considered, to omit the distinguished name of Ernest Renan. The book in this particular is more just than the Prospectus. Occasionally, however, we find the case reversed, as in the article on the "Alexandrian Schools," which makes no mention of Guericke among its authorities, while his name is recorded in the Prospectus. Matter's name also is omitted from the list at this end of the article.

In a Cyclopædia of this kind it is difficult to draw the line between sacred and profane things, — between the Church and the world, — to know what to include and what to put aside. Religion has so entwined and fused itself into the course of secular history, that almost all opinions and events belong to its province. Many names and many things are treated in the volume before us which have no more right to be there than others that have been neglected. In an impartial survey, the Catholic saints, one and all, belong to the catalogue of ecclesiastical men as much as Protestants, of whom it can only be said that they were "useful parish ministers"; all writers, too, who have explained and illustrated religious epochs and emblems, — Ampère quite as much as Rev. Solomon Allen. But the line must somewhere be drawn, and perhaps the editors of this Cyclopædia have drawn it as well as any could. Their work, with all the criticisms that may be made upon it, with its defects of omission and its faults in execution, is certainly an undertaking creditable to their industry and sagacity. In these days of itinerant ministries, such a work will be an unspeakable comfort to those preachers who find, in the removal of libraries, the chief vexation in their change of place. With this theological pemmican, even the poorest man of God can find himself amply furnished. With a pair of saddle-bags, holding on one side McClintock's Cyclopædia, and on the other the redundant tomes of Lange's "Bible Work," he may ride from one end of the continent to the other, with homilies for all occasions and knowledge for all emergencies. How immense the advance of such a work as this from the dull reflections of Rev. Thomas Scott, which supplied the family Biblical study of the last generation! It is delightful to have a religious work that brings science and art, philosophy and

fact, the theology of the schools and the theology of the woods and fields, so well together, — to pass from Aristotle to the Atonement, from the Apocrypha to the Ark, from Ballou to Buddha, with no sense of incongruity or discord; to read on the same page of Belsham and Belshazzar, of Brigitta and the Bridgewater Treatises, and on successive pages of Balaam's Ass, of the Assassins of Syria, and of the Presbyterian Assembly. If the future volumes of the Cyclopædia shall fulfil the promise of that which has appeared, we can safely commend the work as not only solid and instructive for use and reference, but entertaining for reading in lighter hours.

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12. — *The Life and Death of Jason: a Poem.* By William Morris. Boston: Roberts Brothers. 12mo. pp. 307.

In this poetical history of the fortunate — the unfortunate — Jason, Mr. Morris has written a book of real value. It is some time since we have met with a work of imagination of so thoroughly satisfactory a character, — a work read with an enjoyment so unalloyed and so untempered by the desire to protest and to criticise. The poetical firmament within these recent years has been all alive with unprophesied comets and meteors, many of them of extraordinary brilliancy, but most of them very rapid in their passage. Mr. Morris gives us the comfort of feeling that he is a fixed star, and that his radiance is not likely to be extinguished in a draught of wind, — after the fashion of Mr. Alexander Smith, Mr. Swinburne, and Miss Ingelow. Mr. Morris's poem is ushered into the world with a very florid birthday speech from the pen of the author of the too famous "Poems and Ballads," — a circumstance, we apprehend, in no small degree prejudicial to its success. But we hasten to assure all persons whom the knowledge of Mr. Swinburne's enthusiasm may have led to mistrust the character of the work, that it has to our perception nothing in common with this gentleman's own productions, and that his article proves very little more than that his sympathies are wiser than his performance. If Mr. Morris's poem may be said to remind us of the manner of any other writer, it is simply of that of Chaucer; and to resemble Chaucer is a great safeguard against resembling Swinburne.

"The Life and Death of Jason," then, is a narrative poem on a Greek subject, written in a genuine English style. With the subject all reading people are familiar, and we have no need to retrace its details. But it is perhaps not amiss to transcribe the few pregnant lines of prose into which, at the outset, Mr. Morris has condensed the argument of his poem: —

"Jason the son of Æson, king of Iolchos, having come to man's estate, demanded of Pelias his father's kingdom, which he held wrongfully. But Pelias answered, that if he would bring from Colchis the golden fleece of the ram that had carried Phryxus thither, he would yield him his right. Whereon Jason sailed to Colchis in the ship Argo, with other heroes, and by means of Medea, the king's daughter, won the fleece; and carried off also Medea; and so, after many troubles, came back to Iolchos again. There, by Medea's wiles, was Pelias slain; but Jason went to Corinth, and lived with Medea happily, till he was taken with the love of Glauce, the king's daughter of Corinth, and must needs wed her; whom also Medea destroyed, and fled to Ægeus at Athens; and not long after Jason died strangely."

The style of this little fragment of prose is not an unapt measure of the author's poetical style, — quaint, but not too quaint, more Anglo-Saxon than Latin, and decidedly laconic. For in spite of the great length of his work, his manner is by no means diffuse. His story is a long one, and he wishes to do it justice; but the movement is rapid and business-like, and the poet is quite guiltless of any wanton lingering along the margin of the subject-matter, — after the manner, for instance, of Keats, — to whom, individually, however, we make this tendency no reproach. Mr. Morris's subject is immensely rich, — heavy with its richness, — and in the highest degree romantic and poetical. For the most part, of course, he found not only the great *contours*, but the various incidents and episodes, ready drawn to his hand; but still there was enough wanting to make a most exhaustive drain upon his ingenuity and his imagination. And not only these faculties have been brought into severe exercise, but the strictest good taste and good sense were called into play, together with a certain final gift which we hardly know how to name, and which is by no means common, even among very clever poets, — a comprehensive sense of form, of proportion, and of real completeness, without which the most brilliant efforts of the imagination are a mere agglomeration of ill-reconciled beauties. The legend of Jason is full of strangely constructed marvels and elaborate prodigies and horrors, calculated to task heavily an author's adroitness. We have so pampered and petted our sense of the ludicrous of late years, that it is quite the spoiled child of the house, and without its leave no guest can be honorably entertained. It is very true that the atmosphere of Grecian mythology is so entirely an artificial one, that we are seldom tempted to refer its weird, anomalous denizens to our standard of truth and beauty. Truth, indeed, is at once put out of the question; but one would say beforehand, that many of the creations of Greek fancy were wanting even in beauty, or at least in that ease and simplicity which has been acquired in modern times by force of culture. But habit and tradition have reconciled us to these things in their native

forms, and Mr. Morris's skill reconciles us to them in his modern and composite English. The idea, for instance, of a *flying ram*, seems, to an undisciplined fancy, a not especially happy creation, nor a very promising theme for poetry; but Mr. Morris, without diminishing its native oddity, has given it an ample romantic dignity. So, again, the sowing of the dragon's teeth at Colchis, and the springing up of mutually opposed armed men, seems too complex and recondite a scene to be vividly and gracefully realized; but as it stands, it is one of the finest passages in Mr. Morris's poem. His great stumbling-block, however, we take it, was the necessity of maintaining throughout the dignity and prominence of his hero. From the moment that Medea comes into the poem, Jason falls into the second place, and keeps it to the end. She is the all-wise and all-brave helper and counsellor at Colchis, and the guardian angel of the returning journey. She saves her companions from the Circean enchantments, and she withholds them from the embraces of the Sirens. She effects the death of Pelias, and assures the successful return of the Argonauts. And finally — as a last claim upon her interest — she is slighted and abandoned by the man of her love. Without question, then, she is the central figure of the poem, — a powerful and enchanting figure, — a creature of barbarous arts, and of exquisite human passions. Jason accordingly possesses only that indirect hold upon our attention which belongs to the Virgilian Æneas; although Mr. Morris has avoided Virgil's error of now and then allowing his hero to be contemptible.

A large number, however, of far greater drawbacks than any we are able to mention could not materially diminish the powerful beauty of this fantastic legend. It is as rich in adventure as the Odyssey, and very much simpler. Its prime elements are of the most poetical and delightful kind. What can be more thrilling than the idea of a great boatful of warriors embarking upon dreadful seas, not for pleasure, nor for conquest, nor for any material advantage, but for the simple recovery of a jealously watched, magically guarded relic? There is in the character of the object of their quest something heroically unmarketable, or at least unavailable. But of course the story owes a vast deal to its episodes, and these have lost nothing in Mr. Morris's hands. One of the most beautiful — the well-known adventure of Hylas — occurs at the very outset. The beautiful young man, during a halt of the ship, wanders inland through the forest, and, passing beside a sylvan stream, is espied and incontinently loved by the water nymphs, who forthwith "detach" one of their number to work his seduction. This young lady assumes the disguise and speech of a Northern princess, clad in furs, and in this character sings to her victim "a sweet song, sung not yet to

any man." Very sweet and truly lyrical it is, like all the songs scattered through Mr. Morris's narrative. We are, indeed, almost in doubt whether the most beautiful passages in the poem do not occur in the series of songs in the fourteenth book. The ship has already touched at the island of Circe, and the sailors, thanks to the earnest warnings of Medea, have abstained from setting foot on the fatal shore; while Medea has, in turn, been warned by the enchantress against the allurements of the Sirens. As soon as the ship draws nigh, these fair beings begin to utter their irresistible notes. All eyes are turned lovingly on the shore, the rowers' charmed muscles relax, and the ship drifts landward. But Medea exhorts and entreats her companions to preserve their course. Jason himself is not untouched, as Mr. Morris delicately tells us, — "a moment Jason gazed." But Orpheus smites his lyre before it is too late, and stirs the languid blood of his comrades. The Sirens strike their harps amain, and a conflict of song arises. The Sirens sing of the cold, the glittering, the idle delights of their submarine homes; while Orpheus tells of the warm and pastoral landscapes of Greece. We have no space for quotation; of course Orpheus carries the day. But the finest and most delicate practical sense is shown in the alternation of the two lyrical arguments, — the soulless sweetness of the one, and the deep human richness of the other. There is throughout Mr. Morris's poem a great unity and evenness of excellence, which make selection and quotation difficult; but of impressive touches in our reading we noticed a very great number. We content ourselves with mentioning a single one. When Jason has sown his bag of dragon's teeth at Colchis, and the armed fighters have sprang up along the furrows, and under the spell contrived by Medea have torn each other to death: —

> "One man was left, alive but wounded sore,
> Who, staring round about and seeing no more
> His brothers' spears against him, fixed his eyes
> *Upon the queller of those mysteries.*
> *Then dreadfully they gleamed, and with no word,*
> *He tottered towards him with uplifted sword.*
> *But scarce he made three paces down the field,*
> *Ere chill death seized his heart, and on his shield*
> *Clattering he fell.*"

We have not spoken of Mr. Morris's versification nor of his vocabulary. We have only room to say that, to our perception, the first in its facility and harmony, and the second in its abundance and studied simplicity, leave nothing to be desired. There are of course faults and errors in his poem, but there are none that are not trivial and easily pardoned in the light of the fact that he has given us a work of con-

summate art and of genuine beauty. He has foraged in a treasure-house; he has visited the ancient world, and come back with a massive cup of living Greek wine. His project was no light task, but he has honorably fulfilled it. He has enriched the language with a narrative poem which we are sure that the public will not suffer to fall into the ranks of honored but uncherished works, — objects of vague and sapient reference, — but will continue to read and to enjoy. In spite of its length, the interest of the story never flags, and as a work of art it never ceases to be pure. To the jaded intellects of the present moment, distracted with the strife of creeds and the conflict of theories, it opens a glimpse into a world where they will be called upon neither to choose, to criticise, nor to believe, but simply to feel, to look, and to listen.

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13. — 1. *King René's Daughter. A Danish Lyrical Drama.* By Henrik Hertz. Translated by Theodore Martin. 16mo. pp. xii., 100.
2. *Frithiof's Saga, from the Swedish of* Esaias Tegnér, *Bishop of Wexiö.* By the Rev. William Lewery Blackley, M. A. First American Edition, edited by Bayard Taylor. New York: Leypoldt and Holt. 1867. 16mo. pp. xxx., 201.

The English-speaking nations, having so rich a literature of their own, and having had remarkably poor luck in their translations, have neglected many of the best literary productions of other countries. In America, any acquaintance with literatures other than French, German, and the classics is reserved for rare scholars. It is an excellent design of Messrs. Leypoldt and Holt to endeavor to overcome the barriers of our ignorance, by publishing and reprinting for us a series of poems which are in a certain sense representative of other nations. The two volumes named above are the beginning of this series, and we are promised others from German, French, Italian, Spanish, Norwegian, Russian, and Sanskrit.

To render such a series successful, not merely from a business point of view, — which of course with a publisher is the first thing to be considered, — but in the favor of the public, and to make it of any use in influencing taste, great care should be taken in selecting and editing the various poems. It is necessary to choose the best poems of two classes, — those that are universal in feeling and sentiment, and those that have a peculiar flavor of nationality about them and carry us at once to their native land. Each work should be intrusted to a scholar acquainted with the language of the original, and possessed of poetical sense and

delicate perception, with full power to alter, revise, or improve the version which is to be reprinted, and who will carefully annotate it, and explain every allusion, so that the reader will find no difficulty, but rather a pleasure in becoming acquainted with what was before unknown. We trust that the publishers will not content themselves with a single poem of each country; we feel certain that each one will make room for a second. Especially valuable would be a carefully revised reprint of Sir William Jones's translation of the Sanskrit "Sakuntala," and translations of the Finnish "Kalevala," of Pushkin's "Evgeni Onegin," of Paludan-Müller's "Adam Homo," and of "Elgskyttarne" (The Reindeer Hunters), the beautiful idyl of Runeberg, the Swedish poet of modern Finland.

The series has begun with two well-selected works. "King René's Daughter" first became known to us many years ago through a German translation, and subsequent readings of the same and other versions have never effaced the deep impression its beauty then left.

Since Oehlenschläger's death, Henrik Hertz has been, next to Hans Andersen, the best known Danish writer. In Denmark he stands on terms of equal rivalry with Ingemann and Frederik Paludan-Müller, whose "Adam Homo" is perhaps, on the whole, the greatest Danish poem. Born in 1798, of Jewish parents, Hertz was educated for a lawyer; but as soon as he had completed his studies, he turned himself to literature, where his thoughts had been long wandering. In 1826 he published his first work, a comedy. After that followed, in rapid succession, comedies, tragedies, novels, and poems. "King René's Daughter" appeared in 1845, and at once met with marked success, and took a high place in literature. It has been translated four times into English, four times into German, as well as into various other languages, and has been acted at all the leading theatres of Europe, and occasionally in this country, — Mrs. Mowatt, we believe, taking the part of Iolanthe. The drama is on an event in the life of King René of Provence, celebrated as a Troubadour. Yolande, his daughter, married Tristan, Count of Vaudemont, to settle a dispute between the two families about the succession to Lorraine. In the play, Yolande, or Iolanthe, as she is called, is blind, and the plot turns on her being awakened by Tristan, and informed of her blindness, of which, till then, she had been brought up ignorant, on the very day when such a proceeding was necessary to the recovery of her sight by the arts of a Moorish physician. The translation is one by Theodore Martin, who has since become better known by his versions of Horace, Catullus, and Goethe's Faust. The translator is usually felicitous in his rendering of the beauties of the original, though sometimes he fails in literal-

ness. He always gives the spirit, though the words and rhyme escape him. There are a few typographical errors in the volume, which will probably be corrected in future impressions. The poem itself merits the reputation it has long held in its own country.

The "Frithiof's Saga" of Bishop Tegnér was the subject of an article by Mr. Longfellow in the number of this Review for July, 1837, in which he gave an excellent and very beautiful abstract of the whole poem, besides translations of select portions. It is to be regretted that he never translated the whole of it, for it would then have been at least as familiar to us all as "The Children of the Lord's Supper" by the same author. And it is to be regretted, also, that we have not even had the next best thing, the editorship of Mr. Longfellow to the translation now published. Beside the two translations mentioned in the article referred to, three others have since been published, — one by Mr. R. G. Latham, one by Professor George Stephens, a personal friend of the poet, and the present one. There have been, also, at least three German translations published.

The present translation, Mr. Blackley's, is the best of the five, judged by any rule. That of Professor Stephens went to the excess of literalness in some parts, but was bold and stiff. That of Latham was in parts spirited, but, allowing the utmost freedom of rendering, was a paraphrase rather than a translation. Mr. Blackley has kept always to the metres of the original, which no one before him did, and has given a smoothly flowing — in places too smooth — and sufficiently literal version. His chief trouble has been with the rhyme. He has frequently been obliged to substitute masculine for feminine rhymes, and he has too much disregarded the alliteration in Canto XXI. From many passages we might almost suppose it his first attempt at verse; and we find such rhymes as "tarry, hurry," "forth, earth," "wend, land," "other, lover," "mirror, pillow," "floating, shouting," and others, all on two consecutive pages opened at random. Let us compare a little of his translation with Mr. Longfellow's beautiful fragments, which follow the original almost word for word, yet have all the ring of original poetry. The Swedish language so closely resembles the English that this is less difficult than might be supposed.

In the third canto Mr. Blackley says, in his best vein: —

"Three leagues forth was his rule, on three sides round him extended,
Valley and mountain and wood; and the sea was the fourth of his mearings.
Birch forest crowned the tops of the hills, and where they descended
Waved fields of rye as tall as a man, and golden-eared barley.
Many a fair, smooth lake held a mirror of light to the mountains,
Picturing forth the forests, where elks with towering antlers
Stalked with the gait of kings, and drank from rivulets countless.

And in the valleys around, far pastured abroad o'er the meadows,
Herds with glittering hides, and udders that yearned for the milking.
Mingled with these moved slowly about, in flocks without number,
Sheep with fleeces of snow, as float in the beautiful heavens
Thick, white, feathery clouds at the gentle breathing of spring-time."

Mr. Longfellow thus puts it: —

"Three miles extended around the fields of the homestead, on three sides
Valleys and mountains and hills, but on the fourth was the ocean.
Birch woods crowned the tops of the hills, but over the sloping hillsides
Sprang up the golden corn, and man-high was waving the rye-field.
Lakes, full many in number, their mirror held up for the mountains,
Held for the forests up, in whose depths the high-antlered reindeers
Had their kingly walk, and drank of a hundred brooklets.
But in the valleys full widely around, there fed on the greensward
Herds with sleek shining hides and udders that longed for the milk-pail.
'Mid these were scattered, now here, now there, a vast, countless number
Of white-wooled sheep as thou seest the white-looking stray clouds
Flock-wise spread o'er the heavenly vault, when it bloweth in spring-time."

The alliteration is perfectly preserved in the fragment of the twenty-first canto given by Mr. Longfellow.

We will quote one more passage, the second stanza of the ninety-first canto. First, Mr. Blackley: —

"The aged monarch wills the chase, and with him hies the gentle queen;
And swarming round in proud array is all the court assembled seen;
Bows are twanging, quivers rattle, eager horse-hoofs paw the clay,
And with hooded eyes the falcons scream, impatient for their prey."

Thus Mr. Longfellow: —

"Now will hunt the ancient monarch, and the queen shall join the sport;
Swarming in its gorgeous splendor is assembled all the court;
Bows ring loud, and quivers rattle, stallions paw the ground alway,
And, with hoods upon their eyelids, falcons scream aloud for prey."

Yet though inferior to Mr. Longfellow's, the translation of Mr. Blackley is very readable, and will convey a truthful impression of the modern reproduction of the old Saga of Frithiof, which, rightly or wrongly, — and some say wrongly, — has obtained a great reputation as *the* Swedish poem.

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14. — *After the War: a Southern Tour. May* 1, 1865, *to May* 1, 1866. By Whitelaw Reid. Cincinnati: Moore, Wilstach, and Baldwin. 1866. 12mo. pp. 589.

This volume belongs to the same class as that by Mr. Andrews, "The South since the War." It contains the observations of a shrewd and intelligent newspaper correspondent, who spent the greater part of

the year following the close of the Rebellion in travelling through the late Rebel States, and who had in some respects uncommonly favorable opportunities for the study of the condition and feeling of the South. Mr. Reid partakes in considerable measure of the habits of mind characteristic of the popular correspondent for the press, and his style not infrequently betrays his profession. The book gives evidence of the general good sense and good feeling of its author, and of his intention to present a fair view of things as he saw them. It is of value as a record by an honest observer of the state of things at the South during the chaotic period immediately after the war, and it has an interest for all who desire to understand "the feelings of the late insurgents, the situation and capacities of the liberated slaves, and the openings offered to capital and industry from without." The concluding chapters, in which the author describes, from actual experience as well as from observation, the workings of plantation life in the Southwestern States in the first years of free labor, are the most valuable and interesting part of his volume. His account of the trials of the planter, of the disposition of the ordinary plantation negro during this period, and of the difficulties of adjustment of both classes to the new order of things, is, so far as we know, the best that has been given. His conclusions are on the whole decidedly favorable as regards the speedy return of economical, industrial, and political order, provided only that justice be done to the negro, and that the measures of reconstruction be sufficient to secure to him his rights.

Mr. Reid had ample opportunity for observing the effect of "the President's policy" upon the temper, bearing, and conduct of the unreconstructed Rebels, and the change wrought in them by the slow conviction that the country, through Congress, would not permit that policy to be carried out.

It is a pity that the Cincinnati publishers have not made this volume more widely known at the East. It is a book as interesting here as at the West, and we commend it to our readers.

Mr. Reid's book reminds us of another series of letters from the South, which we regret have not yet been collected into a volume, those written in 1865 – 66 by Mr. Dennett, the travelling correspondent of "The Nation." It is not too much to say that these letters have rarely been surpassed in spirit, intelligence, and fidelity of delineation. They had the highest merit in point of reticence, as well as of expression, and they present a view of the South after the war which deserves to rank with that given by Mr. Olmsted, in his well-known Southern journeys, of the conditions of the Slave States not long before the war. Mr. Dennett's letters, like Mr. Olmsted's, have a permanent value.

15. — *The Journal of Speculative Philosophy.* No. 1. — Contents: I. To the Reader; II. The Speculative; III. Herbert Spencer; IV. Introduction to Fichte's Science of Knowledge; V. Bénard's Essay on Hegel's Æsthetics; VI. Raphael's Transfiguration; VII. Introduction to Philosophy; VIII. Seed Life; IX. Schopenhauer on Immortality; X. Goethe's Theory of Colors. No. 2. — I. Second Part of Goethe's Faust; II. Fichte's "Criticism of Philosophical Systems"; III. Notes on Milton's Lycidas; IV. Hegel's Philosophy of Art; V. Introduction to Philosophy; VI. Music as a Form of Art; VII. The Alchemist; VIII. Editorials. St. Louis: E. P. Gray. 8vo. pp. 128.

Here is a phenomenon well worthy of note, — a Journal of Speculative Philosophy, — the first of the kind, we believe, yet attempted in the English language, and devoted more especially to the Hegelian philosophy, making its appearance in a city which is generally supposed to be more interested in the price of wheat than in Metaphysics, and more alive to the merits of Mr. McCoole, the pugilist, than to those of Hegel. The mere undertaking is sufficiently remarkable and interesting, apart from the question how what is undertaken has thus far been accomplished. The programme is given above; and it is perhaps enough at present to say, that these important topics seem to us to be treated with creditable zeal and high purpose. As to the amount of success which is likely to attend the importation of Hegel's ideas, unmodified, into American thought, it does indeed seem to us that some restamping is needed for such very foreign-looking coin before it can be expected to circulate freely. Little of this kind has been attempted by our St. Louis friends; and it would perhaps seem to them presumptuous, or to betray a lack of confidence in the intrinsic merits of what they offer, and in its power of making its own way. Very likely this faith may be justified, for there is indeed in our land a strong appetite, hard to daunt, for this as well as for other kinds of "speculation." Sooner or later, however, if they are to prosper, the new ideas, like other new-comers, must learn to speak the vernacular.

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16. — *History of Brown University, with illustrative Documents.* By Reuben Aldridge Guild, Librarian of the University, Author of "Life, Times, and Correspondence of James Manning," &c. Providence, R. I. 1867. 4to. pp. 443.

This volume is a series of dissertations upon the history of Brown University, rather than a history in the proper sense of the word. For

a history, as we understand the term, implies a more continuous narrative than we find here, and a more elaborate interweaving of its different elements under the general control of chronological development.

Mr. Guild's book, however regarded, is a valuable contribution to the history of American collegiate education. His patient labor and thorough research are conspicuous throughout his work. It has been a labor of love with him, and he has succeeded in rendering a genuine service to his University.

His first chapter, or dissertation, is devoted to the general history of the University from its foundation, with but one scholar on its matriculation roll, through the greater part of the administration of Dr. Sears, with three hundred and sixty-one. The second contains a history of the library; the third, a history of the charter, full of curious research; the fourth, an account of the subscriptions collected by Morgan Edwards. The fifth — one of the most curious and characteristic of all — tells the story of the contest between the principal towns of the State for the location of the College. "The subscriptions obtained by Hezekiah Smith" forms the subject of the sixth chapter; an account of the College buildings, of the seventh; the collection of portraits in Rhode Island Hall, of the eighth. The last two chapters are devoted to the financial history of the institution, and commencement exercises; and the story of the resignation of President Sears is told in an Appendix. Nine well-engraved views and three portraits are interspersed through the volume.

A fuller analysis than this we cannot give, without expanding our notice into a full article. But this is unnecessary for our present purpose, which is to tell the reader what he may expect from this volume, and how strong a claim it has, not only upon the graduates and friends of Brown University, but also upon the student of the history of American institutions of learning. Mr. Guild writes in a clear and natural style, and is too deeply interested in his subject not to awaken a kindred interest in the reader. His official position has given him access to the documents essential to establish the authority of his work, and he has studied them with care. The subject, too, was already familiar to him, through his excellent Life of President Manning.

LIST OF SOME RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

1. A Treatise on Astronomy, Spherical and Physical; with Astronomical Problems, and Solar, Lunar, and other Astronomical Tables. For the Use of Colleges and Scientific Schools. By William A. Norton, M. A., Professor of Civil Engineering in Yale College. Fourth Edition, revised, remodelled, and enlarged. New York: John Wiley & Son. 1867. 8vo. pp. xiv., 443, 115.

2. Annals of the Astronomical Observatory of Harvard College. Vol. II. Part II. 1854 – 55. [Zone Catalogue of 4484 stars.] Vol. V. Observations on the Great Nebula of Orion. Cambridge. 1867. 4to. pp. vi., 257; xxvi., 189.

3. The Record of the Second Massachusetts Infantry, 1861 – 65. By Alonzo H. Quint, its Chaplain. Boston: James P. Walker. 1867. 8vo. pp. viii., 528.

4. Geschichte der deutschen Einwanderung in Amerika. Von Friedrich Kapp. Erster Band: Die Deutschen im Staate New York bis zum Anfange des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts. Mit einer Karte. Erste Lieferung. New York: E. Steiger. 1867. 8vo. pp. 88.

5. Among the Masses; or, Work in the Wynds. By the Rev. D. Maccoll, Glasgow. London: T. Nelson and Sons. 1867. 16mo. pp. 383.

6. The College, the Market, and the Court; or Woman's Relation to Education, Labor, and Law. By Caroline H. Dall. Boston: Lee and Shepard. 1867. 12mo. pp. xxxv., 499.

7. Bench and Bar: a complete Digest of the Wit, Humor, Asperities, and Amenities of the Law. By L. J. Bigelow. With Portraits and Illustrations. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1867. 12mo. pp. 364.

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11. Co-operative Stores, their History, Organization, and Management based on the recent German Work of Eugene Richter. With Annotations and Amendments rendering the Work specially adapted for Use in the United States. New York: Leypoldt and Holt. 1867. 12mo. pp. 131.

12. Deus Homo: God-Man. By Theophilus Parsons. Chicago: E. B. Myers and Chandler. 1867. Sm. 8vo. pp. 455.

13. Christianity and its Conflicts, Ancient and Modern. By E. E. Marcy, A. M. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 16mo. pp. xi., 480.

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19. Appleton's Hand-Book of American Travel. The Northern Tour. With Maps. By Edward H. Hall. Ninth Annual Edition. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1867. 12mo. pp. xvi., 456, viii.

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24. Mr. Wynyard's Ward. By Holme Lee. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1867. 8vo. pp. 106.

25. Nora and Archibald Lee. By the Author of "Agnes Tremorne," &c., &c. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1867. 8vo. pp. 156.

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27. A Romance of the Republic. By L. Maria Child. Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1867. 16mo. pp. 442.

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29. The Household of Sir Thomas More. By the Author of "Mary Powell." New Edition, with an Appendix. New York: M. W. Dodd. 1867. 16mo. pp. 257.

30. Jacques Bonneval; or the Days of the Dragonnades. By the Author of "Mary Powell," etc. New York: M. W. Dodd. 1867. 16mo. pp. 198.

31. Ruth Derwent: a Story of Duty and Love. By C. J. G. Boston: American Tract Society. 1867. 16mo. pp. 320.

32. Notes on Walt Whitman as Poet and Person. By John Burroughs. New York: American News Company. 1867. 16mo. pp. 108.

33. King Arthur; or the Drama of the Revolution. By John S. Stuart Glennie. Vol. I. Prologue and Overture. London: Trübner & Co. 1867. 16mo. pp. ix., 279.

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